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THE HIBBERT LECTURES,

1886.

THE HIBBERT LECTURES,

LECTURES

ON THE

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF REL

AS ILLUSTRATED BY

CELTIC HEATHENDOM.

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BY

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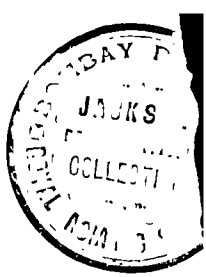

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE

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PREFACE.

THESE Lectures were delivered in London and here, in the months of May and June, 1886; and it was intended that they should appear in the book market soon after. So I take this opportunity of publicly thanking the Hibbert Trustees for their forbearance, and of explaining the causes of the delay. The first and foremost was my ignorance, above all as to the magnitude of the task I was undertaking; and this ignorance pursued me into the arrangement of the Lectures, so that it had to be seriously modified more than once in the course of the work. Among other things, I found it necessary to make some sort of survey of the whole ground, and, in a word, to circumnavigate the whole subject before committing to type my ideas about any part of it. This led to my studying much that could not be included in this volume; I was, however, allowed to deliver two lectures besides the six agreed upon. Those two, as I could not expect the Hibbert Trustees to have them printed, are to form part of a volume on the Arthurian Legend, which I hope soon to publish; not to mention that I contemplate devoting a separate volume some day to the Dark Divinities of the Celts. It was necessary to go carefully into the questions raised by these and kindred subjects, and it all required time. But I may plead that the history of religion had never before been comprehensively studied from the Celtic point of view.

[redacted]neer could have been so feeble in his efforts as not to [redacted]rendered material aid to any one who came after.

[redacted]he next cause of delay was the necessity I felt of writing the [redacted]tures at a greater length than would occupy six hours in the [redacted]. It arose chiefly from the fact, that the Celtic literature bearing on the history of Celtic paganism is so little known [redacted]ast majority of English readers, that acquaintance with [redacted]not be taken for granted. It remained for me, therefore, [redacted]e the substance of the sagas and epic tales in point at length which has considerably increased the bulk of this volume. But it afforded many opportunities of making comparisons, never made before, between Irish and Welsh myths, comparisons which cannot but be of help in any future treatment of the subject, even though some of the more ambitious theories may prove untenable. I consider that event a certainty for several reasons, such as my innate liability to err, and the discovery of more Gallo-Roman remains on the Continent, or the publication of more Irish manuscripts hitherto comparatively inaccessible. Still the attempt to draw a comprehensive picture of Celtic Heathendom seemed to be worth making, even though it should prove nothing but that there is a great mass of data [redacted]one's service. Those data are not, it is true, such as the [redacted]lent of Greek or Latin paganism is wont to handle; but, [redacted]ing them as they offered themselves, I found that, far from [redacted]ving reasons to complain of their scarcity, the slowness of my [redacted]ogress was aggravated by an *embarras de richesse*. This is all [redacted]e more striking as many of my English friends wondered, at [redacted]rst, what in the world I should find to occupy half-a-dozen [redacted]cture[redacted]

[redacted]H[redacted] [redacted]ded to the quantity of the materials at my [redacted] [redacted], [redacted]as to their nature, that a large pro- [redacted]ological order; and I fear that I have

not always taken care enough to make it as easy to skip [illegible] etymological passages as the general reader could wish, at a[illegible] rate if publishers and reviewers do not grossly exaggerate t[illegible] requirements of his comfort With regard to comparisons exte[illegible] ing beyond the Celtic group itself, most assistance has be[illegible] derived from the ancient literature of Scandinavia. From one branch of the Aryan family, the Slavonic, I have been almost wholly unable to draw any help, as I found the existing works on the subject of old Slavonic religion and mythology either too antiquated or too brief to consult with advantage. This I regret all the more, as I do not believe that materials are wanting to illustrate the religious and mythic aspect of Slavonic history.

After these remarks, it is needless to say that I have not attempted to discuss the early fortunes of Christianity among the Celts. That is a large subject worthy of being treated in a separate series of lectures by some one well versed in the mass of old literature devoted to the lives of the saints of Erinn and both Britains. Of course it is not pretended that anything connected with the history of religion among the Celts—or among the Teutons, if it comes to that—could vie in popularity with the pedigree of the last idol unearthed in the East, or even with the discovery of a new way of spelling Nebuchadnezzar's name. Still the Celtic field of research has a rapidly growing interest for scholars, who now regard it as one in which the investigator's labours are most certain to be crowned with brilliant results. 'The great attraction of Celtic philology consists in the very fact that every haul of the net, without exception, brings in a rich spoil.' So wrote a distinguished German scholar the other day; and his words are true of Celtic philology in that wider sense of the term which would embrace not only the study of Celtic speech, but also of Celtic archæology and history, of Celtic religion and folk-lore, of Celtic myth and s[illegible]

I have reserved to the last the pleasant task of thanking those friends who have given me unstinted assistance in bringing this volume through the press. Foremost among them stands the well-known Celtic scholar, Whitley Stokes, through whose hands most of the sheets have passed. I am indebted to him for many valuable suggestions; but neither he nor any one but myself is responsible for the errors or blunders which the accurate reader may find the book to contain.

JOHN RHYS.

GWYNVA, OXFORD,
CHRISTMAS EVE, 1887.

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LECTURE I.

THE GAULISH PANTHEON.

PART I.

THE inhabitants of ancient Gaul were the earliest Celts of whose religion we possess any knowledge: the sources of our information are twofold, namely, the testimony of ancient authors and that of votive tablets or other epigraphic monuments. Of the ancients who touch on Gaulish religion, Caesar, in his account of the Gallic War, may be regarded as far the most important for our purpose, partly because he wrote at a time when the process of assimilating the gods of Gaul to those of Italy was only beginning, and partly because he, who was pontiff at home, had opportunities of understanding likewise much about Gaulish religion, not the least of which consisted in his having the druid Diviciacus as his constant companion and intimate friend throughout the war; still there are many reasons for accepting Caesar's account of the Gaulish pantheon with great caution. His words so far as they bear on the individuality and respective rank of what he considered to be the chief divinities of the Gauls, are to the following effect:[1] They worship Mercury, he says, above all others, and of him they have

[1] *Bellum Gallicum* (ed. Hubler)

ry many images. Their traditions make him the inventor f all the arts and the patron of roads and journeys, and y think him the most powerful in the matter of acquir- money and in the transactions of commerce. After , they worship Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva: ese they entertain much the same opinion as other ati ns, namely, that Apollo drives away diseases, that Mi va teaches the elements of the various trades and rts, hat Jupiter rules over the sky, and that Mars has he direction of wars. Indeed, it is usual for them, as oon as they have resolved to engage in battle, to vow beforehand to Mars all the spoils they may take in the war; so they sacrifice to him all the animals captured, nd bring all the rest of the booty together to one spot. n many of their cities, heaps of these things may be een piled up in their sacred places. Nor does it often appen that anybody so far disregards the traditional stom as to dare either to conceal any of the booty at me or carry away any of the booty set aside: in case h a crime is committed, the offender is tortured and st severely punished.

Such is the purport of Caesar's words, and it will be ll to see how far Gaulish epigraphy is found to corro- rate or correct them. Unfortunately for the study of ltic religion and philology, few of the monuments of l supply us with inscriptions in the national tongue; probably all of them, whether in Gaulish or in Latin, e after the advent of the Roman conqueror and the tiation of his policy of assimilating the gods of van- ished Gaul with those of Rome. This policy took a y definite form under Augustus. He as *pontifex max-* [redacted] ligions of the Roman world; but the

manner in which Africa and the East were treated could not be recommended in the case of Gaul and Spain; so, when he undertook to restore the position of the *Lares* and *Penates*, he included among them the Gaulish divinities, who were henceforth styled *Augusti*. The result in each instance was that the name of the Gaulish god came to be treated more or less as a mere epithet to that of the Roman divinity, with which he began to be regarded as identical: thus the Gaulish Grannos became Apollo Grannus, and Belisama became Minerva Belisama, and so in other cases. Nay, the Roman god not unfrequently seized on the attributes of the native one even to the extent of assuming his Gaulish costume and non-classical appearance, as is amply proved by the images extant in great numbers in France: among others, Mercury, instead of retaining the aspect given him by Italian art, appears often in a form which has been found to recall rather the beauty and artistic perfection of the Greek Apollo. The Roman policy which reduced the Gaulish divinities to *Lares Augusti* did not stop at that point; for the cult of the Roman gods as such had been introduced, and, as it established itself over the country, it brought with it also that of Mithras, Cybele, and other non-Italian gods and goddesses to whom the Roman pantheon opened its doors. Further, it is found that the worship of the Roman and quasi-Roman divinities was conducted under the superintendence of men of good birth, who bore the title of pontiffs, augurs or flamens; but those in charge of the cult of the Gaulish *Lares Augusti* were usually freedmen, who bore the designation of *Seviri Augusti*, and had to discharge their office free of expense to the state. In a word, the Gaulish gods and goddesses were reduced

in rank and forced, so to say, to become more or less Roman; but they were not banished or in any way proscribed.[1]

To come to the monuments, I may say that they are to be found in the local museums of France, Switzerland, and portions of neighbouring lands formerly or still occupied by the Celts: they are moreover numerous, and the accounts of them are to be sought up and down the voluminous transactions of some scores of provincial societies, whose publications are not always easy to consult. So I find that, in the absence of a complete corpus of the ancient inscriptions of France, I cannot do better than set out from one district, the monuments of which, as far, at least, as concerns the subject of this lecture, have been laid before the public in a manageable form by competent archæologists. The district I have chosen is that which was occupied in Roman times by the Gaulish state of the Allobroges. It lay mostly on the eastern side of the Rhone, stretching from that river to the Alps, and from the Lake of Geneva to the Isère. To this must be added a certain tract on the other bank of the Rhone as also probably belonging to the Allobroges, and covering at least most of the present department of the Rhone.[2] The metropolis of the Allobroges was the city of Vienna, now called Vienne: their country consisted in part of some of the most fertile land in Gaul, and in part of very

[1] For the substance of these remarks I am indebted to an excellent article by M. Florian Vallentin, entitled, *Les Dieux de la Cité des Allobroges*, in the *Revue Celtique*, Vol. iv. 1—36, to which I shall have frequently to refer in this lecture.

[2] Vallentin, ibid. p. 1; see also Desjardins, *Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine*, ii. 351.

mountainous regions. The Allobroges were Celts, though their name means 'those of another march or district:' they were so called doubtless by some of their Celtic neighbours, but the name which they gave themselves is unknown. The peoples on the eastern bank of the Rhone formed a confederation, at the head of which stood the Allobroges, so that they may be said to have had the control of the navigation of that river and of the important traffic carried on by means of it. The Allobrogic confederation formed in its turn a member of the larger one headed by the Arverni.[1] Lastly, my principal authorities for the inscriptions found in the country of the Allobroges are Allmer's collection of the inscriptions of Vienne,[2] and a succinct account of the gods of the Allobroges by the late M. Florian Vallentin, one of the best known archæologists of the south of France.

Mercury

is the god with whom the monuments lead one to begin, and the first inscription to which I would call your attention was found among some Roman ruins near the village of Beaucroissant in the department of the Isère, and it is said to have read: Mercurio Aug(usto) Artaio Sacr(um) Sex(tus) Geminius Cupitus, ex voto.[3] The place of finding is recorded to have been once called Artay, though the name is unknown there now; but the names Artas

[1] Vallentin, *Rev. Celtique*, iv. 1, 2.

[2] *Inscriptions antiques et du Moyen Age de Vienne en Dauphiné*, consisting of six octavo volumes of letter-press description of them, supplemented by a quarto one of plates, published at Vienne in the year 1875.

[3] Allmer, iij. 112; Vallentin, *Rev. Celtique*, iv. 17.

and Artay occur near Vienne and Grenoble. This hardly enables one, however, to decide whether the god gave his name to one or more of these places, or the reverse was the case; but one is inclined to the former view by the occurrence of *Artio* as the name of a goddess in an inscription in the museum at Berne,[1] for one can hardly be wrong in associating with Artio's name such a Celtic word as the Welsh *âr* 'plough-land'; whence it would seem by no means improbable, that *Mercurius Artaius* was the Gallo-Roman title of the god called *Mercurius Cultor* in an inscription from Würtemberg.[2] This would serve to show that Mercury was associated by the Gauls with agriculture, especially ploughing.

The next inscription to be mentioned was found at Hières, also in the department of the Isère, and the first portion of it reads: Aug(usto) Sacr(um) Deo Mercurio Victori Magniaco Veilauno.[3] Here the god is styled 'August,' as in the other instance, but the less usual epithet of *victor* is added, which is to be noticed, as he was no mere Mercury in the Latin sense. Then follow in the inscription two words of Gaulish origin, of which *Magniaco* would seem to be the name of a place, though it must be admitted to lack the support to be expected from the identification of its modern form as the name of a spot in the neighbourhood. The other, *Veilauno*, even though it should not prove a misreading of VELLAVNO,

[1] Mommsen, *Inscriptiones Helveticae* (in Vol. x. of the *Mittheilungen der Antiq. Gesellschaft in Zürich*), No. 215; *Rev. Celt.* iv. loc. cit.

[2] Brambach's *Corpus Insc. Rhenanarum*, No. 1591.

[3] Allmer, iii. 191, pl. 38-8; *Rev. Celt.* iv. 16. There seems to be some doubt as to whether Magniaco or Macniaco is the correct reading: Allmer gives both without remarking on the discrepancy.

cannot but be regarded as practically identical with it: compare such names as Cassivellaunos, which meant the king or ruler of the hanse or league, and Catuvellauni, of the same import as Caturiges; both peoples being wont, as it would seem, to boast themselves lords of battle or war-kings. It is after the analogy of such compounds that the Gaulish element in the Hières inscription is to be read; that is to say, it makes one compound epithet, *Magniaco-vellaunos*,[1] meaning, as it may provisionally be rendered, king or ruler of Magniacon or *Magniacum*, in allusion to some place with which the god's name was associated.

Besides the two foregoing inscriptions in honour of a distinctly Gaulish Mercury, there is monumental evidence that there were temples dedicated to the god at no less than twenty-six different spots[2] in the country of the Allobroges. Some of the twenty-six very possibly belonged to the Greco-Roman Mercury of an imported cult;

[1] The Gauls, like the modern Celts, had no objection to compound terms, and they even used foreign elements in such place-names as *Augustonemetum*, the grove of Augustus; *Caesarodunum*, Caesar's fortress; and *Juliomagus*, the field of Julius. Some of their personal names were quite as long: witness Conconnetodumnos, Veriugodumnos and Vercassivellaunos. These and the like must have seemed cumbrous to the Romans; and Englishmen of the present day profess to be amused with German compound terms, forgetting that they are usually the shortest way of expressing what is meant, and that few languages form compounds more readily or complicately than their own, though the longer terms are never written as single words: take, for example, such instances as 'university examinations,' 'university examination-papers,' 'London, Chatham and Dover Railway,' or 'London, Chatham and Dover Railway Company.' It is only an accident—doubtless an inseparable accident of perversity—that English grammarians usually conceal the fact of the composition.

[2] See them enumerated by M. Vallentin in the *Rev. Celt.* iv. 15.

but the majority may perhaps be assumed to have been those of the native divinity.

So far, then, the monuments agree with the purport of Caesar's words in regard to Mercury; and if we now go beyond the boundaries of the Allobrogic state, we shall find them strongly supported both by the distribution of the inscriptions and the number of the statuettes of the god: the latter prove in some instances of very considerable metallic value—such, for example, as the massive silver Mercury dug up in the gardens of the Luxembourg. M. Gaidoz, in his far too brief account of the religion of the Gauls, speaks of the universality of the worship of Mercury among the Gauls, and calls attention to the number of place-names which bear evidence to it.[1] He mentions the following, but the list might be enlarged: Montmercure, Mercœur, Mercoiray, Mercoire, Mercoiset, Mercuer, Mercurette, Mercurey, Mercurie, Mercurot, Mercury. Several such names occur on Allobrogic ground, and the department of the Puy de Dôme, so named from the late Latin word *podium*, a hill or mountain, contains another *podium* or *puy*, known as the Puy de Mercœur; and this last designation, accommodated to the habits of another dialect, yields Montmercure, the name of another place. This completes M. Gaidoz's list,[2] and I would call special attention to the last two as it is noticed that the Gaulish

[1] *Esquisse de la Religion des Gaulois* (Paris, 1879), p. 10.

[2] A somewhat shorter one was given by M. Mowat in the *Rev. Archéologique* (1875), Vol. xxix. p. 34, where he gives a reason for connecting the place-name Montmartre with the god, a view also taken by M. Gaidoz.

Mercury greatly affected high ground and conspicuous positions. Thus it is supposed that there was a temple dedicated to Mercury on Montmartre; it is known that he had one on Mont du Chat,[1] near the blue lake of the Bourget, in the land of the Allobroges; another on Mont de Sène, in the Côte d'Or; and a third of considerable importance on the Donon, one of the more elevated heights of the Vosges.[2] But far the most celebrated one remains to be mentioned: it stood on the summit of the Puy de Dôme, in Auvergne, and its foundations are said to prove it to have been an extensive and costly building. It was in fact the great temple of the Arverni; and for it was probably destined the colossal Mercury in bronze, stated by Pliny in his *Historia Naturalis*, xxxiv. 18, to have been made by the Greek artist Zenodorus for the Gaulish state of the Arverni. It stood 120 feet high, and the work took ten years to accomplish.[3] The expense connected with the worship was probably borne by the cities of Gaul in common, and the fame of the temple lasted to the time of Gregory of Tours; for he relates in his *Historia Francorum*, i. 32, how it was destroyed by Chrocus, king of the Alamanni, which according to the historian happened in the time of Valerian and Gallien.[4] A fragmentary inscription discovered on the spot happens to have been set up by certain *negotiatores* or men of business, and it serves to

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 15.

[2] Jollois, *Memoires sur quelques Antiquités remarquables du Département des Vosges* (Paris, 1843), p. 126, &c.

[3] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 15 and ii. 426; *Bulletin Monumental*, 1875, p. 557, et seq.

[4] See also Mowat in the *Rev. Arch.* (1875), Vol. xxix. 31.

show that one of the names under which the god received honour there, was that of Mercurius Arvernus.[1] The focus of his cult has to be sought in Auvergne, but we find from votive tablets that he was also known in Bavaria, in some districts of Rhenish Prussia, and on the banks of the Meuse in the Netherlands.[2] With these must be ranked an inscription at Bittburg, in Rhenish Prussia, to—Deo Mercur(io) Vassocaleti.[3]

But to understand the term *Vassocaleti*, it would be well to study carefully Gregory's words in the passage already alluded to. He, a native of Auvergne, seems to have been well acquainted with the ruins on the Puy de Dôme, and the following is his account of them: Veniens vero [Chrocus] Arvernos, delubrum illud, quod Gallica lingua Vasso Galate vocant, incendit, diruit atque subvertit. Miro enim opere factum fuit atque firmatum. Cuius paries duplex erat, ab intus enim de minuto lapide, a foris vero quadris sculptis fabricatum fuit. Habuit enim paries ille crassitudinem pedes triginta. Intrinsecus vero marmore ac museo variatum erat. Pavimentum quoque ædes marmore stratum, desuper vero plumbo tectum.[4] Now

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[1] *Rev. Celt.* ii. 426, iv. 15; *Rev. des Soc. savantes* (1875), Vol. i. p. 249.

[2] Brambach, Nos. 256, 257, 593, 1741, 2029 add. p. xxvii.

[3] Kuhn's *Beitræge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*, iij. 169; Brambach, No. 835; *Rev. Arch.* (1875), Vol. xxx. pp. 367, 368, where M. Mowat corrects Brambach's VASSO·CALETI into VASSOCALETI. In the same article, p. 361, he gives facsimiles of the readings of the corresponding form in the chief manuscripts of Gregory's text.

[4] *Gregorii Turonensis Opera*, *Historia Francorum* (contained in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*), Lib. i. c. 32, where the reading preferred by the editors begins with *Veniens vero Arvernus*, &c., but A 1 reads *Arvernos*.

there seems to be no sufficient reason to sever the *Vasso Galate* of the manuscripts of Gregory from the *Vasso-caleti* of the Rhenish inscription.[1] One should rather correct the former according to the latter, and then the whole becomes intelligible in the light of Gregory's description of the Gaulish temple. For *caleti* proves to be the genitive of the adjective which is in modern Welsh *caled*, 'hard,' in older Welsh *calet*, Irish *calath* of the same meaning. The other part of the Gaulish term *vasso* is to be equated with the Welsh word *gwas*,[2] 'mansion or palace; Irish *foss*, 'a staying or rest,' of the same origin as the Greek ἄστυ, 'town or city;' Sanskrit *vastu*, 'a seat or place,' *vas*, 'to dwell or remain;' Eng. *was*, *were*. So *Vasso-calet* must have meant the hard mansion or hard palace; perhaps one should rather say the hard temple, since it is believed that the Gaulish noun survived in the old French *vas*, which meant a chapel, church, temple or cloister. As to the building being called hard, one has only to recall what Gregory has left on record concerning its walls of thirty feet in thickness and the solid nature of the structure generally.

Lastly, I should construe *Mercurius Vassocaleti* somewhat in a Celtic fashion, as meaning 'Mercury of the

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[1] Even those who preferred doing so would have to explain *Vasso Galate* as meaning the Gaulish temple, and to refer it probably to the same edifice.

[2] Much conjecture has been wasted on this term, especially by writers aware only of a Welsh word *gwas*, meaning a young man or servant, Gaulish *vassos* (as in *Dagovassus*), and not of *gwas*, meaning a palace or mansion, which alone is the one here in point.

Vasso-calet,'[1] or the god who dwelt in that temple. Be that so or not, the Vasso-calet was a very remarkable temple; and what is still more remarkable perhaps is, that the god should have been known by the name of this Arvernian temple of his so far away as Bittburg on the Rhine. But besides the fragmentary inscription already noticed as found on the Puy de Dôme, a complete inscription has been dug up there which supplies us with still another way of designating the god. It is said to read: Num(ini) Aug(usto) et Deo Mercurio Dumiati, Matutinius Victorinus D(ono) D(edit).[2]

Now the name of the mountain, Puy de Dôme, or as it is called by the inhabitants of the district simply *le Doum*, and the epithet Dumias or Dumiates given to the god whose temple adorned the top of it, cannot well be

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[1] This is according to a rule still obtaining in Welsh, as when we say *Ivan Hirnant*, 'Evan of Long-brook,' or *Tudur Penllyn*, 'Tudor of Penllyn,' in both of which the place-name is to be construed as a genitive; and we have an instance from a time before the case-endings were dropped, in a bilingual inscription from Brecknockshire, which reads *Maccutreni Saliciduni*, '(the Stone of) Maccutreni of Salicidunon' (Rhys, *Lectures on Welsh Phil.* p. 382). Then as to the compound *Vasso-calet*, one has to compare the Welsh treatment of permanent epithets. Thus we say *Maelgwn Fychan*, 'M. Vaughan or M. the Little,' while a little Maelgwn, to whom the adjective was not constantly applied, would be *Maelgwn bychan*, 'little Maelgwn.' Put back into an early form, the latter would be *Maglocunos biccanos*, while the former would be *Maglocuno-biccanos*; and it is in this way that I would explain the Gaulish *Vasso-caleti* as a compound in the genitive case. Compare the Irish genitive *na Créb-ruadi*, in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 99*b*: it was the name of the king of Ulster's palace, and literally meant the Red Branch, a designation, however, of uncertain connotation. One may also probably compare the Ogmic genitive *Neta-Ttrenalugos*, with *tt* for later *th*, and a *neta* which is in my opinion not a genitive.

[2] *Rev. des Soc. sav.* Vol. i. (1875), p. 250; *Rev. Celt.* ii. 426.

supposed unconnected, and the question arises as to the nature of the connection between them. Now Dôme or Doum is here probably a Celtic word, and it could in that case hardly be doubted that it should be referred to the same origin as the Irish word *duma*, 'a tumulus or mound of any kind;'[1] but the Irish *duma* means an early Celtic form, dumjo-s or dumjo-n, and this stem *dumjo* we seem to have exactly in *Dumiati*. The Gaulish word as applied to the mountain may have simply meant the top or summit, in which case the epithet of the god would refer to him as the divinity of the top of the Puy; but other explanations are possible, though I do not think it necessary to detain you with an examination of them.

So much as to the god's epithets; but none of the Allobrogic monuments seem to supply us with any of his Gaulish names, while a curious inscription referring to him comes from Thornbury on the Swale, in Yorkshire, where no name or epithet is given: he is described simply as the discoverer of roads and paths. The words are: Deo qui vias et semitas commentus est.[2] There is, however, no great difficulty in identifying him under a Gaulish name. He was called Ogmios, or at any rate that was one of his principal names, and under that we have a very curious account of his attributes from the pen of Lucian, a chatty Greek, who wrote and travelled in the second century of our era. His words are to the

[1] *Cormac's Glossary*, translated by O'Donovan and edited by Stokes (Calcutta, 1868), p. 40; Meyer's *Ventry Harbour* (Oxford, 1885), x. 87; O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, i. pp. dcxxxvij, dcxxxix.

[2] The Berlin *Corpus Inscr. Latinarum*, Vol. vii. (*Inscr. Britannicae Latinae*, edited by Hübner), No. 271.

following effect, and though they treat him as Heracles, you will at once see that he was no Heracles in the classic sense of that name: The Celts, he says, call Heracles in the language of their country Ogmios, and they make very strange representations of the god. With them he is an extremely old man, with a bald forehead and his few remaining hairs quite grey; his skin is wrinkled and embrowned by the sun to that degree of swarthiness which is characteristic of men who have grown old in a seafaring life: in fact, you would fancy him rather to be a Charon or Japetus, one of the dwellers in Tartarus, or anybody rather than Heracles. But although he is of this description, he is, nevertheless, attired like Heracles, for he has on him the lion's skin, and he has a club in his right hand; he is duly equipped with a quiver, and his left hand displays a bow stretched out: in these respects he is quite Heracles.[1] It struck me, then, that the Celts took such liberties with the appearance of Heracles in order to insult the gods of the Greeks and avenge themselves on him in their painting, because he once made a raid on their territory, when in search of the herds of Geryon he harassed most of the western peoples. I have not yet, however, mentioned the most whimsical part of the picture, for this old man Heracles draws after him a great number of men bound by their ears, and the bonds are slender cords wrought of gold and amber, like necklaces of the most beautiful make; and although they are dragged on by such weak ties, they never try to run away, though they could

[1] In fact, the god's equipment shows that a determined effort had been made to get him up in the classical way.

easily do it; nor do they at all resist or struggle against them, planting their feet in the ground and throwing their weight back in the direction contrary to that in which they are being led. Quite the reverse: they follow with joyful countenance in a merry mood, and praising him who leads them, pressing on one and all, and slackening their chains in their eagerness to proceed: in fact, they look like men who would be grieved should they be set free. But that which seemed to me the most absurd thing of all I will not hesitate also to tell you: the painter, you see, had nowhere to fix the ends of the cords, since the right hand of the god held the club and his left the bow; so he pierced the tip of his tongue, and represented the people as drawn on from it, and the god turns a smiling countenance towards those whom he is leading. Now I stood a long time looking at these things, and wondered, perplexed and indignant. But a certain Celt standing by, who knew something about our ways, as he showed by speaking good Greek—a man who was quite a philosopher, I take it, in local matters—said to me, Stranger, I will tell you the secret of the painting, for you seem very much troubled about it. We Celts do not consider the power of speech to be Hermes, as you Greeks do, but we represent it by means of Heracles, because he is much stronger than Hermes. Nor should you wonder at his being represented as an old man, for the power of words is wont to show its perfection in the aged; for your poets are no doubt right when they say that the thoughts of young men turn with every wind, and that age has something wiser to tell us than youth. And so it is that honey pours from the tongue of that Nestor of yours, and the Trojan orators

speak with a voice of the delicacy of the lily, a voice well covered, so to say, with bloom;[1] for the bloom of flowers, if my memory does not fail me, has the term lilies applied to it. So if this old man Heracles, the power of speech, draws men after him, tied to his tongue by their ears, you have no reason to wonder, as you must be aware of the close connection between the ears and the tongue. Nor is there any injury done him by this latter being pierced; for I remember, said he, learning while among you some comic iambics, to the effect that all chattering fellows have the tongue bored at the tip. In a word, we Celts are of opinion that Heracles himself performed everything by the power of words, as he was a wise fellow, and that most of his compulsion was effected by persuasion. His weapons, I take it, are his utterances, which are sharp and well-aimed, swift to pierce the mind; and you too say that words have wings. Thus far the Celt.

According to this account, Ogmios, or the Gaulish Heracles, was the personification of what the Greeks understood by λόγος: he was the god of speech and all that conduced to make speech a powerful agency—eloquence and wisdom, the craft of Hermes, and the varied experience of the travelled old man who had seen many peoples and visited many lands. Now if we wished to discover the equivalent of *Ogmjos* in the languages of the

[1] I am not quite sure that I comprehend this allusion to the lily; but here is the original for those who may object to being led astray: καὶ οἱ ἀγορηταὶ τῶν Τρώων τὴν ὅπα τὴν λειριόεσσαν ἀφιᾶσιν ἐϋανθῆ τινα· λείρια γὰρ καλεῖται, εἴ γε μέμνημαι, τὰ ἄνθη. The whole *prolalia* is No. 7 (pp. 23—25) in Bekker's edition, and No. 55 (pp. 598—600) in Dindorf's; extracts from it will also be found in Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica*, edited by Ebel, pp. 1, 2.

Celts of the British Islands, we should have to suppose the word submitted to the operation of phonetic processes suggested by other words in their respective vocabularies: thus, according to Old Irish phonology, the *j* would go and the word must appear as Ogma, as indeed it does, while in Welsh the changes implied would be rather greater: thus it would first become *Ogmijos* with *j*, sounded like English *y* in the word *yes*, liable to be modified into đ, or the sound of *th* in the English word *this*; moreover, the case-termination must go, and if the word happened to have survived among the Welsh glosses of the 9th century, it would have been found written 'ogmiđ' or 'ogmid.' The next stage would be represented with *m* softened to *v* and *g* to *gh*, sounded like *g* in the softest pronunciation of the German word *sagen*, and soon elided altogether, just as *sagen* not unfrequently becomes *saën* in colloquial German, with as little or less trace of the guttural consonant left as in the English equivalent *say*. The use of the word is first attested in the Black Book of Carmarthen, a Welsh manuscript of the 12th century, and the spelling has since then varied, according to the orthography adopted, from *ouit*, *owit*, *ouyd*, *ovyd* to *ofydd*, which is the present orthography, the pronunciation being approximately 'ovüđ,' with its second vowel nearly like a German *ü*. The exact meaning of the word in the earliest passages where it occurs is not easy to fix; but that of 'one skilled or versed in anything, a teacher or leader,' would suit them all.[1] Later, the duties of an 'ovyđ' were said to be 'to improve and multiply knowledge;' and it is now the name of one of the three kinds of graduates or professors

[1] Rhys's *Lectures*, pp. 293–295.

recognized by the Eisteđvod, the other two being bards and druids. Thus if I presented myself as a candidate for a degree without having any claims to be considered a bard or a druid, I should, in case I was not plucked by the presiding druid and his bardic assessors, assume the degree of 'ovyđ,' together with a Welsh proper name. In Welsh the equivalent of the Gaulish word Ogmios has always remained an appellative; but not so in Irish, where Ogma figures as the name of one of the Tuatha Dé Danann, as the gods of the Goidelic pantheon are collectively called in Irish. Nor is this all: he is signalized in Irish mythology as the inventor of writing, that is to say of the Ogam alphabet; for Ogma being much skilled in dialects and in poetry, it was he, we are told,[1] who invented the Ogam to provide signs for secret speech only known to the learned, and designed to be kept from the vulgar and poor of the nation. The motive attributed to Ogma is an invention of a comparatively late age, for there was nothing cryptic about the Ogam alphabet; but the allusion to Ogma's skill in poetry and dialects is important, especially as there was not only a mode of writing called Ogam, but also a kind of pedantic jargon which bore that name.[2] Now Irish legend will have it that the Ogam was so called from the name of Ogma, which is etymologically impossible; so we are left to conclude from the relation in which the words

[1] Mr. M. Atkinson (quoting from the Irish MS. called the Book of Ballymote), in the *Kilkenny Journal of the Royal Hist. and Arch. Ass. of Ireland*, for 1874, p. 207; see also my *Lectures on W. Phil.* p. 293.

[2] O'Donovan, *Irish Grammar*, p. xlviij; also the *Rev. Celt.* vii. 369-74, where the true nature of a large part of the Ogmic jargon has been explained for the first time by Thurneysen.

stand to one another, that Ogma was so called from *Ogam* or that with which he had to do. Supposing that the latter word, the meaning of which is only a matter of inference, signified a letter or a written character, then *Ogma* would mean he who had to do with writing—the inventor, let us say, of writing; but that is inadmissible, as the Celts probably had no knowledge of writing when the god was first called Ogmios. So we have to look for the key to the meaning of the word Ogam in the direction of spoken rather than of written language. In Scotland, Ogmic writing does not appear to have become known till it was nearly going out of use in Ireland; so one is not surprised to find that in Scotch Gaelic the word Ogam, which is there written *oidheam*, had no technical meaning, its ordinary significations being that of 'a notion of anything, an idea, inference, meaning, hint;' to which are to be added that of a 'book or pamphlet,' which it is also said to have had.[1] We have probably cognate words in the Greek ὄγμος, 'any straight line, a furrow, a swathe in reaping, a path or orbit;' Sanskrit *ajma-s*, 'a course, run, expedition;' *ajman*, which had the meaning of the cognate Latin *agmen*, as when employed in speaking of waters, of boatmen's oars, and of speech.[2] The various conditions of the problem of fixing the meaning attached to the word Ogam, and the word standing in the same order of priority to Ogmios in Gaulish as Ogam does to Ogma in Irish, seem best satisfied by supposing the common noun to have meant a round or train of words, fluent speech or ready utterance. This harmonizes well with

[1] *Gram. Celtica*, p. 2; Rhys, *Lectures*, p. 298.

[2] Böhtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. *ajma*, *ajman*.

the sketch of Ogmios as the old man Heracles of the Gauls, whose talk and ready wit charmed his hearers. Lucian's picture enables one to portray to oneself the wrinkled, sun-burnt face of the travelled old man, who poured forth the stream of his irresistible eloquence, while his eye flashed with delight and kindly interest. Lucian says that he turned towards his willing captives with a smiling face, and we have the same touch preserved in the Irish legend, when it calls the hero *Ogma Grian-ainech*, or Ogma of the Shining Countenance.[1] The combining of the attributes of Heracles and Hermes in one personage, which puzzled the Greek traveller, was no passing whim of the Gauls. The view taken of the god by the Celts was even more comprehensive, for we find him in Ireland wearing not only the character of inventor of the Ogam alphabet, but also that of champion of the Tuatha Dé Danann.

Apollo.

This god is placed before us by Caesar simply in the character of a repeller of diseases—*Appollinem morbos depellere*—and not in that of the sun-god he was believed by the Greeks to be. Nevertheless, it will be seen as we proceed that some of the Gaulish divinities, equated with him on certain of the monuments of Gaul and other parts of the Celtic world, appear to lay a just claim to be regarded as forms of the sun-god. But to come to the monuments themselves, an altar found at a place near Annecy in Haute Savoie testifies to the worship of a

[1] *The Kilkenny Journal* for 1874, p. 229, and my *Lectures on Welsh Phil.* p. 293, where I have rendered *Grian-ainech*—less correctly, as I now think—'sun-faced.'

Gaulish Apollo called Virotutes or Virotûs. The inscription is imperfect, and now reads only:[1] Apollini Virotuti T. Rutil(ius) Buricus. We have no further information about this god, and it is unfortunate that the interpretation of his Gaulish name or epithet is a matter of mere conjecture. It seems, however, pretty evident that it is a compound of which the first part *viro* may be the Gaulish equivalent of the Latin *verus*, Welsh *gwir*, Irish *fír*, 'true,' or else of Latin *vir*, Welsh *gŵr*, O. Irish *fer*, 'a man.' The preference, if given to the latter, would suggest that the epithet may have meant man-healing or man-protecting, and thus one might be led to expect in the second element of the name of the god a Gaulish word related in point of origin and meaning to the Latin *tutor*, 'protector or defender;' but the vocabulary of modern Celts fails to render us any aid in this matter: all that can be said is, that there is no evidence that such a word as we want did not exist in Gaulish.

Beyond the boundaries of the Allobroges, the Gaulish Apollo appears to have been known all over the Celtic world, and he bore several names, of which the most important were Maponos, Grannos and Toutiorix. Three inscriptions[2] in honour of Apollo Maponos have been discovered in the north of England, and in one of them, found near Ainstable, in Cumberland, he is called *Deus Maponus*, without any allusion to Apollo. Fortunately the name Maponos offers no difficulty: it is the same word as the old Welsh *mapon*, now *mabon*, 'boy or male child,' which occurs, for example, in a Welsh poem in the Book of Taliessin, a manuscript of the 13th century:

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 25. [2] Hübner, Nos. 218, 332, 1345.

it is there applied to the infant Jesus in a passage describing the coming of the Magi to him at Bethlehem.[1] Thus it seems certain that some of the Celts worshipped an Apollo whom they described as an infant, and this is borne out by a group of inscriptions at the other extremity of the Celtic world of antiquity: I allude to the ancient province of Dacia, and especially Carlsburg and its neighbourhood, in Transylvania, where we find him styled[2] *Deus Bonus Puer Posphorus Apollo Pythius*, *Bonus Puer Posphorus* or *Bonus Deus Puer Posphorus*. Our Maponos is in all probability the *Bonus Puer* attested by these inscriptions.

We come now to the name Grannos: it occurs in the districts formerly inhabited by Belgic tribes and in the basin of the Rhine. *Grannos* is probably to be referred to the same origin as the Sanskrit verb *ghar*, 'to glow, burn, shine;' ghṛṇa, ghṛṇi, 'heat, glow, sunshine,' Lithuanian *z'erēti*, 'to glow,' English *gleam:* in point of form, *Grannos* would exactly correspond to the Sanskrit word ghṛṇa-s already mentioned, but the former had probably the force of an adjective, conveying much the same meaning as the *posphorus*, 'light-bringing,' in the Dacian inscriptions. Nor indeed does the correspondence between them end here; for we find that an inscription from the neighbourhood of Horburg, in the Haut-Rhin, calls the god *Apollo Grannus Mogounus*.[3] But the interpretation of the word *Mogounus* compels me to trouble you with some more glottological details, which I will

[1] See Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii. 174.

[2] *The Berlin Corpus*, iii. Nos. 1130, 1132, 1133, 1136, 1137, 1138.

[3] Brambach, No. 1915.

put as briefly as possible: in the first place, we clearly have in *Mogounus*, from which is derived by one or two further steps the well-known place-name *Moguntiacum*, from the shorter form of which, *Moguntia* or *Mogontia*, are derived its modern representatives, French Mayence and German Mainz. The original Gaulish comes doubtless from the same source as the Irish *for-mach*, 'increase,' *tór-mag* or *tór-mach*, 'increase, the act of adding to;' Latin *magnus*, 'great;' German *mögen*, *macht;* English *may*, *might* and *main*. But words of this origin vary widely in point of meaning in the different Aryan languages, and one group of them supplies expression for the idea of a youth who is growing or has just grown to the might and vigour of manhood: sometimes a transition from this meaning takes place to that of a boy or young man as a servant or slave, much as in the case of παιδίον becoming the French and English *page*, or the Welsh *gwas*, 'young man,' used mostly now in the sense of servant. The words in point from the stem *mag* are such as the Gothic *magu*, 'boy,' *mavi* (for *magvi*), 'girl;' the old Irish *mug* (genitive *moga*), 'servant or slave;' Welsh *meu-dwy*, 'a hermit,' literally *servus Dei;* Cornish *maw*, 'a lad or servant;' Breton *maouez*, 'a woman.' Kindred words are also copious in the Aryan languages of the East, but their divergence of meaning is very remarkable: thus Sanskrit, dwelling on another kind of increase of strength or importance, presents us with a vocable *magha*, meaning 'a gift or reward,' and *maghavan*, which means 'freely giving, a giver,' said especially of one who rewards priests and minstrels with offerings: the same two words existed also in Zend, but in that language they retained a more ancient

meaning, *maga* being used in the sense of size or magnitude, and *magavan* in that of a young man who is grown up but not married, a bachelor. This brings me back to *Mogounus*, since *magavan* corresponds with it letter for letter excepting only the declension; and this difference is probably due to *Mogounus* being only known to us as used in a Latin inscription.

Whatever may be thought of this conjecture, the analogy of the words we have just examined brings us round again to much the same idea which we found underlying the word Maponos, namely, that of a boy or youth; and I have very little doubt in my mind that *Apollo Grannus Mogounus* expressed very closely the same meaning which we found rendered by the words *Puer Posphorus Apollo* in the Dacian inscriptions which have already been referred to. As the dispenser of light and warmth, Apollo made himself the repeller of disease, and it is quite in keeping with this that the god is found to have been not infrequently associated with spots celebrated for their mineral or warm springs, such as Aix-la-Chapelle or Aachen, the Roman name of which was Aquæ Granni. Several other places derive their name from him, such as Graux, in the Vosges, where an inscription[1] in his honour was discovered; and as the stream called Eaux Graunnes,[2] which receives the hot waters of Plombières in the Vosges; and as Granheim, near Mengen, in Würtemberg, a spot in or near which another tablet[3] to Grannos was found. Lastly, Dion Cassius tells us, lxxvii. 15,

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 134; *Mém. de la Soc. royale des Antiquaires de France* (1823), v. p. xxii.

[2] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 144.

[3] *The Berlin Corpus*, iii. No. 5861.

how Grannus was invoked as the equal of Aesculapius and Serapis by Caracalla.

Apollo Grannos as a god of medicinal springs cannot be severed from the Apollo Borvo of an inscription[1] at Bourbonne-les-Bains, in the Haute-Marne, which reads *Deo Apollini Borvoni et Damonae*, &c. The monuments show the name to have had several forms: *Borvo* and *Bormo* are said to be attested in central France, *Bormanus* in Provence, and *Bormanicus* in Spain;[2] while the god's associate is in some instances called *Bormana*. Thus, to return to the land of the Allobroges, one inscription at Aix-les-Bains, in Savoie, has been read: Cn. Eppius(?) Cuticus Bor. u(t) v(overat) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito); and another: M. Licin(ius) Ruso Borm. u(t) v(overat) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). In both of these it would be natural to regard *Bor* and *Borm* as standing for Bormano, unless the preference were to be given in one or both to the female divinity, in which case the full form would be Bormanae. For it is certain at any rate that in another part of the Allobrogic land this goddess had a temple, namely, at Saint-Vulbaz, formerly called Saint-Bourbaz, near Belley, in the Ain, where an altar reads: Bormanae Aug(ustae) sacr(um) Capri(i) Atratinus . . . . . (et) Sabinian(us) d(e) s(uo) d(ant).[3] The two, Bormanus and Bormana, were worshipped at Aix-en-Diois, in the department of the Drôme; while at Bourbon-Lancy (Saône-et-Loire) the pair bore the names *Bormo* and *Damona*, as well as *Borvo* and *Damona*, as at Bourbonne-les-Bains.[4]

[1] Greppo's *Eaux thermales ou minérales de la Gaule* (Paris, 1846), p. 29.

[2] Vallentin, *Rev. Celt.* iv. 446.

[3] Ibid. iv. 6, 9.

[4] Greppo, p. 56.

Among other places, the god has left his name to Bourbon-l'Archambault, in the department of the Allier, whence the Bourbons derive theirs. The exact relation between the kindred forms *Borvo* and *Bormo*, together with *Bormanus* and *Bormana*, is not very clear; but it is *Borvo*, and not *Bormo*, that is re-echoed by the French *Bourbon*, *Bourbonne;* and it is *Borvo* that has its reflex in the vocabulary of the Celts of modern times: I allude to the Welsh *berw*, 'a boiling,' *berwi*, 'to boil;' Irish *berbaim*, 'I boil, cook, smelt,' which are of the same origin as the Latin *fervĕre* and *fervēre*, 'to boil or to be boiling hot.' It does not appear why the Gaulish word was *Borvo* rather than *Bervo*, but there can be no serious doubt as to the close kinship of the words mentioned, or the fact that the god received his name in allusion to the hot springs over the bubbling volume of which he was supposed to preside. Whether he was originally identical with the Gaulish Apollo it is impossible to say, but even in case he was, he comes before us in most of the inscriptions considerably disengaged from the Gaulish Apollo, as may be gathered from his having a distinct associate Bormana or Damona. But, on the other hand, a passage in one of the Panegyrics of Eumenius is supposed to refer to the hot springs of Bourbon-Lancy: the author would seem to treat Apollo as the chief divinity of the place, and he describes him as punishing perjury by means of the boiling streams,[1] though the monuments found referring there to Borvo or Bormo make no allusion to Apollo's own name.

[1] *Eumenii Panegyricus Constantino Dictus*, xxi, xxij (in Migne's *Patrologia*, viij; see col. 637-8); Greppo, pp. 51, 52; *Rev. Celt.* iv. 144.

Having said so much of the Gaulish Apollo, it would hardly be fair to pass in silence over the female divinity associated with him. Her name was Sirona, sometimes lisped into Ðirona, and a monument now in the museum at Munich gives a bas-relief representation of her and Apollo Grannos.[1] The latter holds a very large lyre in his left hand, and what may have been a plectrum in the other, while on another face of the stone stands Sirona in a long dress: she has the general appearance of one of the class of Gaulish divinities called Mothers or Matrons: in her left hand she has a bunch of fruit, and in her right some ears of corn, which she is holding up. What relation she bore to the god we are nowhere told; but there is nothing to suggest that she was his wife, even if his names Maponus and Mogounus did not tend to render such a supposition inadmissible, which I think they do. She was probably regarded as his mother, and she was certainly capable of being treated independently; for there are monuments in honour of her alone. One of these last is surmounted with her bust in bas-relief, and the face seems to bear the appearance of extreme old age. The sculptor can hardly have considered her the wife of Apollo Maponus, nor need he have represented her so aged even as his mother. He had probably a reason for doing so, and this brings me back to her name. It will be seen that, if we discard the ending common to it with such Gaulish names as Epona, Divona, Matrona and the like, we have remaining only the syllable *sir*, which one cannot help interpreting in the light of the Irish *sír*, Welsh *hir*, both of which mean *long;* it would thus seem

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 137—139.

that the name Sirona referred to the goddess as one who was held to be aged and long-lived. This may be corroborated by a related Irish name, Siorna Saoghlach,[1] mentioned in the mythic history of Ireland: the epithet *Saoghlach* means long-lived, but it was probably added on as an after-thought, for *Siorna* may have already conveyed the same meaning; at any rate, *Siorna* may be regarded, according to the ordinary rules of Irish phonology, as representing an early Celtic form, Sîronjos. The person called Siorna is said to have been engaged in the government of Ireland for a century and a half; and his entire lifetime may be reckoned as considerably longer. I venture accordingly to regard Siorna's name as glossed by Saoghlach or long-lived, and to treat the goddess Sirona's name in a similar manner. Thus we seem to have in the Celtic Apollo and Sirona the ever-young sun-god and an old goddess: the pair invite comparison with the young Apollo of the Greeks and his mother Leto; but Greek mythology sheds no decided light on the agedness of the mother as represented by Gaulish remains.

The same remark applies to what I take to be the equivalents in Welsh mythology, of which a word must now be said; for it has already been mentioned that Maponos is in Welsh *mabon;* but it should be added that it also occurs as a proper name in the Welsh story of Kulhwch and Olwen; to be more correct, one should say that the proper name was *Mabon mab Modron* or 'Mabon son of

[1] See *The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland* [compiled, in the 17th century, by the Four Masters, and edited by O'Donovan (second edition, Dublin, 1856), a work which will briefly be referred to as the 'Four Masters' in the rest of this volume], A.M. 4003, 4019, 4020, 4169, 4178.

Modron.' The latter was the mother's name, and is a word of the same origin as the Latin *matrōna*, though it would have sounded in early Celtic *matrŏna*, which, as the name of the river in France now called, by a shortened form of the word, the *Marne*, was its pronunciation. One cannot help suspecting that in Mabon and Modron—the father's name is never mentioned—we have the exact equivalents of Grannos and Sirona, and one's curiosity is at once roused to inquire what Welsh literature has to say about the former. We are, however, doomed in part to disappointment: the few allusions to Modron are so obscure that they have not yet succeeded in teaching us anything definite as to her attributes; but the story of Kulhwch tells us the following things about her son. He was a great hunter, who had a wonderful hound, and rode on a steed swift as a wave of the sea: when he was three nights old he was stolen from between his mother and the wall, no one knew whither: numberless ages later, it was ascertained by Arthur that he was in a stone prison at Gloucester, uttering heartrending groans and undergoing treatment with which Apollo's bondage in the house of Admetus could not compare in severity: Arthur and his men succeeded in releasing him to engage in the mythic hunt of Twrch Trwyth that could not take place without him:[1] and lastly, he distinguished himself by riding into the waters of the Bristol Channel after Twrch Trwyth and despoiling him of one of his trinkets.[2]

[1] *The Text of the Mabinogion, &c., from the Red Book of Hergest*, edited by Rhys & Evans (Oxford, 1887), pp. 124, 131-2. [This text will hereafter be referred to as *R. B. Mab.*] Guest's *Mabinogion*, ij. 287-8, 300-1.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* p. 141; Guest, ij. 315.

The third epithet of the god which has been mentioned was that of Toutiorix, which occurs in an inscription at Wiesbaden containing the datives *Apollini Toutiorigi.*[1] That neighbourhood, you will notice, is also celebrated for its waters, and the interest attaching to the word Toutiorix is out of all proportion to its single occurrence. It can only mean king of the people, which as applied to the god reminds one of the rôle of Apollo in the history of the Hellenic race, that gave him the titles of leader and founder—ἀρχηγέτης, κτίστης, οἰκιστής. The name Toutiorix, for which one would have expected Toutorix, has its modern representative in the Welsh *Tudri*, old Welsh *Tutri:* it is also well known among Teutonic nations from the time of Strabo, who gives it as Δευδόριξ, while Byzantine authors preferred Θευδέριχος or Θεοδέριχος; and Latin writers supply us with *Theodoricus*, whence the form usual in English books, *Theodoric*, which comes pretty near the Anglo-Saxon spelling *Theódric.* The corresponding High German is *Dietrich*, so well known as that of Dietrich of Bern, where Bern is the German for Verona. Now the great historical Teuton of this name was a remarkable king of the Ostrogoths, and conqueror of Italy in the 5th century: Verona was one of his headquarters. But it is found that with his history so much unhistorical matter has been incorporated, that modern authors usually distinguish between the historical man as Theodoric the Great, and a mythical personage to whom the name Dietrich von Bern is left. Many attempts have been made to disentangle the legends from the his-

[1] Brambach, No. 1529.

torical portions of the story of the Teutonic conqueror;[1] but it has never been satisfactorily shown why such and such mythic stories should have attached themselves to this particular man. The inscription alluded to yields the key: the historical Teuton bore one of the names of the Gaulish Apollo, and the eventual confusion of myth and history was thereby made easy. This is borne out by the general similarity between the mythic statements made about Dietrich and what is known in Celtic literature about Celtic sun-gods. Among other things may be mentioned his riding, like Mabon, into the sea after an enemy, who was only enabled to escape by the intervention of a mermaid, who was his ancestress. As one of Dietrich's solar peculiarities may probably be mentioned his breathing fire whenever he was made angry; and, like more than one of the Celtic sun-heroes, he is made to fight with giants and all manner of wild beasts. One of the localities associated with his story is the well-known Drachenfels above Bonn; nor is it beside the mark to mention that Verona was the name not only of a city in Italy, but also one of the ancient names of Bonn,[2] a town which is, like Wiesbaden, situated in the neighbourhood of the Rhine. It has puzzled historians that Theodoric, the grandest figure in the history of the migration of the Teutonic peoples, should appear

[1] One of the most recent writers on this subject is Wilhelm Müller, in his *Mythologie der deutschen Heldensage* (Heilbronn, 1886), pp. 148—189; and a succinct account of the original literature embodying the Dietrich legend will be found in Karl Meyer's *Dietrichssage* (Basle, 1868), pp. 4—9.

[2] W. Müller, p. 186; *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, i. 12—21, xiij. 1.

in the Nibelungen Lied, not as a great king and conqueror on his own account, but merely as a faithful squire of the terrible Attila, whose empire had in fact crumbled into dust before the birth of Theodoric.[1] But from the mythological point of view, the subordinate position ascribed to Theodoric is quite correct, and it serves to show how profoundly the man's history has been influenced by the legend of the Celtic god.

Mars.

The next god to be mentioned in the order adopted by Caesar is Mars; and an inscription at Chougny, near Geneva, equates with him a Gaulish god called Caturix. It reads thus: Marti Catur(igi) sacr(um), pro salut(e) et incolumitate D. Val(erii) Am(a)ti, Sex. Cr(is)pin(ius) Nigrinus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).[2] This form of the god's name is rendered certain by that of an inscription at Stuttgardt in Würtemberg, in which *Marti Caturigi*[3] is written in full, and by a third instance, namely, one found in the neighbourhood of Yverdon in Switzerland.[4] The word Caturix is a compound, meaning the king of war or lord of battle, from *catu*, which is in Welsh *cad*, and in Irish *cath*, 'a battle,' and *rīx*, 'a king,' in Welsh *rhi* and in Irish *rí*, genitive *ríg*: the cognates of both words are so familiar that I need not enumerate them. The plural *Caturiges* was the well-known name

[1] See Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders* (Oxford, 1885), iij. 341.

[2] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 10; Mommsen, *Insc. Helvet.* No. 70; Allmer, iij. 255.

[3] Brambach, No. 1588.

[4] De Bonstetten, *Recueil d'Antiquités suisses* (Berne, 1855), pp. 35, 37.

of a Gaulish people; and, transferred to their town, it is now continued in the abbreviated form of *Chorges*. The Teutonic name of the same etymology was common as that of a man, and in fact is still so: witness the Anglo-Saxon Heaðoric, the modern German Hedrich, and other variations of the same compound.

Another Allobrogic inscription gives the Gaulish Mars another name: an altar found at Culoz, near Belley, in the department of Ain reads: N(umini) Aug(usto), Deo Marti Segomoni Dunati, Cassia Saturnina ex vot(o), v(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito).[1] Segomo is known to us by other inscriptions at Arinthod[2] in the Jura, at Contes[3] near Nice, at Lyons,[4] and at Nuits in the Côte d'Or. The god's name is found also in Ireland; for with the word *netta* (in later Irish *nia*,[5] genitive *niath* or *niadh*, 'a champion or warrior'), it forms the personal name *Netta-Segamonas*, which may be rendered *Propugnatoris Segomonis*, '(of) Segomo's Champion.' It was a kind of name very congenial to ancient Irish ideas, and it occurs in three[6] distinct Ogam inscriptions in the

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 11; *Rev. Archéologique* (1852), ix. 315.

[2] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 11; Monnier, *Annuaire du Jura* for 1852, plate 1, which I have not been able to consult.

[3] *Mém. de la Soc. des Ant. de France* (1850), xx. 58-9.

[4] Gruter, lviii. 5.

[5] Rhys, *Lectures*, p. 395; Stokes, *Celtic Declension*, which appeared first in Vol. xi. of Bezzenberger's *Beitræge* (Göttingen, 1886), p. 87.

[6] Nevertheless, the name is not given by Brash in his book on *The Ogam inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil*; but by correctly reading Brash's copies I had detected it in the case of the Stradbally inscription (Brash, p. 254, pl. xxxv), and of one of those at Ardmore (Brash, p. 247). In 1883 I had the pleasure of seeing, by inspection of the stones, that my readings were correct, and also of finding *Netas(egam)-onas* in an inscription at Seskinan (Brash, p. 262).

county of Waterford; it is also to be found in lists of the early kings of Erinn.[1] The exact signification of the god's name Segomo is not easy to fix: it may have meant the strong one, the holder or upholder, the defender or protector, or else the victorious one that overpowers and conquers: all one can feel certain about is, that the word is derived from the root *segh* or *sagh*, 'to hold, restrain, withstand, overpower,' from which such words come as the Greek ἔχω, 'I hold or have,' ἔσχον, ὔσχω, ἐχυρός, and the like, also the Gothic *sigis* and the German *sieg*, 'victory.' It is clear, however, that such a name would suit the god, whether viewed more especially as the chief of the gods or as a mighty and victorious warrior.

Let us now return to Segomo's epithet *Dunates*. Here again uncertainty must prevail, whether the word be derived or not from the name of a place; but no archæologist has, so far as I know, been able to identify any place-name in point: so we are at liberty to interpret the epithet in another way and to refer it to the same origin as the *dunum*, Gaulish *dūnon*, of such names as *Augustodunum* or *Autun* and *Lugdunum* or *Lyons*. This *dūn-* is of the same etymology as the familiar English word *town* and the German *zaun*, 'a hedge or field-fence;' but its long vowel was probably pronounced as it is in modern French; for the Welsh equivalent is *dîn*, 'a fortress or stronghold,' whence *dinas*, 'a fortress, town or city.' The Irish is *dún*, of the same meaning, but of a different declension; but

[1] *Nia Segamain* in the *Book of Fenagh*, edited by Prof. Hennessy (Dublin, 1875), p. 29, and simply *Nia* at p. 56; the *Four Masters*, A.M. 4881, 4887, 4990, write *Nia Sedhamain* (dative) and *Niadh Sedhamain* (genitive). The older and more correct forms would be, genitive *Segamon* or *Seguman*, dative *Segamain*, unless there was an optional *O*-stem.

Irish has further a derived verb *dúnaim*, 'I shut or barricade,' and *dunad*, 'a camp, an army.' Hence it would seem that *Segomo Dunates* meant either Segomo the surrounder and defender, or else Segomo as the god who presided over the stronghold, the camp and the army, that is to say, a Gaulish *Mars Castrensis*. Lastly, two inscriptions at Bouhy,[1] in the department of the Nièvre, are dedicated to Mars Bolvinnus, and one of them to *Marti Bolvinno et Duna(ti)*. This is a considerable distance from the place of finding the Allobrogic inscription; so that if the name is to be regarded as a topical epithet of the god, it must refer to some celebrated temple of his, like that of Mercury on the Puy de Dôme; but as no such temple has been heard of, the probability is strengthened that *Dunates* is to be interpreted in one of the ways suggested.

Mention has already been made of Segomo Cuntinus[2] connected with Conte; there was also a Mars Vintius, who was worshipped at Vence, near Nice, and who gave the former place its name: this is proved by an inscription found on the spot, mentioning *Marti Vintio*. *Vintius*, in Gaulish *Vintjos*, must have meant 'relating to the *wind*,' as it is of the same origin as the English word, the Welsh *gwynt*, Latin *ventus*; but, more exactly, *Vintjos* is an adjective from *ventos*, which was probably the Gaulish word for wind, and from *Ventjos* was produced by a modulation of the vowel the attested form. It is remarkable that the Welsh *gwynt*, wind, is the exact

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 12; *Congrès Arch. de France*, 1873, p. 245. Can *Bouhy* and *Bolvinnus* be of the same origin?

[2] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 12; *Mém. de la Soc. des Ant. de France* (1850), xx. 59.

equivalent, not of the simpler noun meaning wind, but of the adjective denoting the wind-god. Several reasons might be adduced why the wind should be associated with the war-god; among others, it might be suggested that all violent gales that commit general havoc and destruction might not unnaturally be referred to the agency of the god of war. But the wind is not always destructive, not always adverse; it is sometimes the fair breeze for which the mariner whistles. So it happens that Vintios, associated with fair wind, is found identified with Pollux, a god propitious to sailors. This is attested by an Allobrogic inscription[1] on an altar at Seyssel, in Haute-Savoie, reading: Deo Vintio Polluci, Cn. Terentius, Billonis fil(ius) Terentianus, ex voto. Another, in which *Vintius* stands alone, was found in the Vigne des Idoles, near the castle of Hauteville[2] in the same department, and reads: Aug(usto) Vin(tio) sacr(um), T. Valerius (. . . . .) Crispinus, sacer Vinti præf(ectus) Pag(i) Dia(. . . . .) ædem d(at). The navigation of the Rhone at the present day begins at Seyssel, and in Roman times the mariners of that river formed a powerful and influential body which had its head-quarters at Lyons: one old inscription describes it as a *splendidissimum corpus*.[3] It is probable that the god Vintios had many temples and altars in that neighbourhood, and the site of one of them is marked out by the name Vence or Vens, borne by a hill near Seyssel, at whose foot stands now a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, who is in great esteem among the boatmen of the Rhone: their ancestors doubtless

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 23; Allmer, iii. 243.

[2] *Rev. Celt.* ib.; Allmer, ii. 345.

[3] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 24.

worshipped and supplicated Vintios on the same spot. The curious instance we have here of a Gaulish god being, so to say, split up into two Latin ones, throws some light on the treatment which the Gaulish deities experienced under the influence of Rome. For we are under no necessity to suppose with M. Vallentin[1] that the Gaulish mind regarded the Vintios at Nice as a separate and distinct deity from the Seyssel one. The Gaulish wind-god was more probably one, whether the wind he granted at a particular moment happened to be fair or foul. There was a mythological reason for associating the wind with the Celtic war-god, as will be seen later: hence the difficulty in rendering his personality in the terms of Latin theology. So long as it was a question of the wind as a violent or malignant agency, the equation of Vintios with Mars would doubtless fit; but when the wind was favourable to the mariner, then Mars was probably thought out of place, which led to the preference for Pollux.

The names and epithets borne by the Celtic war-god beyond the limits of the Allobrogic land are too numerous to be discussed one by one here, and I will only call your attention to a few of them. Several inscriptions in honour of *Mars Cocidius*[2] have been found in this country; but the meaning of the word Cocidius is unknown, as well as that of a related form Cocosus,[3] which also occurs. A more transparent epithet is *Belatucadrus*, given the god on monuments also found here.[4] This is a Celtic compound

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 25. [2] Hübner, Nos. 286, 643, 886, 914, 977.

[3] Gaidoz, *Esquisse*, 10.

[4] Hübner, Nos. 294, 333, 369, 745, 873, 934, 935. *Belatucadrus* ends with a word to be identified with the Welsh *cadr*, 'powerful,

meaning handsome in the slaughter or mighty to kill. The epithet was doubtless meant as a flattering one, acceptable to the god in his character of warrior and slaughterer of his worshippers' enemies.

The next to be mentioned is *Camulos*, which I hesitate to call an epithet, as it is not a compound and possibly not an adjective, but a noun, and one of the god's

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strong, robust;' Breton *caer*, formerly *cazr*, 'beautiful, fine, magnificent:' so the whole word means fine or powerful at the kind of action indicated by the vocable *belatu*, which has the appearance of being a verbal noun. We have the stem *bel* (mutated into *fel* and pronounced *vel*) in the Welsh word for war, namely, *rhyfel;* it is also added to *oer*, 'cold,' to make *oerfel*, 'cold weather,' or cold as productive of inconvenience and harm. Again, we have it in *ufel*, 'fire or conflagration,' Irish *óibell*, *óibel*, which meant a spark, fire or heat, and was applied, for instance, to the summer heat that drives cattle to stand in pools; the other element in these words is the Celtic reflex of the first syllable of the Greek ἄνω or of the Latin *uro*, 'I burn.' Irish supplies us with a strong verb from the stem *bel*, as in *bebla* (for *be-bela*), 'mortuus est,' *atbail*, 'interit,' *atbél*, 'peribo.' A corresponding Welsh compound has yielded a derivative *adfeilio*, 'to decay or fall into ruins;' but the Irish verb had as its base *bel*, meaning 'to die,' while *belatu* implies a derivative verb from a theme *bela*, associated probably with a modified meaning, namely, the causative one of killing or slaying; and an instance of it occurs in Welsh in a poem in the Book of Taliessin, where reference is made to the cattle of the Egyptians killed by the fifth plague or the grievous murrain spoken of in the Book of Exodus, ix. 1—7. See Skene, ii. 171, where the form used is *belsit*, which would seem to mean 'had been killed.' Having found a strong verb *bel*, we ought to be able to identify it in some of the kindred languages: now the Aryan combination *gv* becomes *b* in Celtic, while in the Teutonic languages it would be hardened into *cw* or *qu;* so we look in them for a verb beginning with *qwel* or *cwel* to correspond to our Celtic *bel*, and we readily find it, without going out of this country, in the Anglo-Saxon verb *cwelan*, 'to die or perish,' from which was formed a causative *cwellan* or *cwelian*, 'to slay or cause to perish,' represented by the modern English verb to *kill*.

proper names, like Segomo. An inscription recording the building of a temple for Mars Camulus has been met with in the neighbourhood of Düsseldorf,[1] and others are known elsewhere[2] on the Continent, while one is preserved in a museum at Glasgow.[3] It is right to say that most of the Roman inscriptions found in this island may be the outcome of the piety of continental Celts, so that the gods in whose honour they were set up were not necessarily worshipped by the natives of Britain; but even here we have evidence of the popularity of Camulos in the name of the capital of the Trinovantes, which was Camulodunon, or the stronghold of Camulos.[4] The meaning of the god's name is regarded as unknown, but a very safe conjecture may be made on that point; for though there is a scarcity of Celtic words to explain it, there can be little doubt that it is to be equated with the Old Saxon *himil* and the German word *himmel*, heaven or sky, which etymologists refer to a stem, *hem*, Aryan *kam*, inferred to mean 'curving, vaulting or covering over.' Among other words from this origin have been reckoned the Greek καμάρα,[5]

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[1] Brambach, 164.

[2] At Rome: see the *Berlin Corpus*, vi. No. 46; and a *Camulo Viromanduo* is reported from Auvergne in the *Rev. des Soc. sav.* (1875), i. 251.

[3] Hübner, 1103.

[4] What is the meaning of the word in the post-Roman personal names *Camelorigi* from Pembrokeshire, and *Camuloris*, *Camulorigho*, from Anglesey? For some notes on them, see my *Lectures*, pp. 364, 400. The name *Camulogenus*, which Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* vii. 57, 59, 62) gives the defender of Paris against the legions of Rome, would mean the descendant of Camulos, and similarly *Camulognata*.

[5] On the difficulties of this etymology, see Kluge's *Etym. Wörterbuch des deutschen Sprache*, s.v. *Himmel*.

'anything covered or arched over,' such as a vaulted chamber, a covered barge, or a tester bed; Lat. *camera*, 'a vault, an arch, a chamber;' *camurus*, 'crooked, curved;' Zend *kamara*, 'a vault, a girdle;' *kamaredha*, 'the skull or the head,' with which is connected the Greek μέλαθρον, 'the ceiling of a room or the main beam that bears it, the roof, a house:' this supposes the Greek noun to stand for κμέλαθρον, and to be identical with an attested κμέλεθρον, explained to mean τάς δοκούς, 'the beams or timber of a house.' As a personal name, Camulos has its etymological equivalent in later Celtic in that of Cumall, king-warrior of Ireland and father of the great Finn, whose doings occupy so much room in Goidelic story. The name is to be compared in the first instance with that of Οὐρανός or Uranus and the Sanskrit Varuṇas; but as that of a Celtic Mars one should undoubtedly regard it as a synonym rather of the Greek Zeus or Italian Jove, both of which names were expressive also of the idea of the sky or the heavens. In the light of this explanation it becomes intelligible how the Celtic Mars, associated with the sky, should have to do with the wind, as proved by his Gaulish title of *Vintios;* and in answer to the question what a god thus associated with the sky should have to do with war, let it for the present suffice to say that throughout the literatures of Greece and Rome, Zeus or Jove was the supreme arbiter of the fortunes of war. It may be hazardous perhaps to construe in the same sense the words from the Rig-Veda about Dyu or Dyaushpitar as a god of mighty works: I refer to a hymn to his son Indra, who mostly superseded him, and the passage is thus rendered by Prof. Max Müller: 'Dyu, thy parent, was reputed strong, the maker of Indra

was mighty in his works; he (who) begat the heavenly Indra, armed with the thunderbolt, who is immoveable, as the earth, from his seat.'[1] But there can be no such doubt with regard to the Teutonic Tiu, whose name (Anglo-Saxon *Tiu*, gen. *Tiues;* old H. German *Ziu*, gen. *Ziwes;* old Norse *Týr*, gen. *Týs*) is etymologically identical with *Zeus* and *Dyu*, while all the little that is known of him makes him the war-god of the Teutons, before he was surpassed and superseded by Woden: witness the name of the day which Frenchmen and Welshmen call the day of Mars—English *Tuesday*, Ger. *Dienstag*, formerly *Ziestag*, Old Norse *Týsdagr* and *Týrsdagr*. The only difference, then, between Sky as the war-god of the early Teutons and that of the Gauls, was that the latter chose to render Zeus, Jove and Dyu, by another word meaning equally the sky or the heavens, and that word was Camulos. The Gauls stood between the Romans and the Teutons: linguistic affinities connect the Celtic languages closely with the Aryan dialects of ancient Italy; but since I began to write these lectures, I have been repeatedly impressed by the striking similarity between the ancient theologies of Celts and Teutons, and we have here an instance in point. There is, however, further evidence to prove beyond doubt the identity of the Teutonic Tiu with the Celtic war-god under another name than Camulos, but the discussion of it must be postponed. Let it suffice for the present that we have discovered the Jupiter of the Celts, and found that Gaulish theology ascribed to him the discharge of func-

[1] Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Languages*[8], ij. 473; *Rig-Veda*, iv. 17, 4.

tions which the Romans would have regarded as more properly belonging to Mars.

Such a god as I have alluded to must have once been the greatest of all the Celtic gods, the chief of the Celtic pantheon, a conjecture which is favoured by the natural interpretation of some of the attested epithets of the Celtic Mars. Take, for instance, the dative *Rigisamo*,[1] which occurs in an inscription found in this country, in the county of Somerset. The word seems to be a superlative, meaning most royal or kingly. A still more remarkable epithet was *Albiorix*, applied to him in an inscription[2] in a museum at Avignon. The compound should mean king or ruler of Albio, a word which may be identified with the Welsh word 'elfyd,' used by Welsh poets in the sense of the world or the universe: so we may suppose that *Albiorix* signified king of the world. Lastly, the war-god's associate is called Nemetona on the monuments, as, for instance, on one at Bath.[3] She has been identified by M. Gaidoz[4] with Nemon, the wife, according to Irish tradition, of Nét, the war-god of the ancient Irish. Another tradition, however, gives to the latter as his wife the

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[1] Hübner, 61.

[2] Orelli-Henzen, Vol. iij. No. 5867; J. de Wal, *Mythologiae Septentrionalis Monumenta epigraphica Latina*, No. ccxcij.; *L'Institut* for 1841, p. 160.

[3] Hübner, 36.

[4] *Esquisse*, p. 10; but this is not certain, and the name seems to be the same that was meant by *Niámán* in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 81 *b*, printed in O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., iij. 418-9. The former, I may say in passing, is a MS. of the 12th century, and my reference is to the lithographed facsimile published with an introduction by Prof. Atkinson, Dublin, 1880.

war-goddess called the Mórrígu, which is important, as her name means the great queen. Why she should have been so called has always appeared a puzzle, but it becomes at once intelligible if we suppose her husband as war-god to have been once the supreme or great god of the Goidels: the rôle assigned her by Irish mythology is, *caeteris paribus*, not very unlike that of Here or Juno; but it is her name that chiefly concerns us at this point. It is further to be noticed that with the Mórrígu Irish literature is wont to associate another war-fury called the Bodb (or Badb) Catha; nor is it clear that the two names may not have originally referred to one and the same mythological being; but, be that as it may, one finds a Gaulish goddess who bore inferentially much the same name as the Irish Bodb Catha, as proved by an Allobrogic altar discovered in the commune of Mieussy in Haute-Savoie. In its present state it reads:[1] Athubodvae Aug(ustae), Servilia Terentia (votum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). But as the stone is imperfect on the right side, it is conjectured that the full name was *Cathubodvae*, which has been supposed to stand for *Catubodvae*. Although our knowledge of Gaulish does not suffice to enable us to show that Athubodva was an impossible form, still *Cathubodva* appears to coincide in a manner which can hardly be the result of accident with the Irish *Bodb Catha*, in which we have the compound name analysed. This last meant the *Bodb* of war and carnage, to whom Irish literature makes frequent reference. The signification of the word *bodva* or *bodb* may readily be guessed from the fact that it corresponds letter

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 19.

for letter to the Anglo-Saxon *beadu* and the Norse 'böđ,' 'war or battle.' This vocable, both in its Celtic and its Teutonic forms, enters freely into the composition of proper names of men; but it will here suffice to mention the *Bodvogenus* of another inscription. It would mean a man descended from the goddess Bodva; and much the same must have been the import of the Gaulish *Bodvognatus*,[2] a name to be detected reduced in Welsh to *Bodnod*. The equation, if well grounded, of the name of the Gaulish goddess with that of the Irish war-fury, would imply that her cult was widely spread, and that she was a considerable figure in the Celtic pantheon, whether she is to be identified or not with the Mórrígu or great queen.

Lastly, the poet Lucan makes us acquainted with another important designation of the war-god, in his well known lines in the *Pharsalia*, i. 444, &c.:

> 'Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
> Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus;
> Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.'

The name of the first of Lucan's triad occurs in an inscription found in Hertfordshire, which gives the dative *Marti Toutati*,[2] and one cannot help regarding *Toutates*

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[1] Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* ii. 23.

[2] Hübner, No. 84. An inscription found at York, and another at old Carlisle, suggest the respective spellings *Totati* (Hübner, *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, iii. 313, No. 181) and *Tutati Cocidio* (ibid. p. 128; Hübner, No. 335): they are difficult to read, but *Totati* is countenanced by the name Totatigens borne by a Gaulish soldier in the *Cohortes Vigiles* at Rome (*Rev. Celt.* iii. 272; *Berlin Corpus*, vi. 2407), while *Tutati* must be left doubtful, though not only *Toutati*, but also *Tōtati* and *Tūtatī* seem to be perfectly legitimate forms. Here it may also be mentioned that *Toutati* derives some confirmation from a monument

as a more usual Gaulish form than the *Teutates* of the best manuscripts of Lucan. The meaning of the name has never been ascertained, but there is no room for doubt as to the group of words to which it belongs: we have had a closely kindred element in the first part of the compound name *Toutiorix*, and the principal words in point in the Celtic languages of the present day are the Irish *tuath*, 'a tribe;' Breton *tud*, used as a plural in the sense of the English word people; and Welsh *tud*, which has had its meaning shifted from that of a people to its country. Outside the Celtic area the word appears in Italy as Oscan *touta*, *touto*, and Sabine *touta*, *tôta*, 'a community: it was also a Lithuanian and a Teutonic word: as the latter it was well known as the term for the German political body called the *Diet*, and it yields the adjective *Deutsch* or *Dutch*, meaning the vernacular language of the Germans as distinguished from the Latin formerly preferred by scholars and pedants: the Anglo-Saxon form was *theod*, 'a people,' and a foreigner or alien was *eltheod*, just as it is 'alltud' in Welsh: the Gothic was *thiuda*, Old Norse 'thjóð,' 'a people.' In all these languages the word was feminine, and we should therefore probably be right in assuming that the Gaulish word for a people or community was *touta:* a derived form *toutjus* is attested by one of the few inscriptions extant in the Gaulish tongue. It was found at Vaison, and is pre-

at the other extreme of the Celtic world, namely, one found at Seckau in Styria: see the *Berlin Corpus*, iii. 5320; but M. Mowat, in the *Bull. Epigraphique de la Gaule*, i. (1881), 123, reads, not *Toutati*, but *Tioutati*, which has a suspicious look about it. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville is inclined to contest M. Mowat's reading: see his *Cycle Mythologique irlandais et la Mythologie celtique*, p. 378.

served in the museum at Avignon. It is to the following effect: Σεγομαρος Ουιλλονεος τοουτιους Ναμαυσατις ειωρου Βελησαμι σοσιν νεμητον.[1] That is to say, Segomaros (son) of Willo, *toutius* of Nîmes, made Belisama this grove. It is not certain whether *toutius* meant merely a citizen or some public official among the people of Nîmes. Perhaps the latter view is preferable, and I would suggest that Toutates in a somewhat similar way meant king. We have a Teutonic parallel of the same etymological[2] origin in the Gothic *thiudans*, βασιλεύς, Norse 'thjóðann,' 'a king,' and A.-Saxon *theoden*, which also meant a king or lord: both the Norse and the A.-Saxon words are found only in poetry, which is an indication that they are very ancient formations, going back probably far behind the time of Ulfilas, as may be shown by approaching the question from another direction: the word *touta* and its congeners entered into many proper names, and when the Romans had to write these names they represented the Teutonic dental as they did the Gaulish one, as a simple *t:* witness Caesar's *Teutones*, Ammianus Marcellinus' *Teutomeres*, Eutropius' *Teutobodus*, and Florus' *Teutobochus*. Now in Teutones or Teutoni we have the plural as given by Roman authors of the word 'thiudans,' 'thjóðann' and 'theoden;' and that a people should have given themselves such a name as *Teutones*,[3] meaning kings, will surprise

[1] Stokes in Kuhn's *Beitræge*, i. 451, ii. 107; Becker, ibid. iii. 162.

[2] Also a parallel of a different etymological origin in the Old Norse *fylkir*, a poetic word for *king*, derived from *fólk;* and the derivation of the word *king* itself, Anglo-Saxon *cyning*, is in point, though it involves several difficulties. See Kluge, s. v. *König.*

[3] The singular of this word would be the *Teutonem*, which Holder has preferred, in his recent edition of the *Germania*, to the more usual *Tuisconem* or *Tuistonem.*

no one who has noticed such Celtic names as that of the Remi, which signified princes; those of the Caturiges and Catuvellauni, meaning war-kings or battle-princes; and that of the Bituriges, which actually meant *Weltherrscher* or lords of the world. This explanation of the origin of the modern term *Teutonic* is doubtless open to the objection of implying that a natural inclination to brag was not quite confined to the Celt.[1]

Before leaving Lucan's lines about the Gaulish divinities, it is right to quote the following words used by an ancient scholiast in reference to the passage: 'The Gauls believe Hesus to be Mercury, since he is worshipped by merchants; and Taranis, the ruler of wars and the greatest of the celestial gods, him who was accustomed formerly to be appeased with human lives, but now glad of those of animals, to be Jupiter.'[2] The scholiast was utterly wrong in the view he took of Hesus, and not much less so in identifying Taranis with the Roman Jupiter; but it was probably the result of no similar blunder on his part, that he represents the Gauls assigning to the king of their gods the superintendence of war as his special province. The chief god of the Celts before the rise of the Celtic Mercury was their god of war: how, then, was a Roman to express this in terms of Latin theology?

[1] *Toutates*, which the scanning of Lucan's verse would make into *Toutātes*, was apparently formed in the same way as the Gaulish *Dunates* and *Dumiates* already cited, to which may be added *Buginates*, to be mentioned presently.

[2] The original note will be found in Usener's *Lucani Commenta Bernensia* (Leipsic, 1869), p. 32: 'Hesum Mercurium credunt, si quidem a mercatoribus colitur, et praesidem bellorum et caelestium deorum maximum Taranin Iouem adsuetum olim humanis placari capitibus, nunc uero gaudere pecorum.'

To be both intelligible and approximately correct, he must either say that, according to the Gauls, Mars was the chief of the gods, or else that Jupiter was the god of war. The latter was the way in which the scholiast chose to put it, and he is supported by certain statues purporting to be those of a Gaulish Jupiter, which represent him as clad like a Roman warrior in a cuirass and a *paludamentum:* one such was found at Vaison, while another of colossal dimensions was discovered some ten years ago at Séguret in the department of Vaucluse.[1]

[1] See the first of M. Gaidoz's *Études de Mythologie gauloise* (Paris, 1886), pp. 5-6 and plate; also M. Rochetin's article in the *Mém. de l'Acad. de Vaucluse*, 1883, pp. 184—189, which I have not been able to consult.

LECTURE I.

THE GAULISH PANTHEON.

PART II.

MARS *(continued)*.

ALL the facts bearing on the history of the Gaulish war-god conspire to prove that he was once the supreme divinity of the Celtic race; and though it is found convenient to term him briefly the Celtic Zeus or Jupiter, it would be more correct to speak of him in terms of Roman theology as a Mars-Jupiter. But the fact of his occupying only the third position of honour in Caesar's time, is weighty evidence to the great progress in the arts of peace and their ideas of a settled mode of life which the Continental Celts had made since the time of their conquering those portions of Europe which they inhabited when they became subject to Rome. The old god associated with the sky was eclipsed by the younger gods, the Gaulish Mercury and the Gaulish Apollo, just as even before the Wicking period Týr had been cast into the cold shade by the rude glories of Woden, a younger god of a many-sided character. But there were abundant traces in Caesar's time of the past greatness of Toutates, nay as late as that of Lucan in the first century, unless I am mistaken in regarding the fact of

his giving Toutates the first place in the lines quoted to you as no mere accident. The most important evidence, however, is to be found in Caesar's words, which I take the liberty of bringing under your notice again: 'With regard to Mars,' he says, 'it is usual for the Gauls, as soon as they have resolved to engage in battle, to vow beforehand to him all the spoils they may take in the war; so they sacrifice to him all the animals captured, and they bring all the rest of the booty together to one spot. In many of their cities, heaps of these things may be seen piled up in their sacred places. Nor does it often happen that anybody so far disregards the traditional custom as to dare either to hide any of the booty at home or to carry any away that has been set aside: in case such a crime is committed, the offender is tortured and most severely punished.' The meaning of these words is quite clear: the god's aid and sympathy, nay his active co-operation, were to be engaged by giving him the spoils which his worshippers took from their enemies, and he who failed to give the god his due was held to bring the divine displeasure on the state, which the criminal thereby rendered liable to defeat and ravage: in other words, he became guilty of the most heinous crime possible against the community.

Plenty of parallels may, doubtless, be found among other ancient nations, but I will only call your attention to the familiar case of the Jahveh of the Hebrews as fully described in the Book of Joshua. We read in the 7th chapter that Joshua, in his distress at finding his men defeated in their attack on a small town called Ai, was addressed by the Lord in the following words: 'Israel hath sinned; yea, they have even transgressed my cove-

nant which I commanded them: yea, they have even taken of the devoted thing; and have also stolen, and dissembled also, and they have even put it among their own stuff. Therefore the children of Israel cannot stand before their enemies, they turn their backs before their enemies, because they are become accursed: I will not be with you any more, except ye destroy the devoted thing from among you.' The narrative then proceeds to relate how the Lord assisted in discovering the thief who had defrauded him of the shekels and fine raiment which were his: the transgressor proved to be Achan, a man of the tribe of Judah. The sequel reads as follows, beginning with Achan's confession: 'When I saw among the spoil a goodly Babylonish mantle, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight, then I coveted them, and took them; and, behold, they are hid in the earth in the midst of my tent, and the silver under it. So Joshua sent messengers, and they ran unto the tent; and, behold, it was hid in his tent, and the silver under it. And they took them from the midst of the tent, and brought them unto Joshua, and unto all the children of Israel; and they laid them down before the Lord. And Joshua, and all Israel with him, took Achan the son of Zerah, and the silver, and the mantle, and the wedge of gold, and his sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tent, and all that he had: and they brought them up unto the valley of Achor. And Joshua said, Why hast thou troubled us? the Lord shall trouble thee this day. And all Israel stoned him with stones; and they burned them with fire, and stoned them with stones. And they raised over him a great

heap of stones, unto this day; and the Lord turned from the fierceness of his anger. Wherefore the name of that place was called, The Valley of Achor, unto this day.'

Thus far of Achan's high treason: whether the Gauls would have involved all the members of his family in his terrible death, one cannot say; but it is clear that they would have regarded his transgression in exactly the same light as the Hebrews did; and Caesar's words suggest the inference that even in his time, when the war-god had been surpassed in popular esteem by the more genial divinities of trade and health, the former still remained the god of the state in a sense in which no other could well have been. It may help us to understand the scrupulous regard for the rights of the god of war entertained by the Gauls, the Hebrews and other nations of antiquity, if we look for a moment at the traces of this feeling which manifest themselves among the civilized nations of modern times: I need only allude to the singing of solemn *Te Deums* after victory, or to our praying in this country that our Queen 'may be strengthened to vanquish and overcome all her enemies,' and to our adorning our cathedrals with the tattered flags of the foreigner. That 'the Lord is a man of war' is a sentiment by no means confined to the Song of Moses: it is found to be still a natural one; and I need only remind you of the poet Wordsworth's ode for the English thanksgiving on the morning of the 18th day of January, 1816, and more especially the following lines:

> 'The fierce tornado sleeps within Thy courts—
> He hears the word—he flies—
> And navies perish in their ports;

For Thou art angry with thine enemies!
For these, and for our errors,
And sins that paint their terrors,
We bow our heads before Thee; and we laud
And magnify Thy name, Almighty God!
But Thy most dreaded instrument,
In working out a pure intent,
Is man—array'd for mutual slaughter.
Yea, Carnage is Thy daughter;
Thou cloth'st the wicked in their dazzling mail,
And by Thy just permission they prevail;
Thine arm from peril guards the coasts
Of them who in Thy law delight:
Thy presence turns the scale of doubtful fight,
Tremendous God of battles! Lord of hosts!'

I am quite aware that these utterances have been made the subject of severe criticism; but has any one ever shown that they do not accurately portray the public feeling in this country at the time? For the parochial picture of the Almighty they expose to our view, the poet drew not so much on his own imagination as on that of a war-wearied people, and the paints were mixed by the confident hand of a self-commending Pharisaism. That the ancient Celts and Teutons should have agreed at one time in making their war-god their greatest divinity, or their greatest divinity a war-god, need, then, astonish no one who will bear in mind the ever-present tendency of their descendants to treat in much the same way a God whom they regard as infinitely greater. There are reasons, however, for thinking that the war-like attributes of their war-god never led the ancient Celts wholly to forget the other aspects of his being, though it is not to be denied that, as long as they retained the original habits of the Aryan warrior, the martial qualities of their supreme divinity would be likely to

attract undue emphasis; and this state of things among them continued probably a considerable time after a more settled mode of life in a more genial climate had set the Greek mind at liberty freely to develop the many-sided character of the Hellenic god identified with the heavens, who, as the Zeus portrayed by a few masterly touches in the Odyssey, may safely be regarded as the grandest product of heathen theology.

Jupiter.

An inscription from Morestel, near La Tour-du-Pin, in the department of the Isère, reads: Iovi Baginati, Corinthus Nigidi Aeliani ex vot(o).[1] Unfortunately the epithet *Baginates*, which may or may not be topical, is of unknown origin; but compare the Zend *bagha*, 'god,' and the O. Bulgarian *bogŭ*, of the same meaning.[2] We are no better off in the case of our next inscription, discovered on a small altar at Vienne: Deo Sucello, Gellia Iucund(a) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).[3] The dative is likewise written *Sucello*[4] on a stone found at Yverdun in Switzerland. The name of the god occurs also on a silver ring found at York and inscribed with the words *Deo Sucelo*.[5] These inscriptions identify the god with no Roman divinity; but that has at last been

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 21; Allmer, iij. 197.

[2] *Baginates* admits also of being derived from the same root as the Latin word *fagus*, and in that case one might compare the Dodonian Ζεὺς Φηγός or Φηγοναῖος: see Overbeck's *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, i. 4. What did the Phrygian epithet of Ζεὺς Βαγαῖος mean?

[3] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 13; Allmer, ij. 454.

[4] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 14; Mommsen, *Insc. Helv.* No. 140.

[5] Hübner, *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, iij. 313 (No. 181); *Rev. Celt.* iv. 446.

compensated for by the discovery of a stone at Mainz reading: I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Sucaelo, &c.[1] In spite of the variations in the spelling, the same divinity is probably meant in all these instances, and he is identified by the Mainz monument with Jupiter.

It is needless to add that these data do not enable us to guess in what respect Baginates and the other god were supposed to resemble the Roman Jupiter; nor is it by any means clear how Caesar fixed on the fourth god in his list, the fourth in the order of importance and popularity from the Gaulish point of view, as the one to be placed over against Jupiter. It has sometimes been supposed that the thunderbolt must have been the decisive attribute; but M. Gaidoz[2] reasoning from the monuments combats that view, and rightly points out that Caesar confined himself to the words, *Iovem imperium caelestium tenere*, which tell us nothing direct about the thunderbolt. M. Gaidoz, who has written at great length on the Gaulish God of the Sun and the Symbolism of the Wheel, regards Jupiter originally as the god of light *par excellence*, and as having become by an expansion of his attributes the god of the sky or the heavens. He entertains the same idea of the Gaulish god represented with a wheel in his hand, while he regards the thunderbolt as a Roman accessory, the Gaulish symbol for thunder being undoubtedly the hammer, as among the Teutons.[3] His conclusions, then, are that the wheel represents the sun; that the Gaulish god with

[1] Gaidoz, *Études*, p. 105; *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* (1882), lxxiv. p. 189; *Bull. épigr. de la Gaule*, iij. (1883), p. 154; iv. (1884), p. 200.

[2] *Études*, p. 96.

[3] Ib. pp. 93, 96.

the wheel, whom he identifies with the fourth god in Caesar's list, was the god of the sun; and that, the Romans having no special god of the sun till after Caesar's time, the latter could not avoid identifying him with Jupiter.[1] This view deserves to be carefully studied, and may be expected to lead to a better understanding of the original nature of the chief god of the early Aryans, but I am inclined to doubt its applicability to Gaulish mythology so late as the time of Caesar. On the other hand, it can scarcely be denied that a Roman must have always been ready to identify with Jupiter any Gaulish god associated with the phenomenon of thunder, however symbolized.

But no one has more accurately estimated the value of such identification than M. Gaidoz: he tells us, for instance, that it would not be made under the influence of scientific comparisons; that it was not writers like Macrobius that saw it done, but Caesar, the soldiers and the Roman colonists in Gaul; that it took place as the result of reports which could do justice only to one of the attributes of the god concerned; that it may have been based even on accidental resemblances; and that, in a word, the Gaulish religion as known to us is a palimpsest, in which the new writing allows isolated words of the older hand to be read, but not much more.[2] Later, in speaking of the whole passage devoted to the Gaulish gods by Cæsar, M. Gaidoz urges the same view in words to which I could not do justice without quoting them verbatim:[3] 'En voulant juger la mythologie gauloise d'après ce texte, je me suis dit plus d'une fois que nous étions dans la situation des sultanes d'Égypte avec les leçons de

[1] *Études*, p. 98. [2] Ib. p. 90. [3] Ib. p. 91.

musique de Félicien David. C'était au Caire, en 1834, pendant un voyage que douze saint-simoniens faisaient en Orient. Le vice-roi demanda à Félicien David de donner des leçons de musique à ses femmes; mais pour observer les convenances musulmanes, Félicien David devait donner les leçons aux eunuques qui les auraient transmises et répétées ensuite aux sultanes!'

In spite of Caesar's words, then, I cannot help regarding the Gaulish god whom he equated with Jupiter as far from possessing the importance or rank which that equation would suggest; nor is it improbable, after all, that the phenomenon of thunder was treated as one of the forms of his activity; and at this point something must be said on that subject. The Welsh word for thunder is *taran*, which enables us to identify several god-names in ancient inscriptions. One of them was *Taranucus* on a monument from Dalmatia, which reads: Iovi Taranuco, Arria Successa v(otum) s(olvit):[1] another was the related form *Taranucnus* attested by two inscriptions[2] on the banks of the Rhine, neither of which alludes to Jupiter by that appellation, nor indeed need they be supposed to have meant him. Both names seem to be derived from a simpler one, *Taranus*, borne by a divinity identified with thunder; and *Taranucnus*, in Gaulish *Taranucnos*, is formed like the Gaulish patronymics *Oppianicnos*, 'son of Oppianos', and *Toutissicnos*, 'son of Toutissos.' Treated analogously, we have to interpret *Taranucnos* as meaning the Son of *Taranus*, or Thunder. A curious inscription found at Vienne,

[1] *Berlin Corpus*, iii. No. 2804; *Rev. Celt.* v. 385.

[2] Brambach, 1589, 1812; *Rev. Celt.* v. 386.

the ancient capital of the Allobroges, identifies Jupiter with his thunder and lightning, since it reads: Iovi Fulguri Fulmini.[1] Still more important is one found at Chester many years ago, and now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford: it begins with a dedication, I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Tanaro.[2] The Vienne inscription may perhaps be of Celtic origin, but I doubt the Celticity of the other: it should rather be regarded as a monument of the piety of a German in the army at Chester in the year 154, to which it belongs. To begin with, there can be no grave doubt as to the identity, roughly speaking, of Tanaro with the English word *thunder*, for the Anglo-Saxon *thunor*, gen. *thunres*, German *donner* (for an older *donar*), and the name of the Norse god Thor, nom. *Thórr*, gen. *Thórs*, from a stem *thonr-*. To have identified the god with his thunder cannot have been greatly at variance with the habits of thought ascribed to the Germans of an earlier time, at any rate if one were to be guided by Caesar's statement, vi. 21, as to their positivism: *Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus juvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam.* In any case, the evidence of the name *Thor* may be relied on.

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[1] Allmer, ij. p. 426; *Rev. Celt.* iv. 21, v. 383, where it is given as *I. O. M. Fulguri*, &c.

[2] Hübner, No. 168. Since writing the above I have found that M. Gaidoz, *Études de Myth. gaul.* p. 97, suggests the same idea as I do as to the nationality of the inscription: I have again examined the stone, and I am obliged to admit that the reading of the god's name is doubtful; but one thing is certain, namely, that it was never *Tarano*, as some will have it: that is out of the question. The alternative reading which the present state of the stone would suggest would be something like INNARO with NN conjoint.

Now that Thor and a Gaulish thunderer have been brought together, they cannot be allowed to part company at once. The former is known to have been credited with possessing a celebrated hammer called *Mjölnir*, with which he performed his feats of might, and the word is probably of the same origin as the Welsh *malu*, 'to grind;' Latin *molo*, 'I grind,' *molina*, 'a mill;' English *meal;* and related words, with a certain option between *r* and *l*, occur in the Latin *martulus*, 'a hammer;' Old Bulgarian *mlatŭ*, the same, *mlatiti*, 'to hammer or beat.' Moreover, as the lightning was the hammer or the bolt of the thunder-god, several of the kindred vocables had that meaning, such as Old Bulgarian *mlŭnij*, Old Prussian *mealde*, and Welsh 'meſſt,' singular 'meſſten,' 'a lightning.' Thor's manner of using his mighty hammer was to throw or hurl it; and a similar idea underlies the Welsh word 'ſſuched,' 'ſſucheden,' a lightning, which literally means what is cast or thrown, as it comes from the same etymon as 'ſſuchio,' 'to cast or throw.' Here may be mentioned three remarkable terms for thunderbolts, recorded by Dr. Pughe in his Dictionary under the word 'ſſuched:' they are Ceryg y Lluched, 'the stones of the cast or the lightning;' Ceryg y Cythraul, 'the stones of the devil;' and Ceryg y Gythreulies, 'the stones of the she-devil.' Before the thunderer's weapon developed into a hammer, it must have been a stone, more nearly resembling Thor's dreaded weapon.[1] It was hard, however, for a Roman to avoid falling into error in regard to the Gaulish thunder-divinities. Thus the wheel-god,

[1] Compare the A.-Saxon reference to the thunder 'with the fiery axe' (mid ðáre fýrenan æcxe) in the *Dialogue of Salomon and Saturn*, ed. Kemble (London, 1848), p. 148, also 177.

the Celtic Zeus, was, I take it, the greatest of them; but the hammer-god was also one of the number, and it is he that we appear to have in the fourth Gaulish god in Caesar's enumeration. But the fact of his calling him Jupiter and of the Dalmatian dedication to *Jovi Taranuco* belong to the misleading identifications so felicitously estimated at their proper value by M. Gaidoz. Had we more information about the Gaulish hammer-god, we should probably find him resembling Thor still more strikingly. We are told[1] of the latter that he was a less complex divinity than Woden, that he had a well-marked and individual character, that he was ever associated with Earth, whose son he was, and whose proudest distinction was to be called the mother of Thor. He figures as the friend of man; he was the husbandman's god, whose wrath and anger were ever directed against the evil powers that injure mortals: his bolt destroyed the foul thick blights that betrayed the presence of the wicked ones, and smote through the huge cloud-masses that seemed to be crushing the earth. Lastly, he was the husband of the golden-haired goddess Sif, in whom one recognizes the corn-field divinity of Ceres.

A good deal of this description of Thor would probably have applied equally well to his Gaulish counterpart, and the name or title I am inclined to identify with the latter is that of the second god in Lucan's triad. To begin with its form and pronunciation, it is to be observed that the poet's verse requires the first syllable to be considered long, while some of the manuscripts read *Æsus* without the aspirate, and, as there is no reason to suppose

[1] By Vigfusson and Powell in their *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ij. 463.

the word in its Gaulish form to have had a right to it, *Ēsus* may be taken as a more correct spelling. This is proved by one of the inscriptions on an altar dug up at Nôtre-Dame in Paris, where we have nouns of the second declension written with *o*, such as *tarvos*, 'bull,' and *Cernunnos*, the name of another Gaulish god, while the one which here concerns us duly appears as *Esus* of the *U* declension. The fact strongly corroborates the view of Pictet and others who connect *Esus* with the Sanskrit *asu-s*, 'the breath of life, life both as a force and as a condition;' Zend *añhu-s*, 'a lord or master, also world and place generally,' *añhva*, 'one's own self or individual existence, the soul;' Old Norse *áss*, genitive *ásar*, plural *æsir*, 'gods generally, but more especially the older group of Norse divinities,' to which may be added the Anglo-Saxon genitive plural *ésa*, 'of gods.'

This identification is of great interest, and I venture to mention one or two particulars of a nature to confirm it: the Norse word points to an original nominative *ansu-s*, the former existence of which is countenanced by Jordanis' allusion to the title of *Ansis*,[1] which the Goths gave to the deified heroes of their race. On the other hand, Sanskrit and Zend give evidence only to a weakened form, *asu-s*, and it is with this rather than with *ansu-s* that *Esus* seems to go, in so far as concerns its phonology. For the Celtic languages, not unfrequently setting out with the combination *es*, corresponding to *as* in Sanskrit, modified it by eliding the sibilant and making the vowel into *i*, which in Welsh mostly represents a vowel etymologically long: the stages would seem to be ĕs, ez, īz, ī, i, as in the Irish *sius* or

[1] *Jordanis de Origine Actibusque Getarum* (ed. Holder), cap. 13, p. 18.

fiur, 'sister;' Welsh 'chwior-, chwioryd,' 'sisters;' Sanskrit *svasār-as*, the same; or Welsh *tei*, now *tai*, 'houses,' for *tegi* (= *teges-a*) of the same formation as the Greek στέγος or τέγος, 'a roof, a house,' plural (τέγεα) τέγη. According to this conjecture, the Gaulish god's name may have been pronounced *Ezus*. The word is not known to survive in the modern languages of the Celts as an independent name, but Welsh has a remarkable derivative from it. For just as Sanskrit *asu-s* yields *asura-s*, 'living, spiritual, said especially of the gods, of Varuṇa, and of the sky; any spirit or non-material being of an evil nature,' and the Zend *aŋhu* or *ahu* yields *ahura-s*, 'lord or ruler,' as in *Ahurô Mazdâo*, Old Persian *Auramazdâ*, the *Ormuzd* of Milton's great epic, so the Gaulish *Esu-s* may be regarded as having given rise to a derivative *esuro-s*, which may be detected in the Welsh *iôr*, a word meaning lord or ruler, but seldom applied to any one but God. The term has been reduced to a monosyllable pronounced *jôr*, with a semi-vowel initial indicating, if this equation be well founded, that the first of the three syllables which originally made up the word was not accented by the ancient Celts. A similar remark applies to another title of God in Welsh, namely, *Iôn*, which is of the same origin and meaning as *Iôr*, and reminds one of the Old Norse *ásynja*, 'a goddess.'

We may, then, guess the Gaulish divinity's name to have meant lord, ruler or god; but why should the hammerer have been called lord or god κατ' ἐξοχήν? For the present let it suffice that I cite the analogy of Thor, as he likewise was treated as the lord or Anse[1] *par excellence*.

[1] Vigfusson & Powell, *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, ij. 464; Cleasby & Vigfusson, *Icelandic-English Dic.* s. v. *áss*, which is the Norse form.

The terms 'Anse,' 'the Anse of the Country,' and 'the almighty Anse,' always refer, we are told, to Thor in the Old Norse carmina of oaths and vows: the Swedish word *åska*, 'lightning, thunder,' is explained to mean the careering of the Anse; and the first syllable of such proper names as Norse 'Ásleikr,' Anglo-Saxon 'Óslác,' Norse 'Ásmóðr,' Anglo-Saxon 'Ósmód,' and Norse 'Ásbiörn,' Anglo-Saxon 'Ósbeorn,' mod. English 'Osborne,' referred to Thor, as *esu-* probably did to his Celtic counterpart in Gaulish proper names like *Esunertus*,[1] 'possessed of the might of Esus,' *Esugenus*, 'offspring of Esus,' and notably *Esugenonertus*, which must have meant 'endowed with the might of a descendant of Esus,' a term suggestive of a class or group of Esugeni, but whether men or gods must remain undecided, though the singular is found to assume mythological importance in its continuators in Irish and Welsh romance, where we detect it in *Eogan* and *Owein* respectively.[2] It is uncertain whether the Gaulish people of the Esuvii or Esubii mentioned by Caesar, ii. 34, iii. 7, v. 24, meant by so calling themselves to claim descent from Esus, since the name may simply be derived from *esus* as a common noun, meaning a lord or ruler, in which case it would signify

[1] Hübner, No. 1334, [61]; Mommsen, *Inscr. Helv.* No. 80.

[2] In living Celtic the *s* of *Esugen-* must, according to analogy, be dropped, and *Eugen-* becomes in Irish *Eogan*, now written *Eoghan*, owing to the shifting of the accent forward leaving the vowel of the last syllable neutral, while in early Brythonic the reverse was more nearly the case, and *Eugen-* was made the basis of a derivative *Eugenjos*, whence the Welsh forms *Eugein*, *Eucin* and *Ywein*, of which the colloquial form was *Owein*, now reduced to *Owen*: compare Welsh *bywyd*, 'life,' colloquially pronounced *bowyd*, and the like. The oldest spelling appears to have been *Eugein*, which was Latinized as *Eugenius*, just as Anglo-Irish *Eoghans* call themselves *Eugenes*.

the lordly, princely or ruling race, and supply another instance of the brag underlying names of a type already pointed out.

Now where the name *Esus* occurs, it stands written over a figure of the god, which has been carefully studied by a distinguished French archæologist, M. Robt. Mowat.[1] He describes the bas-relief as representing the god clad in a short tunic, tucked round his waist so as not to impede the free action of the body. He brandishes a square, short-hafted axe, with which he is felling or lopping a tree, the lance-like form of the leaves of which show it to be a willow such as must have grown in abundance on the banks and islands of the Seine. M. Mowat classes this figure with the bronze images and bas-reliefs of the god known by his Latin name as Silvanus. Other representations make him hold in one hand a branch which he has just cut off a tree with a woodman's bill, while a great many monuments give him as his attributes a hammer and a goblet; but in some instances the goblet is absent, while in others the hammer has smaller hammers growing as it were out of it in tree-like fashion: a remarkable specimen[2] of this kind has been discovered at Vienne. The goblet and hammer sometimes accompany dedications to Silvanus by name; but the variations are too numerous to be enumerated. One of the most remarkable is an altar at Lyons, which brings the hammer and the billhook together: it shows the god using a billhook with his right hand and supporting himself

[1] *Bull. Épigr.* i. 62—68.

[2] Figured and described by M. Anatole de Barthélemy, in the *Musée Archéologique*, ij. (1877), p. 8; and in *Mélusine*, col. 353: see also Gaidoz's *Études*, p. 88.

with the other on a hammer with a long handle, while the goblet stands at his feet.

The reasoning of M. Mowat leaves one in no doubt that the Gauls identified Esus with the Roman god Silvanus, who presided over woodlands, clearings and gardens, together with the shepherds' interests. But one group of this class of images has been the subject of another attribution, which has the weighty authority of M. Gaidoz and M. Cerquand: they see[1] in the personage with the hammer and goblet the god of thunder, whose name they take Taranis to have been, and one of the best preserved specimens is a bronze image found at Prémeaulx in the Côte-d'Or. It is described[2] as representing a bearded figure holding a cup in his right hand, while the other grasps the handle of a hammer which stands taller than his own person. His dress consists of a short tunic and some kind of closely fitting trousers: his waist is provided with a thick girdle, which one might be tempted to compare with Thor's so-called belt of strength. The Chester dedication to the German thunder-god shows no trace of the hammer, but only a goblet on one side of the inscription and what appears to have been a rose on the other: the monument is unfortunately in a very bad state of preservation. The museums of the Louvre, Saint-Germain, Lyons and Avignon, says M. Mowat, contain more than a score of images

[1] Gaidoz, *Esquisse*, pp. i, 11; Cerquand, *Rev. Celt.* v. 386.

[2] By A. de Barthélemy, *Rev. Celt.* i. 1—8, where the attempt is made to prove the personage meant to have been *Dis Pater;* but that is no longer the way to look at the question, since M. Mowat has succeeded in showing that the infernal deity is to be identified with the Gaulish Cernunnos, as will be shown later.

of the same type as that of Prémeaulx; moreover, he states that one was discovered at Metz, and that a ring found at Vendeuil-Caply (Oise) has the same image cut on it. These serve to show that the cult of the god in question was not confined to the south of Gaul.

M. Mowat associates all these with Esus as Silvanus, and adds to them a remarkable altar from Ober-Seebach, near Strasbourg, which represents the god supporting himself with his right hand on a hammer with a long handle and holding a cylindrical vase in the other, while to the left at his feet is seen a dog, the habitual companion of Silvanus,[1] and on the right a female figure in a long robe, with her hand on a cornucopia. In the next place he calls attention to an inscription found at Carlsburg in Transylvania, which reads: Silvano Dom. Terrae Matri, Herculi, Sacrum.[2] Both M. Mowat and M. Gaidoz seem to be in the main right, and the solution of the difficulty is to be sought in the character of the Gaulish god, who was in all probability, like Thor, not only the hammerer but also the friend of the farmer, one most laborious part of whose work consisted in cutting down the woods and forests that confined the domain of the ancient plough and hoe: perhaps it would be more correct to regard him as armed with the thunderbolt or hammer as being, and

[1] According to M. A. de Barthélemy, the dog has three heads, so that he treats it as a Cerberus (*Rev. Celt.* i. 3), and the same view is adopted by M. Flouest (*Rev. Arch.* 1885, v. 20). An engraving of the altar will be found in the *Rev. Arch.* 1879, xxxvij. pl. xii, and another in a previous volume, 1854, where M. Chardin also gives the dog three heads, p. 310.

[2] *Bull. épig. de la Gaule*, i. 65; *Berlin Corpus*, iij. 1152, where Mommsen suggests that the second word was meant to be *domestico*; but the reading of the letters originally written is difficult.

because of his being, the protector of the farmer. The hammer, doubtless, symbolized thunder and lightning; and possibly the drinking-cup, goblet, vase, *poculum*, *urceus*, or whatever you may choose to call it, which has been explained variously as Tibullus' *scyphus faginus*, Columella's *alveolus ligneus*, and Vergil's *sinum lactis* or milk-pail, was the symbol of rain and rustic plenty. The presence of the hammer and the dog, or of the hammer and the woodman's billhook, appropriately represent the two sides of the god's character as the hammerer and the farmer's friend, while the same idea is the key to the meaning of the multiple sledge or branching hammer.

In all the images referred to, the god is said to wear a goodnatured face, and seldom to have the hammer in his right hand ready for action: so it may be inferred that he was chiefly invoked as the protector of the farmer and the friend of the woodman. Though he did not habitually brandish his dread hammer, he was still the owner and wielder of the weapon, which he could handle whenever occasion arose: this was possibly uppermost in the mind of the man who, at the end of a successful boar-hunt, dedicated a temple to *Silvanus Invictus* at Stanhope in the county of Durham; and possibly the application to Silvanus of the adjective *Cocidius*, usually reserved for the Celtic war-god, was meant to describe a god more closely resembling Thor in his more warlike moods, a Silvanus such as that described by Livy, *Hist. Rom.* ii. 7, driving the Sabines to flight by the terrifying voice he caused to issue from the forest of Arsia after a contest between the Romans and Tarquin. The designation *Silvanus Cocidius*[1] occurs in a dedication at House-

[1] Hübner, No. 642.

steads on the Roman Wall, and it is noteworthy that it was set up by the prefect of a cohort of Tungrians; but the fact does not prove the god to have been Teutonic: witness the Germans who honoured the Celtic god Maponos in an inscription at Ainstable near Armthwaite: those ancient warriors could have taught a lesson in religious toleration to some of the fanatics of the Teutonic race at the present day.

Another instance showing how another Gaulish god was, so to say, split up into two Roman ones, was brought under your attention in the case of Vintios; and it is not impossible that Hercules in the Carlsburg inscription was meant to stand for Camulos, Toutates, or Segomo, the strong god equated with Mars, in which case, *Silvanus Dom(esticus)*, *Terra Mater* and *Hercules*, would be virtually Lucan's triad with the order changed. Be that as it may, the analogy of the treatment of Vintios may, I think, be carried further, and I should be inclined on Italian ground to equate Esus not only with Silvanus, but also with the agricultural god Saturn, whose old-world characteristics remind one of Thor as the 'old Anse.' Allusion has been made to the twofold character of Thor as a thunderer and the farmer's friend, and similarly to Esus; but this may possibly be an inexact way of describing him, since it would perhaps be preferable, as already suggested, to regard him as armed with the hammer in consequence and by reason of his being looked to as the farmer's friend and protector, his thunder being his means of vanquishing the evil powers constituting the farmer's foes. This would leave us free to suppose that thunder and lightning originally and naturally belonged to the divinity associated with

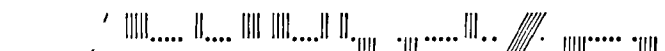
the sky, the divinity with whom the Gauls continued to connect the wind, and to whom a Latin inscription gives the name of *Mars Vintius*. But the god here in question was associated probably not so much with the sky as with the earth; and hence it is that some of his attributes are common to him and the divinity of the earth *par excellence*, the Gaulish Pluto: so much so, in fact, that M. A. de Barthélemy[1] has tried to prove that the god likened by others to Silvanus should be recognized as the Gaulish *Dis Pater* of whom Caesar speaks. Somewhat the same opinion has since then been advocated by another distinguished French archæologist, M. Flouest.[2] He takes a view which seems to me to be more in harmony with the rapid advance made by Gaulish archæology within recent years in his country, namely, that the identifications suggested by the other writers mentioned are, from the nature of Gaulish theology, in a great measure compatible with one another.

Lucan's Esus is not to be disposed of without noticing his Taranis. Some of the manuscripts read *Taranus*, and the same form might be inferred from *Taranucus* and *Taranucnus* already mentioned; but the existence of *Taranus* has recently been placed beyond doubt by the discovery in the south of France of a Gaulish inscription[3]

[1] *Rev. Celt.* i. 1—8. [2] *Rev. Arch.* v. (1885), 7—30.

[3] I owe my information to the kindness of Dr. Stokes, who states that the inscription I allude to in the text was discovered at Orgon, in the Bouches du Rhône. The Brythonic word for thunder is *taran*, masculine in Breton and feminine in Welsh. This *taran* does not correspond declensionally to *Taranis*, but it may either to *taranus* of the *U* declension, or else to forms of the *O* declension, such as *taranos* (masc.) or *taranon* (neut.), with which the Goidelic ones agree, namely, Irish *torunn*, 'thunder;' Sc. Gaelic *torrunn*, the same. These last languages had also *toirn*, or *tairn*, of a different declension, of which more

in which its dative, Ταρανοου of the *U* declension, occurs as the name of a divinity. I should, however, hesitate to substitute *Taranus* for *Taranis* in Lucan's verse, as I believe both to have been real names of a divinity associated with thunder.[1] One or both were also probably the Gaulish for thunder itself, and careful study of the cognate Celtic words inclines me to regard Taranis, or Taranus, not as a god but as a goddess, which is countenanced by Lucan's verse in that it institutes a comparison with a Diana (p. 44). The corresponding Goidelic form appears in an Ogmic inscription on a remarkable stone at Ballycrovane, near a bend of the long sea-arm called Kenmare River, in the west of the county of Cork. It reads:[2]



M a q i D e c c e d d a s A w i T o r a n i a s.

Monuments commemorative of persons styled Mac Decet have been found not only in Munster, but also in the county of Kildare, in Anglesey and even in Devon. *Awi* is a genitive like the Latin *fili* (for *filii*), and the nominative plural would, as in Latin, be of the same form; further, *Awi Toranias*, or better *Awi Toranjas* (with *j* = Eng. *y* in *yes*), would, subject to the known laws of Irish phonology, have to become in later times *Úi Torna*, and the name was borne by a people so-called in the county of Kerry,

anon. The rest of the difference between *toirn* and *torunn* is paralleled by the Irish *iarn*, 'iron,' which takes also the form of *iarann*, of the same meaning.

[1] See also Cerquand, *Rev. Celt.* v. 381-8; Mowat, *Bull. Épig.* i. 123-9.

[2] I examined it in 1883, but could not feel quite certain whether *Toranias* or *Turanias* was the better reading, though I was inclined to the former.

in a district where Abbey *O'Dorney* has perpetuated the ancient designation; while a certain family called O'Cuirres, connected with the barony of Kerrycurrihy in the county of Cork, are also styled *Clann Torna*, 'Children of Toranis,' in an old poem,[1] and the name seems to have been pretty widely spread in the kingdom of Munster.[2] The genitive *Toranjas* implies a nominative *Toranis*, differing only in its *o* from Lucan's *Taranis*, which with its *a* is probably less original than the Irish one. Now the later form which *Toranis* should take in Irish would be *Toirn*, and that is also the nominative which should have as its genitive *Torna*. But just as the Welsh word *gwynt*, corresponding etymologically to *Vintios*, the name of the Gaulish god associated with the wind, has lost all reference to the divinity, and become simply a masculine noun meaning *wind*, so *Toirn*, the Irish equivalent of the older *Toranis*, Gaulish *Taranis*, has ceased to be a proper noun, and come down to modern times in the signification of 'a great noise or thunder;' and it is noteworthy that it is feminine.[3]

[1] By O'Huidhrin: see *The Topographical Poems*, edited by O'Donovan (Dublin, 1862), p. 102, and note lxiv (555).

[2] There was also a poet called Torna supposed by some to have lived in the 4th century, and it has become usual to trace the Ui Torna to him as their ancestor. This is probably an error dating from the time when a nominative *Torna* would be *Torna* also in the genitive; the former would presuppose an early *Toranjo-s*, an adjectival form of the same origin as the words here in question, but parallel with such Latin formations as *Jovius*, *Martius*, *Veneria*, and the like. However, it would matter little here if one were forced to suppose some of the Torna families descended from the poet alluded to; the rest may still be regarded as deriving their name from *Torna* = the genitive of *Toranjas*.

[3] O'Reilly's *Irish-Eng. Dict.* s. v.; see also Foley's *English-Irish Dict.* s. v. *thunder*.

Induced by these and the like considerations to regard *Taranis* as the name of a goddess, I can of course not identify her with Taranucos or Taranucnos. These names I should regard rather as belonging to Esus, and borne by him as the wielder of the hammer or thunderbolt. Taranis would then take her natural place by his side as his associate; and the mistake, which this way of looking at the question would suppose the ancient scholiast to have committed when he made Taranis into a Gaulish Jupiter (p. 47), becomes easily intelligible. But Zeus was not the only wielder of the thunderbolt even in Greek mythology; both Here and Athene could on occasion make use of that dread missile; and even Typho is known to have handled it, though not with signal success. That the ancestors of the Welsh once associated thunder and lightning with a goddess as well as with a god, is rendered fairly certain by the fact that one of the terms for a thunderbolt is *Careg y Gythreulies*, the Stone of the She-demon. But when we come to the question of the attributes of Taranis, we are embarrassed by a lack of information; the analogy, however, of Thor helps one to form a consistent theory. For, as in his case, it may be supposed that the associate of Esus was either the Earth in the character of his mother, or else, more probably, some personification of the same origin, but conceived more like Thor's wife Sif, the Scandinavian Ceres of the yellow corn-field.

If, then, the idea has anything in its favour, that Esus—and likewise Thor—was provided by ancient imagination with thunder as a means of defending his friend the shepherd and farmer, it would be natural also that his associate should possess the same means of repelling the powers

of evil that attacked the crops; and it may here be mentioned, in anticipation of the remarks to be made on Irish mythology later in these lectures, that it represents the corn-field as the chosen battle-ground where the powers favourable to man make war on those other powers that would blight his crops and blast the fruits of his labour. Possibly one would not be far wrong in supposing Artio to have been the companion divinity of Esus, and Taranis one of her names. The goddess Artio has already been noticed as bearing a name kindred with the epithet *Artaius* of an Allobrogic Mercury (p. 5), and of the same origin as the English *Earth*, the Teutonic divinity whom Tacitus, in the *Germania*, cap. xl, calls *Mammun Ertham*, '*Terram Matrem*.' But the name Artio refers especially to ploughing, and the bas-relief accompanying the inscription on the statue at Berne represents the goddess standing robed and holding a patera in her right hand and fruit in the left, while close by stand an oak and an altar loaded with fruits.[1]

Minerva.

Caesar, in his too brief list of the divinities worshipped by the Gauls, gives the last place to Minerva, to whom he states that they ascribed the initiation of the various trades and arts. What Gaulish goddess he had in view it is impossible to say, and the land of the Allobroges seems to yield no inscription identifying any Gaulish divinity with the Roman Minerva. But one found at Saint Bertrand de Cominges, in the Haute Garonne, mentions a temple of

[1] Mommsen, *Inscr. Helv.* No. 215, where the inscription is read: *Deae Artioni Licinia Sabinilla.*

Minerva Belisama;[1] and we have the same name in its Gaulish form of the dative case, Βελησαμι, in the Vaison inscription (p. 46), which commemorates the making of a grove for the goddess by Segomaros. A trace of the goddess' name is to be detected in the cognomen read Belismius[2] in a Roman inscription at Carleon on the Usk; and Ptolemy gives a river on the west coast of Britain the name Βελισάμα: it was probably the Ribble. Compare the case of the Dee, which the Welsh always regarded as a goddess, in all probability a goddess of death and war.

Were one to be guided by the apparent similarity of the name *Belisama* to the first element in that of the god Belatucadros, one might be led to suppose that Belisama's chief concern was war, and that she only resembled Minerva as a war-goddess; but it must be admitted that Caesar's words—*Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia tradere*—afford no ground for supposing that it was any such a martial Minerva he had in view. Further, if we only turn to Irish literature, we there find traces of exactly such a Celtic goddess as he too briefly mentions: an article in the Irish Glossary, called after the name of Cormac, king-bishop of Cashel in the 9th century, tells us that there was a goddess called Brigit, poetess and seeress, worshipped by the poets of ancient Erinn; that she was daughter of the Irish god known

[1] Orelli, 1431, 1969. The two entries seem, owing to an oversight of the editor's, to represent one and the same inscription.

[2] Hübner, No. 97. *Belismius* is the reading adopted by Hübner, but it is not at all certain: see Lee's *Isca Silurum*, pp. 19—21, pl. viii. 1, where he reads *Belisimnus*. What one would expect is *Belisamius*, *Belisemius* or even *Belisimius*.

as Dagda the Great; and that she had two sisters who were also called Brigit, the one the patroness of the healing art, and the other of smith-work.[1] This means, in other words, that the Goidels formerly worshipped a Minerva called Brigit, who presided over the three chief professions known in Erinn: to her province in fact might be said to belong just what Caesar terms *operum atque artificiorum initia.* How largely the prestige of the goddess helped to make the fortune of the saint who took her name, St. Bridget or Bride, it would perhaps be difficult to say, and I pass on to the name *Brigit*, which makes in the genitive *Brigte.* This implies an early Goidelic nominative *Brigentī*, and enables us to identify a presumably corresponding goddess in the Brigantia[2] of Latin inscriptions found here, namely in the country of her namesakes the Brigantes.[3] Add to this that a Gaulish inscription found at Volnay, near Beaune, reads: Iccavos Oppianicnos ieuru Brigindoni cantalon.[4] This literally means that Iccavos, son of Oppianos, made for Brigindo something denoted by the accusative *cantalon*

[1] *Three Irish Glossaries*, ed. by Stokes (London, 1862), p. 8, and O'Donovan's translation of *Cormac's Glossary*, ed. by the same scholar (Calcutta, 1868), p. 23.

[2] Stokes's *Three Ir. Gloss.* p. xxxiii; M. d'A. de Jubainville's *Cycle Mythol.* p. 146; Rhys's *Celt. Brit.* p. 282.

[3] One comes from Doncaster, and one from the neighbourhood of Leeds; the other two belong to the line of the Roman Wall in Cumberland, and to Middleby in Scotland respectively: they are numbered 200, 203, 875 and 1062 in Hübner's volume of the *Berlin Corpus.* The last mentioned is, unfortunately, the only one which preserves the name of the goddess in full. Thurneysen, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxxviij. 146, equates the name with the Sanskrit 'Bṛihatī,' 'die höhe.'

[4] De Belloguet's *Ethnogénie gauloise*[2], i. 289; Stokes' *Celtic Declension* (Göttingen, 1886), p. 67.

a word of unknown meaning. In Brigindo we have the name of a divinity probably the Gaulish counterpart of Brigit.

If one may trust these conjectures, we have before us traces of a goddess whose cult was practised in Gaul, in Britain and in the sister island, one whose attributes, so far as we know anything about them, favour the conjecture that she was the Celtic divinity mentioned by Cæsar. To the threefold name here ascribed her by way of conjecture, should be added that Brigit was also called *Bríg*;[1] in fact, this last seems to have been a favourite Irish name for genius personified: thus there was a Bríg Brethach,[2] whose epithet meant judicial, relating to verdicts or the giving of judgment; while a mythic poet and chief judge of Ulster called Sencha had a daughter Bríg, whose business it was to criticize and correct her father's errors: this Egeria closely resembles, it will be seen, one of the Brigits daughters of the Dagda. In brief, the word *bríg* meant in Irish pre-eminent power or influence, authority or high esteem; while Welsh has reduced the word to *bri*, 'renown or high estimation.' Among other words related to the names here in question may be mentioned the Welsh word *braint*, for an earlier *breint*, still earlier *bryeint*, which also occurs, and represents, as it is a feminine, an ancient Brythonic form *brigantja*, identical with that of the goddess Brigantia of the inscriptions. The Welsh *braint* means prerogative or privilege, which, involving the idea of power not shared in by

[1] For instance, in the British Museum MS., Harl. 5280, fol. 68 *a*.

[2] See Sullivan's note, p. clxxi of the introductory volume to O'Curry's *Manners, &c.*; O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* p. 46; Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 266 (§ 28). A *Bríg Briugnid* is alluded to in the *Senchus Mór*. i. 144.

all, agrees well enough with the meaning here suggested for *Brigantia*. The name of the Brigantes was doubtless of the same origin, as was also the old Cornish adjective *brentyn* or *bryntyn*, 'noble, free,' a word represented in Welsh by *brenhin*, 'king,' for an older *breenhin*, which would imply an early form *brigantinos*.[1] The idea originally expressed by all these words was that of power or greatness of some kind, whence the derivative ones of freedom, nobility, authority and prerogative; and, so far as we can judge, her names of this origin correctly described the goddess in whom the power of initiating and teaching the arts was supposed to reside, the Minerva of the Celts.

Dis.

Caesar, in his brief list of the gods worshipped by the Gauls, makes no allusion to Dis; but in a subsequent passage he states, vi. 18, that they believed themselves descended from *Dis Pater*, a doctrine which, according to him, the druids had taught them. For this reason also they measured the lapse of time not by days but by nights, and calculated the dates of their birthdays, together with the beginnings of their months and years, in such a way as to make the night precede the day.

It is remarkable that the territory of the Allobroges is not known to supply a single inscription equating any Gaulish god with Dis, and so far it would seem as though one might construe Caesar's silence into evidence that the Gaulish Dis was not worshipped. That would, however, be an error, and Caesar's treatment of him is perhaps to be ascribed to the Roman view of Dis as a sombre and inexorable deity honoured on the coasts

[1] See *Celt. Britain*[2], p. 282.

of the Mediterranean with comparatively few altars: be that as it may, French archæology has succeeded in identifying the Gaulish god, and in showing at the same time that his cult had very firm hold on the Gaulish mind. M. Mowat[1] is again our guide to the interpretation of another of the early Gallo-Roman altars dug up in Paris, namely, one with the figure of the god surmounted by his name, which in its perfect state is known to have read *Cernunnos*, a kindred form of which occurs on a wax tablet at Pesth in a mention of a funerary college holding its meetings in the temple of a *Jupiter Cernenus*.[2] In this last one cannot help recognizing a chthonian divinity corresponding to the *Jupiter Stygius* of the Romans. The form *Cernunnos* and the Latinized one *Cernenus* contain the common stem *cern-*, which may be assumed to be of the same origin as the native words for the Gaulish horn or trumpet, variously given by Greek writers[3] as κάρνον and κάρνυξ: the Welsh and Irish form is *corn*, of the same etymology and meaning as the Latin *cornu*, English *horn*. How this name suits the god, a glance at the Paris altar suffices to explain; for underneath the word *Cernunnos* is to be seen, bearded and clothed, a central figure whose forehead is adorned with the two horns[4] of a stag, from each of which hangs a torque. The

[1] *Bull. Épigr. de la Gaule*, i. 111—116.

[2] Ibid. p. 113; Orelli-Henzen, No. 6087; *B. Corpus*, Vol. iii. p. 926.

[3] Hesychius, κάρνον · τὴν σάλπιγγα. Γαλάται; and Eustathius (Leipsic, 1829), *ad Homeri Il.* 1139, 57, κάρνυξ.

[4] With the Gaulish divinities of this kind M. d'Arbois de Jubainville would compare, *Cycle Myth.* p. 384, an Irish *Buarainech*, which he renders 'à la figure de vache:' the person so called is said to have been the father of Balor.

monument is unfortunately in a bad state of preservation; but the head and shoulders are on such a large scale as compared with the other figures on the same block, that the god cannot have been represented as standing or even as sitting on a raised seat: in fact there is no alternative but to suppose, with M. Mowat,[1] that the god was seated cross-legged on the ground, like Buddha. Granted that posture, we are at once led to connect the whole figure with certain well-known sculptures representing a horned, squatting divinity, such as those found at Rheims, at Saintes,[2] the chief town of Charente-Inférieure, and at Vendœuvres-en-Brenne. The last, which is preserved at Châteauroux, in the department of the Indre, represents the god holding a *follis* or sack in his lap, and on either side there stand two figures of a diminutive Genius, with their feet planted on the coils of a serpent, while each grasps with one hand either horn of the central personage: the other hand of the one Genius holds a torque, and that of his fellow a purse. A contiguous face of the block shows an *Apollo Citharoedus* sitting in the posture illustrated by a colossal statue of him at Entrain,[3] in the Nièvre. The Rheims monument[4]

[1] *Bull. Épigr.* i. 111-2.

[2] *L'Autel de Saintes et les Triades gauloises* is the title of an able and copiously illustrated account of the most important monuments representing the Gaulish Pluto, by the well-known keeper of the museum at Saint-Germain, M. Alex. Bertrand, in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1880: I refer here more especially to the offprint, published in Paris in 1880: see pp. 1, 7, 38; also the *Rev. Arch.* for 1882, xliij, p. 322, and plate ix.

[3] *Bull. Épigr.* ibid.; also *Les Antiquités d'Entrain*, by M. de Villefosse, which I have not been able to consult.

[4] *Bull. Épigr.* ibid.; Bertrand, pp. 7, 8.

represents the horned god squatting on a seat between Apollo and Mercury, who have to stand: in the bend of his left arm, which rests on his knee, Cernunnos holds a bag, from which he pours forth a profusion of acorns or beech-mast,[1] which he helps out with his right hand; they drop down between an ox and a stag, figured below in an attitude of attention; while a rat has been carved above the god's head on the tympanum of the pediment, a detail thought to be of significance, seeing that it is an animal dwelling underground.

Lastly, the block from Saintes[2] has the unusual feature of displaying two groups carved back to back on opposite faces of the stone. In both cases the squatting god holds a torque in his right hand and in the other a purse or bag, which is supported on his knee. He appears to be Cernunnos, though the horns are no longer there to prove his identity, as the monument is imperfect. In the principal bas-relief, his associate sits on a seat near him, with a cornucopia resting on her left arm, while a little female divinity stands close to her. The bas-relief on the opposite face of the block shows the god squatting on a base ornamented with two bucrania: to the left, on a base with a single bucranium, stands a naked god, who supports himself on a club; and on the right, on a base devoid of ornament, stands a goddess in a long robe. It is to be noted that the squatting attitude of the god in these instances has been observed also in the case of a little bronze figure discovered at Autun, now in the

[1] Bertrand, p. 7, pl. xi. Why M. Mowat regards the contents of the bag which the god empties as pieces of money (*Bull. Épigr.* i. 112) I do not exactly understand.

[2] *Bull. Épigr.* ibid.

museum at Saint-Germain, and in that of certain Gaulish coins, on one side of which is seen a squatting figure holding a torque in its right hand.[1]

Such are some of the principal data for our purpose, and from them I infer that, like Dis and Pluto, Cernunnos was the god of the dead or the nether world. As a corollary, we may regard all three as the gods of riches or the lords of the metallic wealth of the world: this rôle of the classical deities is indicated by their names. Thus Pluto, in Greek Πλούτων, is derived from πλοῦτος, 'wealth,' just as Dis, genitive Ditis, is supposed to be a contraction of *dives*, gen. *divitis*, 'wealthy;' though the name Cernunnos did not, at least directly, connote wealth of any kind, the attributes of the god, such as the money-bag and the torques, than which no symbols more expressive of wealth were known to the Gauls, amply made up for it; it appears they also conveyed much the same meaning to the minds of the Germans and the Romans.[2]

There are at least two questions which will have occurred to you respecting the Gaulish Dis: why he squatted

[1] It is worth mentioning, as bearing on the question of the distribution of the statues of the god, that a mutilated one of him was discovered in the department of the Puy de Dôme in the year 1833: if not again lost, it should be now in the museum at Clermont. I owe this information to a notice by M. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* for 1880, iv. 299—301. See also the *Rev. Arch.* for 1882, xliij. 125, where the wide distribution of the tricephal has induced M. Mowat to declare for the improbable hypothesis, that it was after all but the Roman Janus more or less completely naturalized in Gaul.

[2] Mowat, *Bull. Épigr. de la Gaule*, i. 114-5, where he gives, besides other authorities, Diod. Siculus, v. 27; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiij. 10, and others; also sundry coins and inscriptions.

and why he had horns. M. Mowat would answer the first by showing that the squatting position was familiar to the Gauls, as proved by more than one ancient author;[1] whence it was that they thought proper to give some of their gods, and especially the one whom they regarded as their universal parent, an attitude which was familiar to them and characteristic of their race; so they also represented him wearing the *sagum;* other gods might take to Roman ways, but he must remain true to old-fashioned Gaul. With regard to the horns, the same archæologist would account for them by suggesting that the Amalthean horn had, in the form of a cornucopia, single or double, everywhere become the emblem of abundance, and further that the Gauls were in the habit of using the cornucopia as an ornament for the head.[2] Neither answer can be said to go far enough, for it seems probable that both the squatting posture and the horns had a mythological signification reaching back beyond the history of the Celts as a distinct branch of the Aryan family, though we may never be able to find out its precise meaning.

Fortunately there remains one source of light on the genesis and history of Cernunnos which no one, so far as I know, has tried, namely, Teutonic and especially Norse mythology. At the very threshold of the latter, one's eyes light at once on an ancient god, Heimdal, the allusions to whom are, so to say, so scanty that Norse students have never been able to draw a complete or consistent picture of him. This god is briefly described

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[1] [illegible] 4, 5; Diod. Sic. v. 28.

[2] [illegible] *de la Gaule*, i. 115; Diod. Sic. v. 30.

by Vigfusson and Powell[1] as follows: 'An ancient god is Heimdal, from whom the Amals spring. There are strange lost myths connected with him; his struggle with Loki for the Brisinga necklace; the fight in which they fought in the shape of seals. He is 'the gods' warder,' dwelling on the gods' path, the Rainbow. There he sits, 'the white god,' 'the wind-listening god,' whose ears are so sharp that he hears the grass grow in the fields and the wool on the sheep's backs, with his Blast-horn, whose trumpet-sound will ring through the nine worlds, for in the later legends he has some of the attributes of the Angel of the Last Trumpet. His teeth are of gold; hence he is 'stud-endowed.' Curious genealogical myths attach themselves to him. He is styled the son of nine mothers; and as Rig's father, or Rig himself, the 'walking or wandering god,' he is the father of men and the sire of kings, and of earls and ceorls and thralls alike. His own name is epithetic, perhaps the World-bow. The meaning of Hallinskiði [another name of his] is obscure.' Such is a summary of the most important passages referring to Heimdal.

The classics picture Pluto holding in his hands the keys of the nether world, from whose bourne no mortal returns, and Heimdal survived to be transformed into St. Peter with the keys: previous to this, his last stage, he was the porter, watchman or warder of the gods, and as such Loki, the *enfant terrible* of Norse mythology, makes fun of him sitting in the rain; but this view of the northern gods living together and having occasion for a warder at their gates, is a comparatively late one. So it may be inferred

[1] In their *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ij. 465.

that one of Heimdal's earlier occupations was to sit at the entrance to the nether world, which position, besides partly accounting for his reputation as the most stupid of the gods, might legitimately be compared with the squatting of Cernunnos: Pluto also sat, but it is said to have been on a throne of sulphur. Heimdal was a stud-endowed god, with teeth of gold, which clearly involves an allusion to the metallic wealth of the earth so pointedly symbolized in the representations of Cernunnos. They were both in all probability also the guardians of treasure; and it is in this capacity, doubtless, that Heimdal fought with Loki in his attempt to steal the Brisinga necklace, which was the property of the goddess Freija. But you will perhaps ask whether the fact that Heimdal was called the whitest of the Anses does not overthrow all these speculations. On the contrary, if we examine Welsh literature, we find the king of the fairies and the huntsman who fetches to his abode the souls of the deceased, named *Gwyn*, that is to say *White*.

It is known that the ruling families among both Celts and Teutons claimed descent from particular gods, a fact seemingly contradictory of Caesar's statement that the Gauls believed themselves the descendants of their native Dis; but, as in the case of Heimdal, who was reckoned by the Norsemen to be the father of all classes of men, kings and thralls alike, the two views were in a manner consistent, the special descent of the heads of particular families from particular deities being not so much contradicted as covered by the general descent from the god of the nether world. The notion that their Pluto was reckoned by the Gauls the *fons et origo* of all things, the gods included, is countenanced by Caesar's words, which

connected with the god the Gaulish habit of reckoning the night before the day; but precedence was also given the night by the ancient Germans, as we are expressly told by Tacitus in his *Germania*, cap. xi.; and they did so most likely for the same reason as the Celts, who considered night and death to have existed before light and life. This would explain the myth describing how Heimdal was in the beginning of days born of nine giant maidens, nine sisters or nine mothers, in whom we may see a reference to a nonary week: thus Heimdal proves to be the first offspring of time.

His name must have been epithetic; but he had other names, which, together with his blast-horn, remind one of the horned Cernunnos: I allude to Hallinskiði and Heimdali, both of which are said to mean a ram, which suggests that Heimdal was originally represented as a ram. That he was horned is implied likewise by a curious term in Norse poetry for a man's head, namely, 'Heimdal's sword:' Gretti the Strong so speaks[1] of his own head, and it called forth the explanation that Heimdal had some time or other fought in Samson-like fashion with somebody's head as his weapon; but as it is not called a club or hammer, but *hjörr*, which meant a sword, also a missile weapon, and even a shield, it is highly probable that the original myth represented him as fighting with no head but his own, the horns on which served him for sword, spear and shield all at once. *À propos* of Heimdal as a ram, the fact should perhaps be mentioned that the Celtic Pluto and his associate frequently have as one of their attributes a serpent or two with a ram's head.[2]

[1] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* ij. 114. [2] Bertrand, pp. 10, 28—31.

On the Rheims monument Cernunnos has below him, as we have already seen, a stag and an ox, while the Saintes monument has on it several bucrania: both stag and ox were probably animals sacred to the god, and I am inclined to see a reference to him in the bull represented on the western face of the Gallo-Roman altar[1] in Paris. It bears no god's image or name, but the figure of a bull, with three cranes standing on him, one on his head, one on his withers, and a third on his rump, while above are to be read TARVOS· TRIGARANVS·,[2] which doubtless mean a 'three-craned bull.' The beast cannot be regarded as exactly representing the god, as he is adorned with a *dorsuale*,[3] which marks him out as a victim to be sacrificed: the cranes were probably viewed in the same light, but it is right to add that their number was presumably not a matter of accident; for the idea of a triad appears to have played as important a rôle in ancient Gaul[4] as in Ireland and Wales. Now with respect to Jupiter, the bull and the birds occupy on the block exactly the place which they should in case they referred to Cernunnos; and the reason why his victims take up the room where his own figure might be expected, is probably to be sought in some religious scruple or artistic difficulty which prevented the sculptor from portraying this god, who was so unlike the others as

[1] It is the one with the name and figure of Esus on its northern face, while its principal face looking towards the east bears the figure and name of IOVIS, and the southern one those of VOLCANVS: see the *Bull. Épig.* i. pp. 60, 61, 68.

[2] See [illegible]ng in the *Academy* for Sept. 25, 1886, p. 210 *a*.

[3] This [illegible]overy of M. Mowat's, ibid. pp. 68—70.

[4] B[illegible] pp. [illegible], 33-9.

regards both form and posture. Possibly the early date of the altar would warrant our supposing that the bold step had not as yet been taken of attempting any kind of image, at least in northern Gaul, of this unwieldy divinity, whom Gaulish theology had hardly succeeded in anthropomorphizing sufficiently to fit him to figure in a group bearing the stamp of Roman respectability.

All the facts at our disposal tend to show that the chthonian deity of Celts and Teutons was held to have the form of a horned beast, such as a stag, bull, goat or ram, and it is now needless to show why one cannot accept the conventional cornucopia as an adequate explanation of that idea. At the same time it would be rash to say that they had no connection with one another, for the usual account of the *Cornu Copiae*, or horn of plenty, traces it back to the Greek κέρας Ἀμαλθείας or horn of the goat Amaltheia, from which Zeus was nourished, and in which was to be found all that one could desire. Here we have also a horned beast older than Zeus, and the form of the myth does not compel us to assume that the goat was originally regarded as a she-goat: so it is possible that the Amalthean goat and the horned deities are to be referred to a common origin.

This would, however, not be any answer to the question whence the idea of a horned god of the nether world was derived; one might, for example, look for it in a still cruder manner of regarding him not only as the first offspring of time, but also as the first in point of order in space—that is, as the foundation and upholder of the mass of the universe. In that capacity he may have been originally pictured as a huge elk or a gigantic urus sitting quietly under the weight of the

world, save when he shook himself and produced earthquakes. Such a piece of cosmogony would not be without a parallel elsewhere, and it calls to mind such a Gaulish proper name as *Urogenonertus*,[1] which may be interpreted to mean a man 'endowed with or possessed of the might of an *Urogen*, that is, of a descendant of *Urus*,' which possibly meant more than the mere beast described by Caesar as living in the great forests of Germany. Having due regard, however, to the god's connection or identity with the earth, that is to say with the solid ground, one should rather suppose the horns, with which the god was endowed, to be the mythical exponents of the hills and mountains which diversify the surface of the globe.

After this digression, let us return to the data provided us by French archæology: the monuments I have described associate with Cernunnos certain other and younger gods who cluster round him like children by the side of their father. Among others we have found Apollo and Mercury in his company, and there would be no difficulty in explaining this grouping. Thus the Gaulish Apollo was especially connected with, and worshipped near, the mineral springs of the country, those perennial sources of health which poured forth their invigorating volume from the deep realm of Cernunnos; and as to Mercury, who was, among other things, the genius of commerce and money-making, much of his stock in trade, so to say, belonged to the same chthonian deity as the owner and dispenser of the metallic wealth of the world. Another of the figures associated with Cernunnos is represented with a club, which, if meant

[1] Glück's *Keltischen Namen*, p. 97.

for a Heracles, would remind one of the Greek myth which makes the god of that name assist Atlas in bearing the burden of the superincumbent world; but it must be confessed that the groupings alluded to are open to the suspicion of having been made in some measure under the influence of classical ideas, including possibly that of the Greek mysteries.

There remains the associate of Cernunnos on the Saintes monument, where she is represented sitting in the ordinary way near to the cross-legged god: she has a cornucopia, which implies that she was regarded there as a benignant goddess; but beyond that, one knows nothing about her, not even whether she should be regarded as identical with the goddess standing on the other face of the stone. But with one or both of these goddesses may perhaps be compared a divinity that figures in the Irish and Welsh pedigrees of the gods. Her Irish name was Danu or Donu, genitive Danann or Donann[1] (also written with *nd* for *nn*). She is treated as a goddess *par excellence*, in Irish *dea*, of which the genitive had various forms, such as *dé*, *dée*, *déi*, *déa* and *dae*. So the Irish gods, who are reckoned her descendants, are promiscuously called *Tuatha Dé Danann*, 'the Tribes of (the) Goddess Danu,' *Tuath Déa* or *Déi*, 'the Tribe of (the) Goddess,' and *Fir Déa*, 'the Men of (the) Goddess.' In Welsh her name takes the form Dôn, and the gods descended from her are accordingly called the Children of Dôn. The more important of them will come under our notice as we go

[1] The consonantal declension was always liable to be replaced, so we have Donand and Danann used in the nominative, whence a new genitive, *Danainne*, was sometimes made. See O'Donovan's note, *Four Masters*, A.M. 3450 (i. p. 23), A.D. 1124 (ij. p. 1020).

on: they are Gwydion son of Dôn, Gilvaethwy son of Dôn, Amaethon son of Dôn, Govynion or, as he is more usually called, Govannon son of Dôn, the smith, whose name is etymologically equivalent to *Goibniu*, genitive *Goibnenn*, that of the smith of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and Aranrod or Arianrhod, daughter of Dôn.

Their father is not usually mentioned, but Arianrhod is called daughter of Beli in the Welsh Triads[1] (i. 40 = ii.5), whence it may be inferred that Beli was reckoned Dôn's husband. He is usually called Beli the Great, son of Mynogan,[2] and his name figures as that of the king of the Brythons in the golden age of their mythic history. It is also doubtless to be identified with that of Bile, father of Mile[3] and of most of the human inhabitants of Ireland as distinguished from gods and demons. But Bile is fabled to have been king of Spain, so that his descendants are described invading Ireland from Spain: what could that mean? Now visits by the heroes of the Brythons to Hades are, as we shall see in a later lecture, sometimes represented as made to Ireland, and the heroes of Ireland setting out for a similar destination are conversely said to come to Britain. But in some instances Spain appears to have been substituted for Hades. Thus a mythic dog forming a terrible Cerberus killed by the sun-hero Cúchulainn is

[1] The reference is to the Triads published in three versions in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (London, 1801), Vol. ij. pp. 1—22. Version ii. is from the *Red Book of Hergest*, and has been published by me in the *Cymmrodor*, Vol. iij. 52—61: it now forms an appendix to the *Red Book Mabinogion*, pp. 297—309.

[2] Nennius calls him Bellinus, son of Minocannus, and makes him king of Britain in the time of Caesar, with whom he fights: see San-Marte's *Nennius & Gildas*, pp. 40-1 (§ 19).

[3] *Rhys's Lectures*, 4 &c. and elsewhere.

described as brought from Spain; Cúchulainn[1] receives a visit from a warlike maiden who, having fallen in love with him, comes to see him from the Plains of Spain;[2] and Eogan Mór, another form of the solar hero, is enabled by his leman Eadaoin, or Etáin, a goddess dwelling in Great Beare Island, to escape from his enemies to Spain, and to return thence in due time to overcome them.[3] Further, a giant of infernal origin, slain on Mont St. Michel in France by king Arthur, is similarly said to have come to settle there from Spain.[4] So the descent of the ancient Irish from Mile, son of Bile, king of Spain, meant nothing more than what Caesar expressed differently when stating that the druids taught the Gauls that they were all descended from *Dis Pater*.

The names Bile and Beli corroborate this conjecture, as they are doubtless to be interpreted to mean death or some kindred idea, and to be referred to the same origin as the words mentioned (p. 37) in connection with the name of the Celtic Mars Belatucadros. The meaning of the name of Dôn, Beli's consort, was analogous, for Welsh *Dôn*, Irish *Donu* or *Danu*, are to be referred to the same origin as the English word *dwindle*, North-Eng. *dwyne*, 'to fall into a swoon,' A.-Saxon

[1] See folio 60*b* of the *Bk. of the Dun*, a MS. compiled, about the year 1100, from older sources: its Irish name is *Lebor na huidre* or *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*. My references are to the lithographed facsimile published by the Royal Irish Academy (Dublin, 1870).

[2] *Bk. of Leinster*, 254 *b*.

[3] *Battle of Magh Leana*, ed. by O'Curry (Dublin, 1855), pp. 30, 36.

[4] Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (ed. San-Marte) x. 3. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville has, by a different route, arrived at the same conclusion as to the meaning to be attached to the term Spain in such contexts: see his *Cycle Mythol.* pp. 85, 137.

dwinan, 'tabescere,' Old Norse *dvína*, 'to dwindle, pine away,' Sanskrit *dhvan*, 'to be hidden, to go out or be extinguished,' *dhvânta*, 'hidden, dark,' and as a neuter noun 'darkness;' possibly also the Greek word θάνατος, 'death.' On the other hand, the Celtic names are not to be severed from the Welsh word *dyn*, 'a human being or man in the sense of *homo*, not of *vir*,' Irish *duine* of the same meaning, both of which postulate an early form *donjos*,[1] meaning literally and etymologically a θνητός: to the early Celt, as to the Greek, man was a mortal, as distinguished from the immortal gods and the ancestors who had taken their departure to the Plain of Pleasure in the other world where death was unknown.

A word must now be devoted to the position of the goddess as regards her consort: Cernunnos was the

[1] This etymology was suggested to Dr. Stokes, who has approved of it and explained by means of it, in his *Celtic Declension*, p. 37, the irregularity of an Irish *duine* making *dóini* in the plural: the former, according to his rule, comes from an oxytone *dunjó-*, and the latter from a paroxytone *dúnjo-*. The Welsh *dyn* postulates the latter; but we have a trace of the former in a 'dyned,' from which was sometimes formed a plural 'dynedon,' written *dyneton* in the Black Bk. (Skene, ij. 29, line 11), and *dynedon* in the Bk. of Taliessin (Skene, ij. 196, line 10). The Celtic root being *dwan* or *dvan*, the evolution of *dóini* from it has its parallel in Old Irish *cóic*, 'five,' from a base corresponding to the Latin *quinque*. The Welsh *dyn* is now masculine, and a feminine *dynes*, 'woman,' has been made for it, but so recently that it is not yet a book-word; but in the Middle Ages *dyn* was often used in the feminine by the poets, and it occurs of that gender also in old Cornish (see Stokes's *Beunans Meriasek*, verse 1005): this means that the word was originally, like θνητός, an adjective, *donjos*, *donja*, *donjon*, of three genders. Lastly, we seem to have an element of the same origin in the *Dontaurios* of a magic spell extant in the Gaulish language: see Stokes's *Celt. Decl.* p. 38. For a different account of the origin of θάνατος, see Brugmann's *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Strassburg, 1886), i. §§ 236, 429 *b*, 1.

great figure according to Gaulish ideas, and his associate was apparently of smaller consequence in their sight: did the insular Celts reverse the relative position of the Plutonic pair? When the facts are duly weighed it will be found that there is no evidence to that effect. This view is countenanced by the all but complete absence of any statements as to the nature or attributes of the goddess: she looms darkly in the background as the mother of the gods, and any further predicate about her is to be reached only as a matter of inference. The prominence, on the other hand, given to her name in connection with those of her descendants is to be accounted for, it seems to me, as a survival of the custom of describing persons as the children of such and such a woman, without making any reference to the father's name: other instances of the same kind are not numerous in the mythological tales of Wales; they are more frequently met with in those of Ireland;[1] while in Scotland, that is to say, among the Picts, it was the rule that the father was absolutely of no account in the succession.

To return from this digression to Cernunnos, he has, so far as we have gone, been treated as a horned god; but it would not be right to dismiss him without calling attention to another peculiarity of his figure, as shown by some of the representations of him. Thus, a statuette found at Autun, besides giving him one principal face, has on either side of the head a spot, above each of his ears, fashioned into a small face; so that the god was enabled not only to look forward, but also to see on both sides.[2] Some monuments give his three faces the

[1] See Stokes, in the *Rev. Celt.* v. 362, note 3. [2] Bertrand, pp. 9, 10.

same dimensions,[1] while others provide him with three complete heads;[2] and the Autun figure combined all his most salient attributes, the horns,[3] the three faces, the cross-legged posture, the torque round his neck, and another resting on his lap and separating two ram-headed serpents.[4] Lastly, the triple head was sometimes considered enough, and the artist made no attempt to give the god a body, the lower portion of the block being utilized for other purposes,[5] such as the representation of the god's associates.

Now this strange god, reduced to a wonderful head, which identifies him with Janus, the Roman god of beginnings and endings, has his counterpart in Welsh literature, though attention has, so far as I can remember, never been called to the fact: I allude to Brân, of whom the Mabinogi speaks,[6] which is called after the name of his sister Branwen, daughter of Llyr. He is there described sitting on the rock of Harlech in Merioneth, with his courtiers around him, when he descried ships sailing rapidly towards the land: he sent some of his men down to meet them and to ascertain the business of those in them. It turned out to be the fleet of Matholwch, a king of Ireland, who was come to ask for Brân's sister Branwen to wife. Brân, without moving from his seat on the rock, conversed with Matholwch, and bade him land; after due deliberation the latter's request was granted, and he returned to Ireland with Branwen as

[1] Bertrand, pp. 22-7. [2] Ib. p. 23.

[3] The horns are gone, but the sockets remain, with a trace of iron rust in them.

[4] Bertrand, pp. 9, 10. [5] Ib. pp. 24-6.

[6] *M. B. Mab.* pp. 84-8; Guest, iij. 103—129.

his queen. Some years elapsed when, owing to court intrigues of uncertain details, Branwen was, for no fault of hers, disgraced and driven from the king to the kitchen, where she was badly used. At length she contrived to send word to her brother, who at once resolved to make an expedition to Ireland to avenge her wrongs. But instead of sailing across as the others did, Brân had to wade through the intervening waters, as no ship had ever been built of a size to receive this colossal king on board. As he approached the Irish shore, the swineherds of Erinn hastened to Matholwch's court with the strange story that they had seen a forest on the sea, and near it a great mountain with its spur flanked by two lakes: they added that both forest and mountain were in motion towards the land. Nobody could explain this until Branwen was summoned, and she told them that the trees were the masts of her countrymen's vessels, that the mountain they had seen must be her brother wading through shallow water, and that the mountain spur with the two lakes were his nose and eyes: she opined that his countenance betokened anger towards Erinn. Matholwch and his hosts hastened to place a river between them and the invaders. When the latter reached the stream, they found the bridge over it gone and the current impassable, until Brân laid himself across its bed and hurdles were placed on his body, so that his men passed over safely. He then got up and received ambassadors with offers of peace from Matholwch, which were rejected. But reconciliation was effected with Brân by the Irish paying him the compliment of building a house large enough for him, which was a novelty to him, as he had never before been able to enter a house. He had, however, a brother who

was the genius of discord, and he succeeded in bringing on a quarrel between the hosts of Britain and Erinn, and in converting the spacious edifice into a slaughter-house, whence only seven of Brân's men escaped alive. The whole, it may be observed in passing, is the Celtic counterpart of the great carnage in the Nibelungen Lied; and the description of the waters[1] separating this country from Ireland suggests that the original story spoke of Hades rather than Erinn.

As to Brân himself, he rescued his sister, but received a poisoned arrow in his foot, whereupon he ordered the seven survivors of his army to cut off his head and to take it with them to their country. He told them that they would sit long at dinner at Harlech, and find the society of his Head as pleasant as it had ever been to them when it was on his body. From Harlech they would proceed, he said, to Gwales, the island now called Gresholm,[2] far off the coast of Pembrokeshire, and remain there feasting in the society of his Head so long as they did not open a certain door looking towards Cornwall. Once, however, they opened that door, it would be time for them to set out for London, and there in the White Hill to bury it with its face towards France; so long as the Head remained undisturbed in that position, this country would have nothing to fear from foreign invasion.

[1] The story-teller experienced some difficulty in describing them: he makes Brân's ships sail across them; then he says they were but two rivers, called Lli and Archan; and he dismisses them with the significant remark that it is since then "the Sea has multiplied his realms:" see *Mab.* p. 35; Guest, iij. 117, where the passage is egregiously misunderstood.

[2] See Lewis Morris' *Celtic Remains*, edited for the Cambrian Arch. Association by the Rev. D. Silvan Evans (London, 1878), p. 436.

The Mabinogi relates how it happened to the seven men as Brân had foretold them; how they sat seven years at dinner at Harlech enjoying the friendly society of Brân's Head and the song of the Birds of Rhiannon, and how they enjoyed themselves eighty years in the island of Gwales. This part of the story takes its name from Brân's Urđawl Benn, that is to say, the Venerable or dignified Head. Time would fail me to discuss the probable identity of this Venerable Head with the *Uthr Ben*, the Wonderful Head, forming the subject of one of the most mythological poems ascribed to Taliessin;[1] and I will close these remarks with a brief mention of what would seem to be an echo of the Cernunnos myth in modern Wales. Lewis Morris, an antiquarian and patriot well known in the Principality in the last century, writing to a friend of his about his protégé the Welsh poet Goronwy Owen, complains of the uselessness of giving that genius of Bohemian proclivities any more money, as it seemed only to sink him deeper in difficulties, and he uses the words: 'It is surprising what confusion money will make. Is it any wonder that the devil should sit cross-legged in Ogo Maen Cymwd to guard the treasures there?'[2] Whether Lewis Morris had deliberately meant to represent the devil as a wellwisher of man need not be seriously discussed: what interests us at this

[1] Skene, ii. 203-4.

[2] The *Brython* for 1861, p. 312 *a*, where the name of the cave is wrongly printed as that of Maen *Cymrwd* instead of Maen *Cymwd*, for which information I am indebted to the kindness of the editor of the *Brython*, Mr. Silvan Evans. Unfortunately, neither he nor I can find where the cave was situated, but I have in my childhood heard similar descriptions of the devil, though I can no longer localize them.

point is the fact that the picture he projects of the devil reproduces exactly two characteristics of Cernunnos, in that he was supposed to sit cross-legged guarding the treasures in his cave. That a divinity like Cernunnos should end his career by being absorbed into the incongruous character of the devil, seems just what one might have expected.

With the aid of the Welsh instances, one is enabled to identify the Head in Irish literature likewise, where it is called that of Lomna, Finn's Fool, who is treated as an imbecile and as a poet or prophet: I allude to an article in Cormac's Glossary,[1] where verses ascribed to Lomna's Head are quoted. The story, strange and obscure as it is, may briefly be summarized thus: Finn and his men had set up their hunting-booth in Tethba, Anglicized *Teffia*, a district of considerable extent in the modern counties of Westmeath and Longford; and while Finn was busy with the chase, Lomna lurked about home, where he came one day across Cairbre, champion of the Luigni, with the Luignian woman who was Finn's wife in that district. She entreated Lomna not to tell Finn what he had seen; but unwilling to be a party to the disgracing of Finn, he wrote an Ogam couched in quaint metaphors, which Finn on his return did not fail to interpret. The result was that Cairbre, coming again at the suggestion of the Luignian lady when Finn was away, cut off Lomna's head and carried it away with him. Finn in the evening found a headless body in the booth and soon convinced himself that it was Lomna's; so the hounds were let loose, and Finn with his Fiann, as his men were called, tracked

[1] See pp. 129-30 of O'Donovan's translation (ed. Stokes), s.v. *Orc Tréith*.

the murderer and his party to an empty house where they had been cooking fish on a stone, with Lomna's Head on a spike by the fire. The first charge cooked on the stone Cairbre divided, we are told, among his thrice nine followers; but he did not put a morsel of it in the mouth of Lomna's Head. Now this was a *gess*, 'prohibition,' to the Fiann, and the Head sang a very obscure verse about the fish. The second charge cooked on the stone was distributed as before, and the Head sang another verse, referring to the unjust division and foretelling the retribution that was quickly to follow. Cairbre then said to his men, 'Put out the Head, though it is an evil word for us.' No sooner had the order been obeyed than the Head outside uttered a third verse, and Finn with his Fiann arrived on the spot.

The association of poetry, prophecy and idiocy with one another is so thoroughly Celtic as to need no remark, and I would only point out that the offence taken by the Head at being refused a morsel of the meal which Cairbre and his men were making, seems to imply, that it was a custom to set apart some of one's food as an offering to the Celtic Dis, and that meals began with a religious ceremony of that nature.

Minor Divinities.

The foregoing gods and goddesses formed the leading figures in the fashionable circle, so to say, of the Gaulish pantheon; but some notice must now be taken of the crowd of minor gods and goddesses that also belonged to it. We must begin with the *Genius Loci*. Every Gaulish city, and British too probably, had its eponymous divinity, under whose protection it was supposed to be.

The dedication of their cities was annually celebrated by the Gauls with libations made to the *Genius* of the place; and the practice lasted far into Christian times. The names of some of these *Genii* are known, such as Nemausus, Vesontio and Vasio, the tutelary divinities of Nîmes, Besançon and Vaison respectively;[1] but the Allobroges have left no monuments of great interest in this respect. However, one from Geneva may be mentioned; it reads:[2] Deo Invicto, Genio Loci, Firmidius Severinus, mil(es) leg(ionis) viiiae Aug(ustae) P(iae), &c. The name of the god is not given, and all we learn from the inscription is that he was assimilated with *Deus Sol Invictus* or Mithras, whose worship was introduced by the Romans, as inscriptions in various places in the Allobrogic land clearly prove.

Next come the mother goddesses, who are usually called, in Gaulish inscriptions written in Latin, *Matrae*, *Matres* or *Matronae:* the dative is the only case that occurs in those of the Allobroges, and it is found to be *matris* or *matrabus*,[3] for which the pure Gaulish form would have been *mâtrebo*, as in a vernacular inscription at Nîmes.[4] As figured in ancient bas-reliefs, the Mothers take the form of three young women of a benevolent countenance and clad in long robes. They are mostly represented in a sitting posture, with fruit on their laps or, occasionally, an infant on their knees; but an uninscribed altar in the museum of Vienne shows the Mother in the middle sitting with a basket full of fruit on her lap, while her two sisters stand by her in long robes which

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 26.
[2] Ib. p. 27.
[3] Ib. p. 33.
[4] Stokes, *Celt. Declension*, p. 62.

cover their heads; and a monument found at Metz represents the three standing, and holding in their hands fruit or flowers. To come back to the land of the Allobroges, one is led to suppose, from the number of inscriptions and sculptures in honour of the Mothers, that their worship was far the most popular there, and the same remark would probably apply to the rest of Gaul.

Usually, but not always, they have the official title of *Augustae* given them, as in the following inscription found at Sainte-Colombe, near Lyons: Matris Augustis, C. Titius Sedulus ex voto.[1] And a remarkable specimen on a piece of stone at the church of Aoste, near La Tour-du-Pin in the Isère, reads:[2] Matris Aug(ustis) ex stipe annua denariorum XXXV et d(onis).... Here it may be observed that an offertory of only thirty-five denarii in the course of a whole year is pretty clear evidence that the faithful who practised the cult of the Mothers at Aoste were all poor people, and that the service was of the simplest and most rustic nature. One more of these inscriptions deserves to be mentioned, namely, that found at Grenoble, and reading, so far as it is still legible:[3] Matris Nemetiali(bus) Lucretia Q. Lib(erta) .... After the analogy of other instances, *Nemetiali* is taken to be an abbreviation for *Nemetialibus*, and this last has further been supposed to be a sort of Gallo-Roman equivalent of the official *Augustis;* but it is much more likely to be a topical epithet referring to some spot where they had a shrine: compare *Matrebo Namausicabo*, 'to the Mothers of Nîmes,' and *Matribus Treveris*, 'to the Mothers of Treves.' But if this should be thought an unsatisfactory explanation,

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iv. p. 30. [2] Ib. p. 31. [3] Ib.

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several others might be easily suggested: for instance, *Nemetialibus* might mean that the goddesses were referred to as worshipped in νεμητα or groves, as it was not unusual for sacred spots to have a grove of trees close by the shrine of the presiding divinity; nor was it otherwise in the case of the Mothers, as may be seen from an inscription found at Monterberg, near Xanten, reading: Matribus Quadruburg. et Genio Loci Sep. Flavius Severus Vet. Leg. X. G. P. F. V. V. Templum cum Arboribus constituit.[1] But as νεμητον, which we have already met with in the Gaulish inscription found at Vaison, may be regarded as meaning not simply a grove, but a sacred grove, and connected with the Welsh word *nyfed*, supposed to mean 'sanctity or purity,' it would perhaps be right to render *Nemetialibus* by *Sanctis*, and to compare the *Sanctis Virginibus* of an inscription in a cartouche on a broken pillar at Saint-Romain-en-Gal, near Lyons.[2] These Virgins probably belonged to much the same class of divinities as the *Matrae:* the probable reading of the whole inscription, which is in a bad state, is said to be: Sanctis Virginibus, Sacrum Avitus (et) Campana posuerunt.

Christianity failed to put an end to the belief in these divine Mothers and Virgins: it was continued in connection with benignant fairies and the Madonna, whence a certain number of the churches known by the name of Notre-Dame, built on spots where legend asserts images of the Virgin to have been miraculously discovered. These heathen statues are usually of wood, which has turned black in the ground, whence the chapels of

[1] Orelli, No. 2090. [2] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 34.

the Black Madonnas, such as the one in the commune of La Tronche, near Grenoble. The story there goes that the statue of the Virgin, consisting of black wood, was discovered in a vineyard; and, though the original has been since lost and superseded by one of blackened stone, the sanctuary of the Vierge Noire is very popular, pilgrimages being made to it on Whit-Monday by persons, especially of the fair sex, who wish to be married: if the Virgin is favourable, the desired marriage takes place, we are told, within the year.[1]

Besides *Matres* and *Virgines*, Gaulish paganism had also its *Dominae*, who cannot have been very different from them: thus a tablet found at Saint-Innocent, near Chambéry in Savoie, reads:[2] Dominis exs voto s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) M. Carminius Magnus pro salute sua et suorum. Lastly, a Gaulish word which may possibly be the equivalent of this *Dominis* is used in an interesting inscription found at Aix-les-Bains, in Piedmont, which reads as follows:[3] Comedovis Augustis M. Helvius Severi Fil(ius) Iuventius ex voto. No other monument in honour of the *Comedovae* is known except one near Cologne, on which the dative has been read both *Comedovibus* and *Comedonibus*.[4] In either case we have a common stem *comed-*, which is also that of the Old Irish word *coimdiu* or *comdiu*, genitive *comdeth*, which is found mostly applied to God: in modern Irish it is superseded by *tighearna*, 'lord.' It has been analysed *con-med-*, in which *med* would be of the same origin as Welsh 'mediant,' 'power, authority,

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 30; *Rev. des Soc. savantes*, 1875, ij. pp. 113-4.

[2] *Rev. Celt.* iv. 34. [3] Ib.

[4] Ib. p. 35; Brambach, No. 469.

ownership:' we have the same root probably in the English word *mete*, 'to measure;' and one may go further and point out that the stem *mediot*, of the Irish *comdiu*, *comdeth*, is probably to be found bodily in the Anglo-Saxon *metod*, which applied only to God, and in its Norse equivalent 'mjötuðr,' as when in the Volospá mention is made of 'a glorious judge beneath the earth,'[1] supposed to be Heimdal. These facts suggest that the word *Comedovae* was applied to a class of *Matrae* or *Dominae*, who, in their capacity of guardians of the weak against the strong, were supposed to discharge to some extent the functions of a judge or dispenser of justice by avenging his crimes on the wrong-doer; but it would probably be a mistake to suppose them to have partaken to any great extent of the character of the Greek Erinnyes.

As to these last, however, it may be gathered from later indications that vulgar imagination peopled all Celtic lands at the early time we are speaking of, with an indefinite number of hurtful and malevolent spirits, goblins and ogresses of all kinds, whose cult of terror seldom probably attained to the dignity of monumental record. But a characteristic exception occurs in this country in the case of an inscription found at Benwell, near Newcastle on Tyne: its brevity is remarkable, as the whole consists of the two words *Lamiis Tribus*,[2] 'To the Witches Three' The devotee, who did not wish his name known, may have been a soldier from the Continent; but the three *Lamiae* were doubtless as British as the Three Witches in Shakspear's Macbeth.

[1] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 193, ii. 621. [2] Hübner, No. 507.

It has often been noticed that all these divinities, whether friendly or unfriendly to man, usually muster in threes; but they probably resembled the *Genius Loci* in being local and attached to particular spots, and it would therefore not be always easy to draw a clear line of demarcation between them and the other gods and goddesses associated with the salient features of a Celtic landscape. The number of these minor divinities was legion; and, without attempting to draw a hard and fast line between them and the greater divinities, who also lent themselves to localization, one may say that among the former must be included the spirits of particular forests, mountain tops, rocks, lakes, rivers, river sources, and all springs of water, which have in later times been treated as holywells, whether in France or the other lands inhabited by the Celts. It has been supposed, and not without reason, that these landscape divinities re-acted powerfully on the popular imagination in which they had their existence, by imparting to the physical surroundings of the Celt the charm of a weird and unformulated poetry. But what race was it that gave the Celtic landscape of antiquity its population of spirits? The Celtic invaders of Aryan stock brought their gods with them to the lands they conquered just as much as the ancestors of the English brought with them theirs to the Christian land of Roman Britain; and the former continued to be in the main the great figures of the Celtic pantheon until that rude edifice crumbled to dust under the attacks of Christianity; but as to the innumerable divinities attached, so to say, to the soil, the great majority of them were very possibly the creations of the peoples here before the Celts. In any case,

it is curious to observe that, while Christian missionaries appear to have made comparatively short work of the greater Celtic gods of Aryan origin, the Church fulminated in vain against the humble worship of wells and stocks and stones. That cult required no well-defined and costly priesthood which could be overturned once for all, and, a little modified, it thrives in some Celtic lands to this day. All that the Church could do was to ignore it for a time, and ultimately to assimilate it: to effect its annihilation has always been beyond her power. We have a good parallel in modern Greece, of which it has been well said,[1] that 'the high gods of the divine race of Achilles and Agamemnon are forgotten, but the descendants of the Penestæ, the *villeins* of Thessaly, still dread the beings of the popular creed, the Nereids, the Cyclopes, and the Lamia.' The greater divinities of the Celts were undoubtedly Aryan; but to what extent the motley mob of lesser gods and goddesses were likewise Aryan is a question that must remain unanswered, until, at any rate, the ethnologist, the archæologist and the historian have succeeded in placing before us in a clearer light than has yet been done, the rôle played by those ancient peoples who occupied the west of Europe before the Celts first beheld the Atlantic or approached the sunny shores of the Mediterranean.

[1] By Andrew Lang in his *Custom and Myth*, p. 178.

LECTURE II.

THE ZEUS OF THE INSULAR CELTS.

PART I.

IN the foregoing lecture I tried to reconstruct, mainly out of the ruins of the Gaulish pantheon, the fallen edifice of Celtic paganism; and in so doing, I endeavoured to confine myself as much as I conveniently could to what may be called the theology of the early Celts; but it is impossible to do justice to our subject without pursuing it, as I now briefly propose to do, into its later stages, represented by such myths as the Celtic nations of modern times happen to retain embedded in their literature or woven into their folk-lore. I make, however, no attempt to draw any line of demarcation between theology and mythology; for who is there to tell me where precisely theology and religion end, and where myth and fiction begin? Professor Max Müller, when speaking of the storm-gods of the Hindus, uses the words, "'They can pound us, we cannot pound them;' this feeling, too, contained a germ of religious thought."[1] His later utterances[2] on this point are still more explicit, as when he says that 'the living germ of all religion' is to

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, i. 211.

[2] *Biographical Essays*, pp. 162-3, &c.

be found in the 'sensation of the Infinite,' which Infinite we can know 'as the Indefinite only, or as the partially defined.' For 'could we define it all,' he goes on to say, 'it would cease to be the Infinite, it would cease to be the Unknown, it would cease to be the Inconceivable or the Divine.' Anything, then, which surpasses man's comprehension and man's power would seem to be fraught with religious germs. Thus while there remains anything unknown, there is room for the religious germ to develop, a fact which men of little faith never thoroughly realize; but it must be admitted that every addition to our knowledge and means of understanding the universe, tends, however insignificant it may be, to narrow the domain of what passes for religion. 'We have lived,' says Dr. Tylor, in a work[1] which forms an account of the genesis of religion, 'to see the time when men shrink from addressing even to Supreme Deity the old customary rain-prayers; for the rainfall is passing from the region of the supernatural, to join the tides and seasons in the realm of physical science.' Conversely, if we look back in the direction of the early history of man, we have to acknowledge that the province of prayer was considerably larger and wider formerly than it is now; that is to say, many things which seem to us to have nothing in particular to do with religion, wore an essentially religious aspect in the eyes of our pagan ancestors, and rightly so, if we consider the extent of their ignorance of the nature of the world around them. But it would be at variance with all that is known to us about nations in a low state of civilization,

[1] *Primitive Culture*, ii. 261.

to ascribe to the Aryans before their separation, or during what is sometimes called their pro-ethnic period, any approach to a habit of striving after the infinite or even of consciously contemplating it; nor would anybody probably be prepared to maintain such an opinion.

It is, however, not to be denied that they have not unfrequently been credited with a theology far too advanced for them, and this error was a very natural one: the discovery that certain languages spoken by nations dwelling in different lands between the Ganges and the Loire formed one family of speech, to which the name Aryan is given, was followed by the identification of a considerable vocabulary which they possessed in common, and among the most interesting words in that common vocabulary were the prototypes of the following: Sanskrit *Dyaus*, 'Heaven or Sky,' and *Dyaushpitar*, 'Sky or Heaven as Father;' Greek Ζεύς, Ζεὺς πατήρ, vocative Ζεῦ πάτερ; Latin *Diespiter* or *Jupiter*, gen. *Jovis;* Norse *Týr;* O. H. German *Ziu;* A.-Saxon *Tiu*, whence the modern English *Tuesday*. It was inferred from these words and kindred ones that the pro-ethnic Aryans were familiar with the idea of a Father Heaven or Sky, which was probably right; but there was a strong temptation to look at that early Father Sky more or less through the colouring medium of the most elevated representations of him in later times, namely, as the Zeus and Jove of the best aspects of Greek and Latin religion. It would be tedious to enumerate one by one the mythologists and other writers who gave way to that temptation. Suffice it to mention the most insignificant of the latter: in a little book[1] published by

[1] *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, p. 10.

me some ten years ago, words to the following effect were used: The pro-ethnic Aryan's ideas of religion and morals can only be guessed, and how many gods he had, it is impossible to say. It is, however, certain that he worshipped one above all others, if others he had, and that he spoke of him in terms expressive at once of the light of day and of the wide expanse of the sky, which looked down upon him wherever he roamed. This may have been merely his way of saying that his great Heaven-father was the god of light, and that he was present everywhere.

So I was led to think then; but I should now say that those words, which are perhaps more faulty in what they imply than what they directly express, are pitched in far too high a key. For if the Aryans in question had attained to the idea of so transcendent a god as this would suggest, there would be a difficulty in understanding how, as the Dyaus of Sanskrit literature, he should have become comparatively a lay figure, that as Tiu he should have been superseded by Woden and Thor among the Teutons, and that among the Gauls his pre-eminence should at any time have been threatened by a Mercury. This would look somewhat like a reversion of the great law of evolution, a serious argument against any theory of religion or mythology. So we cannot do better than go back to find whether our too hastily formed notions of the Father Sky of the pro-ethnic Aryans will not admit of revision.

The task has been rendered comparatively easy by the labours of the student of anthropology: that science of man is not quite new, but the cunabula of the Aryan were thought too sacred to be handled by the anthropo-

logist and student of comparative folk-lore; so he was, as it were, warned off the ground with the polite request that he should be content to amuse himself with observing the queer ways and learning the strange stories of contemporary savages. This was of course of no avail, for he soon returned to lay ruthless hands on our most cherished theories of mythology, and to tell us, that, whether we liked it or not, our Aryan ancestors were savages who did not greatly differ from other savages of other times and other lands. We are forced to listen and to admit that his method of working is in principle both simple and sound. Thus when he finds a civilized people in possession of a savage myth or a savage rite, he tries to find, for the purposes of comparison, the like myth or the like rite cherished by savages, among whom the meaning of the same is well known or easy to ascertain. This has been successfully done[1] with the Greek myth of Cronus, which is not only instructive as an instance of the true method, but important to us as bearing on one of the subjects of this lecture. The chief features of the myth, as drawn by Mr. Andrew Lang from Greek literature,[2] were the following: Gaea or Earth gave birth to Uranus or Heaven, and later she became her son's wife: they had many children, some of whom were gods of the elements, such as Oceanus, the deep, Hyperion, the sun, and Cronus of Crooked Counsel, who ever hated his mighty sire. Now Heaven used to hide his children from the light in the hollows of Earth,

[1] Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth*, pp. 23, 44, 45, &c.

[2] Hesiod, *Theogonia*, 166—192; Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* in Westermann's *Mythographi*, i. 1, 1.

which both she and they resented. The children conspired against their father, and their mother assisted them by producing iron, with which she bade them avenge their wrongs. But fear fell on them all except Cronus, who determined to deliver his mother from Heaven's embraces; so when the latter was amorously approaching his wife from a distance, their son Cronus, armed with a sickle of iron or steel, mutilated him. Thus the wedded pair, Heaven and Earth, were practically divorced, but Oceanus clung to his father ever after the shameful treatment which the latter had undergone.

The Chinese[1] likewise possess the myth; and it is known to various peoples of the Pacific, including the Maori, whose version is in the highest degree interesting on account of its close resemblance, even in details, to the Greek one; but I must be content to pass over them in silence, giving you the story alone as reproduced by Mr. Lang:[2] 'In the beginning, the Heaven, Rangi, and the Earth, Papa, were the father and mother of all things. In these days the Heaven lay upon the Earth, and all was darkness. They had never been separated. Heaven and Earth had children, who grew up and lived in this thick night, and they were unhappy because they could not see. Between the bodies of their parents they were imprisoned, and there was no light. The names of the

[1] Lang, p. 50; Pauthier, *Livres sacrés de l'Orient* (Paris, 1852), p. 19.

[2] Lang, pp. 45-6, who gives as his authorities Taylor's *New Zealand*, pp. 118—121, where the story is given with more detail, and Bastian, *Die heilige Sage der Polynesier*, pp. 36—39, adding that a crowd of similar myths, in one of which a serpent severs Heaven and Earth, are printed in Turner's *Samoa:* see more especially pp. 198, 292, 300.

children, were Tumatuenga, Tane-Mahuta, Tutenganahau and some others. So they all consulted as to what should be done with their parents, Rangi and Papa. 'Shall we slay them, or shall we separate them?' 'Go to,' said Tumatuenga, 'let us slay them.' 'No,' cried Tane-Mahuta, 'let us rather separate them. Let one go upwards, and become a stranger to us; let the other remain below, and be a parent to us.' Only Tawhiri-Matea (the wind) had pity on his own father and mother. Then the fruit-gods, and the war-god, and the sea-god (for all the children of Papa and Rangi were gods) tried to rend their parents asunder. Last rose the forest-god, cruel Tutenganahau. He severed the sinews which united Heaven and Earth, Rangi and Papa. Then he pushed hard with his head and feet. Then wailed Heaven and exclaimed Earth, 'Wherefore this murder? Why this great sin? Why destroy us? Why separate us?' But Tane pushed and pushed: Rangi was driven far away into the air. They became visible, who had hitherto been concealed between the hollows of their parents' breasts. Only the storm-god differed from his brethren: he arose and followed his father, Rangi, and abode with him in the open spaces of the sky.'

There is no reason to suppose that the Maori borrowed their myth from the Greeks, or the Greeks from the Maori: the similarity is to be traced either to a common origin, or, as most writers of the present day seem inclined to suppose, to the independent workings of the human mind under similar circumstances. The Greek myth, which distressed thoughtful and pious minds like that of Socrates, was a survival, like the other scandalous tales about the gods, from the time when the ancestors

of the Greeks were savages like the Maori; and its origin is to be sought in the animism so characteristic of the savage mind, that is to say, its tendency to endow the sun, the moon, the sky, or any feature of the physical world admitting of being readily individualized, with a soul and a body, with parts and passions, like their own.[1] In the instance in question, the Aryan ancestors of Greeks and Hindus are found to have been at one with those of the Chinese and the Polynesians of later times, in making of the sky and the earth a wedded couple of savages like themselves; and to the savage idea this would be no mere metaphor or simile, for the childish simplicity of his mind is such as to be realized by us only with great difficulty. But the effort to do so in the instance which more especially concerns us just now, will serve to correct the views we had formed of the Father Sky of the early Aryans by taking up the study of the myth at the wrong end.

Among the Aryan nations, however, the Greeks were not singular in possessing the myth here in question: it was known in a modified form to the Hindus, and it is to be found in the Norse Edda; while in the light of these kindred literatures it is possible to detect traces of it in Celtic. In Sanskrit, the god known by the name of Dyaus, a word identical with one of the names of the Sky or the Heavens, is usually referred to in company with Prithivî, or Earth, which were once joined, and subsequently separated from one another.[2] The Norse version is, however, more explicit; and instead of a

[1] Tylor's *Prim. Cult.* i. 284—292, et passim.

[2] Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 23.

partial mutilation, as of Uranus by Cronus, it represents the vast frame of the world-giant Hymi completely cut up by the sons of Bor, that is to say, the Anses or Norse gods with Woden at their head: from Hymi's flesh they made the earth, from his bones the mountains, from his skull the heavens, from his blood the sea, from his brows the earth for the sons of men to dwell on, and from his brain the threatening clouds.[1] The previous stage was the subject of a very natural vagueness, and we are told nothing very detailed about it; but Hymi existed, and the existence may also be supposed of that whereon he rested, a cosmic consort corresponding, roughly speaking, to Gaea or Pṛithivî. Further we are informed who Hymi was,[2] at least relatively to the Anses: he was the grandfather of *Tiu*, called in Norse *Týr*. This means, as *Tiu* or *Týr* is the equivalent of Zeus, that Hymi is to be rendered by Uranus, the grandfather of Zeus, which is in fact borne out by the etymological meaning of these names respectively. The name *Hymi*, which in Norse makes *Hýmir* in the nominative case, is akin, for instance, to the Norse verb *hýma*, 'to sneak in the dark,' *húma*, 'to become dusk,' all from *húm*, 'twilight or dusk;' while the Greek Οὐρανός, 'Uranus,' and its Sanskrit equivalent Varuṇa, come from a root *var*, meaning 'to cover.' This chimes in with the grievance of which the children of Uranus complained, that he used to hide them from the light in

[1] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 64.

[2] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 220—225. The giant's name is sometimes treated as *Ymi*, but its identity with *Hymi* can scarcely be doubted: see ii. 469, where *Hymis hauss* and *Ymis hauss* are given; also the editors' remarks, p. 468, i. 219, and *Hymiss meðjar*, p. 106.

the hollows of the earth. The English word *sky* conveyed a similar meaning, since it is traced back to the Scandinavian origin from which is derived the Old Norse *ský*, 'a cloud.'

The second part of the Cronus myth relates how Cronus, afraid of his own offspring, used to destroy them by swallowing them at their birth, and how the youngest of them, Zeus, escaped and grew up, how he banished his father Cronus and became the chief of the gods. Now his Greek name Ζεύς has its exact etymological counterpart, as already mentioned, in that of the Roman Jove, of the Teutonic Tiu and of the Hindu Dyaus. But this group of words contains a good many forms; and, as it is expedient not to confound them, they may be arranged as follows under their respective stems:[1]

1. Diu, diau, diâu:—Sanskrit *dyaus*, mas. and fem. 'heaven, sky, day, the god Dyaus' (as in *Dyaush-pitar*), nom. *dyáus* (i.e. *diáus*), voc. *dyāus* (i.e. *diāus*), instr. *dīvā*, dat. *dyave* and *dive*, gen. *dyos* and *divas*, dual *dyāvā* and *dyavī*, pl. nom. *dyāvas*, acc. *dyūn*, instr. *dyubhis*; Greek nom. Ζεύς, voc. Ζεῦ, gen. Διός (for Διϝός); Latin *Jou-* or *Jû(-piter)*, gen. *Diŏvis*, *Jŏvis*; A.-Saxon *Tiu*, gen. *Tiwes* in *Tiwesdæg*, 'Tuesday;' O. H. Ger. *Ziu*, gen. *Ziwes*; O. Norse *Týr*, gen. *Týs*, as in *Týsdagr*, 'Tuesday,' acc. and dat. *Tý*; Welsh *duw*,[2] 'a god, God,' [illegible] *tri-dieu*, 'three days') and dieuoed, '[illegible]'

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[1] [illegible] chiefly means [illegible] by and resume [illegible]

[2] [illegible] Cormac's *Glossary* [illegible] (see [illegible] *Beitrag* iv. 407), only [illegible] *duw* and *duw* [illegible] the [illegible] occurs [illegible]

2. Dīvo:—Skr. *diva*, neut. 'heaven, day,' as in *naktan-divam*, 'by night and by day;' Greek ἔν-διος (for -δι*fος*), 'at noon, in the open air;' Latin *bi-duum*, 'the space of two days,' *tri-duum*, 'the space of three days;' Welsh *dyw*, adverbial, as in he-ḋyw, 'to-day,' *dyw Llun* (now *Dywllun* and even *Dwyllun*), 'on Monday,' and *dyw Iau* (now in N. Wales *Difia'* and *Dufia'*), 'on Thursday.'

3. Dīves:—Skr. *divasa*, mas. and neut. 'heaven, day,' from a stem *divas;* Greek διει for δι*fες* in εὐδιεινός, 'calm, sheltered,' εὐδιέστερος, εὐδιέστατος, used as comp. and sup. of εὔδιος; Lat. *Dies-piter* (for *Dives-piter*), 'Jupiter.'

4. Dīvio, dīvia:—Skr. *divya*, 'heavenly, divine;' Greek δῖος (for δι*fιος*), of the same meaning; Lat. *dio* (for *divio*) in *sub dio*, 'under the open sky.'

5. Dēvo, dēva:—Skr. *deva*, 'godlike, divine,' mas. 'a god;' Lat. *divus*, 'godlike,' contracted into *deus*, 'a god,' like *oleum* for *olivum;* Lithuanian *dẽva-s*, 'God;' Gaulish *dêvo-s*, in such names as *Dêvo-gnâta*, with which compare such Greek names as Διογένης; Irish *día*, 'a god, God,' gen. *déi* (for *dêvi*); Welsh *doiu*, *duiu* (now *dwyf* or *dwy*), as in *Gwas Duiu*, a man's name meaning 'God's servant,' *dwywol*, *dwyfol*, 'divine,' and *meu-dwy*, 'a hermit,' literally '*Servus Dei.*'

6. Dēvia:—Skr. *devī*, 'a goddess;' Lith. *dẽve*, 'a goddess;' Welsh *doiu* or *duiu* (now *dwyf* and mostly *dwy*), as in *Dubr-Duin*, *Dyfrdwyf* or *Dyfrdwy*, 'the river Dee,'

Wednesday,' and *Dyv Iev*, 'on Thursday' (Skene, ii. 16). The diphthong *uw* in *duw* is probably to be compared with that in *uwd*, 'porridge,' Breton *iôt*, Irish *íth*, all of the same origin as the Latin *jûs*, 'broth,' Skr. *yu*, *yauti*, 'draws, harnesses, connects or mixes,' Lith. *jauti*, 'aquam fervidam supra infundere,' Lett. *jaût*, 'to stir dough or soup.'

literally 'the Water of the Goddess;' Irish *dé*, 'a goddess,' gen. *dée*, *déi*, *dé*, *déa*, *dae*,[1] acc. *dé*.

7. More distantly related but still of the same origin are such words as the Latin *dies*, 'a day;' Welsh dyd, the same; Irish *in-diu*, 'to-day.'

Now the question must sooner or later present itself, what did the words Zeus, Dyaus, and their congeners, originally mean? Two answers at least are given, of which the one is, that they meant the heavens or the sky. The other view is that the truer meaning of the word Dyaus, for instance, would be 'the bright or the shining one,' since it is derived from the root *div* or *dyu*, 'to shine, to lighten;' and that it was this activity of shining and illuminating the world which was embodied in the name. This is corroborated in the main by the recent researches of M. Gaidoz, who finds that the wheel-symbol is to be understood as an image of the sun,[2] and that the warrior-like Jupiter—that is the Gaulish god whom I should treat as a Roman Mars and Jupiter in one—was originally the god of the sun, who by extension became that of the heavens, and otherwise acquired attributes which made the ancient Romans regard him as their good Father in Heaven.[3] But his name, which has been interpreted to mean the shining or bright one, has not invariably ceased to be an appellative. Thus in Old Norse, where it was [illegible] by no means confined to him: it remained [illegible] of an appellative, as may be inferred from [illegible] such as *Sig-týr*,[4] 'the god of victory,' which

[1] [illegible] and *déi* are also unfortunately forms of the genitive [illegible] *dia*, 'god.'

[2] Ib. p. 93. [3] *Corpus Inscr. Rom.* i. 50, 79. [4]

probably meant, at least in the first instance, *Týr* himself. It occurs also in the case of Woden, when he is called [illegible]-*týr*[1] and *Hanga-týr*,[2] or the God of the Gallows, [illegible],[3] or the God of the Gauts; and in that of [illegible] is termed Reiđi-týr,[4] or the Car-god; nor [illegible] to be left out of the reckoning. The [illegible] means any god, except when used in the [illegible] Christian sense, and there is every reason [illegible] that it and its earlier forms, unlike *Týr*, *Zeus* [illegible] acquired the force of a proper name, [illegible] extent as the Norse equivalent; and [illegible] if Greek Christians had consecrated the [illegible] Christian uses instead of θεός. In their language, however, that could not be, since the former had [illegible] name of a special pagan deity, and ceased ages [illegible] Christian era to be an appellative or generic [illegible] the Celtic languages, where this was not [illegible] Christianity was free to appropriate such a word [illegible] uses.

Nuada of the Silver Hand.

From the remarks already made, it will have been [illegible] must cast about us for other means, than [illegible], to discover the insular Celt's god who [illegible] identified with Zeus. Now in Irish and Welsh [illegible] great figures of Celtic mythology usually [illegible] character of kings of Britain and of the sister- [illegible] respectively, and most of the myths of the modern [illegible] be found manipulated so as to form the

[1] [illegible] *Bor.* i. 253, ii. 462.
[2] Ib. ii. 75, 462.
[3] [illegible]
[4] Ib. ii. 17, 464.

opening chapters of what has been usually
the early history of the British Isles. Thi
the case with Ireland, and there we
divinity we are in quest of, bearing the Irish
Nuada, genitive *Nuadat*, and acting as the
mythical colony that took possession of
early times: it is commonly known as *Tua*
(p. 89), forming a group made up of the
desses believed in by the ancient Goidel
account of their origin tells us that they
ven;[1] but as the Celtic mind was in the
ing darkness and death as preceding light
invaders from Heaven are said to have
already peopled by a race called the Fir Bo
together with their hideous and horrid allie
in due time attacked and defeated by the ne
in one of the conflicts, Nuada, king of the
right arm cut off, which was all the m
it constituted a blemish incompatible wit
idea of a king. So he had to retire from
but a clever man at his court made him
which another perfected so that it was fi
with motion in every joint, with the result
after a retirement of seven years, was allowed
the office of king, and was from that time
Nuada Argetlâm, that is to say, Nuada

with this may be compared the following
the Old Norse literature: Loki was
of a brood of monsters, of which

[1] Lib. = Compare Caesar's

This latter had escaped killing at the hands of
because they were loth to pollute them with his
blood; but he was found to grow so fast, and the things
of him were of such a terrible nature, that they
armed and proceeded to tie the Wolf; but he
the bonds with ease. They then had a magic
which the Wolf, suspecting treachery, would
them fasten him with, till one of their number
by placing his hand in the beast's mouth
while he was being bound. Tŷr was the brave one who
dared to do so, and the bonds proving effective,
Wolf bit off the god's hand on the spot; nor do we
of his being provided with an artificial hand, as was
with the Irish Nuada, or of his being healed, as
sponding Greek story which describes the conflict
Zeus and his monster antagonist Typho would
For Zeus, after plying Typho with his thunder-
the desired result, engaged him at close
with a sickle, which Typho wrested from the god
him: it was then that Zeus lost the use
hand but of both, for his foe cut out the
of his hands and feet and carried him away on his
a helpless mass, to be thrown into a cave, while
were hidden away in the charge of a dragon.
however, came, and with his usual cleverness
and restored them to their proper places in the
who then recovered his strength and at last
Typho.[1] The stories, you will see, differ con-
but they are sufficiently similar to make it in
degree probable that the Irish Nuada is to be

[1] See Apollodorus, i. 6, 3.

equated with Tiu and Zeus: in other words, Nuada may safely be regarded as a Celtic Zeus or Jupiter.

Add to this that in case a god has several names, their existence tends to lead him to be regarded as so many distinct divinities, and this tendency can beyond [illegible] be proved in the history of Nuada: for besides [illegible] Nuada to whom my remarks were thus far [illegible] to apply, Irish legendary history had other N[illegible] to show, such as *Nuada Derg*, or the Red: but what [illegible] his virtual identity with the Celtic Mars-Jupiter, is the fact, that the sun hero Eogan Mór (p. 91) is called [illegible] *Nuadat*,[1] 'Nuada's Slave.' Then there was also [illegible] *Finnfáil* and a *Nuada Necht*. Now Nuada of the [illegible] Hand is said to have landed in Erinn A.M. [illegible] while Nuada Finnfáil is made to begin his reign A.M. 4199, and Nuada Necht is connected with Leinster in A.M. 5089. So disposed, they would seem to have been placed at a safe distance from one another; but the artificial nature of the arrangement betrays [illegible] various ways: thus it can hardly be an accident that the king who superseded Nuada of the Silver Hand, when he lost his natural hand, should have borne the same [illegible] name Bres, as the one who succeeded Nuada Finnfáil some 900 years later.[2] But let us try to force the vocables Finnfáil and Necht to disclose their history. The latter looks as if it had a derivative in the well-known name Nechta or Nechtan, borne, among others, by a remarkable king of the Picts of Scotland at the [illegible] of the 8th century, and by the mythic [illegible]

[1] O'Curry's *Magh Leana*, pp. [illegible]—5, also p. [illegible]

[2] *The Four Masters*, A.M. 3304, 4238.

a fairy precinct, now called Trinity Well, into which one could not gaze with impunity, and from which the river Boyne first burst forth, in pursuit of a lady who had insulted it.[1] In point of phonological equivalence, the syllable *necht* exactly renders in Irish the *nept* of Neptune's name. One cannot say, however, whether they should be regarded as of the same meaning and origin; nor does this matter for our purpose, since Irish itself has kindred words to show.[2] Whether you associate *Necht* with *Neptune* or with the other words, it may be presumed to connect Nuada Necht with the world of waters. As to the other name, Nuada Finnfáil, it would seem literally to have meant Nuada of Finnfál, that is, Nuada of the White Fál. But what did *fál* mean? One attested signification of the word was that of a wall or enclosure; and according to this interpretation Nuada Finnfáil might be interpreted to mean Nuada of the White Wall, which might be regarded as referring to the [illegible] the heavens in somewhat the same way as names like *Camulos*, *Nuyvre* and others to be discussed in the course of this lecture. Now *fál*, 'a wall,' is in Welsh *gwal*[3] of the same import; but Welsh has also a *gwawl* meaning radiance or light; and I am inclined to think that the Irish *fál* in the compound *Finnfál* had that

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 191 *a*; MS. (formerly Lord Ashburnham's) *D.* iv. 2, in the library of the Royal Ir. Academy, fol. 81 *d*; *Book of Rights*, ed.'s note.

[2] For instance, the verb *nigim*, '*lavo*,' *negar*, '*lavitur*,' and other [illegible] (see Stokes' *Goidelica*, p. 133) of the same origin as the Greek [illegible] '*lave*,' and the A.-Saxon *nicor*, 'a water-monster,' Mod. Eng. Ger. *Nix*, 'the water-spirit.'

[3] *Gwawl* is the name of a solar hero in the Welsh Mabinogi which [illegible] after Manawydan, son of Llyr; see *R. B. Mabinogion*, pp. [illegible]6, 57.

signification, in which case *Nuada Finnfáil* should be rendered Nuada of the White Light. This would fit still better as one of the names of a god of the origin which I have ventured to ascribe to Nuada of the Silver Hand, that is to say, to a divinity of the sun and of light. The epithet appears as an independent name in the case of a place called *Ath Finnfáil*, or Finnfál's Ford, the site of which is not exactly known; but Prof. O'Curry guessed it[1] to have been somewhere not far from *Beg Eire*, or Little Erinn, an islet in the bay of Wexford, now known as Beggery Island, but anciently called, according to the same authority, *Inis Fáil*, or the Island of Fál. More usually the designation *Inis Fál* refers to Ireland itself, which was also sometimes termed *Mag Fáil*,[2] 'Fál's Plain or Field.' In these instances I take *Fál* and *Finnfál* to be names of the god; nor is it other than natural that the country should be called the island or the plain of its chief god, especially if it be correct to regard him as originally the god of the sun and of light. At the same time his owning or inhabiting an islet on the east coast, such as the one near Wexford, becomes intelligible: from certain points on the mainland, the sun might be fancied to commence his daily journey from a sea-girt isle; and the complement of that fa-

[1] In a note to his text of an ancient poem containing an allusion to the point, *MS. Mat.* pp. 480-1, where he has had printed *Ath Finn* 'the fair (or white) Ford of Fál.' *In inis find fáil* (*Bk. of Leinster*) means 'in the fair Island of Fál,' but were one to read *Finnfá* would be 'in the Island of Finnfál.'

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, p. 131, where *Fáil* is once written *fail* and *fáil*, but to assonate both times with *máir*, '*magni*.' The po will be found in Windisch's *Irische Texte*, pp. 132-3, and in O' iij. 191.

would be to call that spot after him the Isle of Fál. It is needless to say more at present on this subject, as the discussion of the myths associated with the name of Merlin will afford us an opportunity of looking at it from another point of view.

NODENS, NUÐ AND LLUÐ.

The god's Irish name Nuada assumes on Brythonic ground the form of *Nodens*, genitive *Nodentis*, to be found in Latin inscriptions, of which more anon. One of the forms in which this survives in Welsh literature is 'Nûð,' but the mythic personage of that name is not known as the subject of any story like that of Nuada, and the more complete counterpart of Nuada is to be recognized in a mythical Welsh king, called Llûð Llawereint, or Llûð of the Silver Hand, where we detect the story in question compressed into the epithet *Llawereint*, or Silver-handed. It is important to observe that the elements of the compound are differently arranged in the two languages: in Irish, an approach is made, as it were, to *Argenteâ Manu*, but in Welsh rather to *Manu Argenteâ*. Now the name Llûð Llawereint, put back to its early form, would be *Lôdens Lâm'argentjos*, in which one could not help recognizing a modification of *Nôdens Lâmargentjos*, subjected to the influence of the analogy of personal names with alliterative epithets. Thus, for the Irish *Nuada* and the inscriptional *Nodens*, Welsh has, thanks to alliteration, the two names Nûð and Llûð. This latter is well known in English in the name of 'King Lud,' and from the same 'Lluð,' or rather its antecedent *Lôdens*, come *Lothus* and the *Loth* or *Lot* of the Arthurian romances.

A few words must now be said of the worship of Nodens in Roman times. The remains of his temple have been found at Lydney, on the western bank of the Severn, in the territory of the ancient Silures.[1] One inscription there calls him *Devo Nodenti*, in the dative case, while another reads *D. M. Nodonti*, and a third *Deo Nudente M.* Moreover, the mosaic floor of his temple is said to show, besides a variety of figures, an inscription which would seem to have commenced with *D. M.*; but it is unfortunate that nowhere has the word represented by the *M* been found written in full: the consequence is, that it has been differently treated, some making it into *maximo* or *magno*, and others into *Marti.* The former is not duly supported by the analogy of other Roman inscriptions, while the latter, which is the one suggested by Dr. Hübner,[2] the editor of the Prussian Academy's volume of Latin inscriptions occurring in this country, is probably the correct one.

But though it is right to regard the Silurian god as a Mars, most of the remains of antiquity connected with his temple make him a sort of Neptune. The following are worthy of notice: the mosaic floor displayed not only the inscription alluded to, but also representations of sea-serpents or the κήτεα accompanying Glaucus in Greek mythology, and fishes supposed to stand for the salmon

[1] The whole has been described in a volume entitled, *Roman ... quities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, being a posthumous w... the Rev. William Hiley Bathurst, M.A., with Notes by C. W. ... M.A. (London, 1879), pp. vii, 127, cr. octavo, with numerous p...

[2] Nos. 137—141: see also a paper by the same scholar ... Sanctuary of Nodens in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Alterth... schung im Rheinlande*, lxvii. pp. 29—46.

of the Severn; moreover, an ugly band of red, within the lines of the inscription, surrounded the mouth of a funnel leading into the ground beneath; this hole is supposed to have been used for libations to the god.[1] Further, a small plaque of bronze found on the spot gives us probably a representation of the god himself. The principal figure thereon is a youthful deity crowned with rays like Phoebus: he stands in a chariot drawn by four horses, like the Roman Neptune. On either side the winds are typified by a winged genius floating along, and the rest of the space is left to two Tritons; while a detached piece probably of the same bronze represents another Triton, also a fisherman who has just succeeded in hooking a salmon.[2] Moreover, the site on a hilly ground near the tidal bed of the Severn makes likewise for the divinity's connection with the world of waters. The temple to whose remains I have alluded was undoubtedly constructed under Roman auspices, but it is equally probable that the god was worshipped and consulted on the spot long before the Romans first crossed the Severn.

The oldest form of the god's name known to epigraphy is, as we have seen, Nodens, for which we have in Welsh the two forms Nûđ and Lluđ; but Welsh literature, it must be admitted, recognizes no connection between them. Nevertheless, the original identity of the names warrants us in combining the attributes of the personages called Nûđ and Lluđ respectively, in the attempt to reproduce the character of the god in something like its original

[1] I visited Lydney a few years ago, but I could not see the mosaic floor; and unfortunately the inscriptions I was anxious to examine happened to be locked up in a glass-case.

[2] King, pp. 22-3, 39, 40, and passim; also plates viii, xiii.

completeness. Now nothing hardly is known of Nûđ except that a Welsh Triad styles him one of the Three Generous Heroes of the Isle of Britain,[1] and that, according to another Triad,[2] he had a herd of cattle consisting of no less than 21,000 milch-cows, as to which it cannot be considered certain, whether or not they should be interpreted to mean the monsters of the deep; but Nuđ's generosity is doubtless to be added to the attributes of the god as represented at Lydney. Nor is it improbable that the name *Nodens* referred originally to that quality, though it would seem as if it were to be interpreted 'the rich or wealthy' god;[3] but I should prefer supposing it to have had the causative meaning of one who enabled others to enjoy riches and wealth, especially in the matter of cattle—one, in fact, who was supposed to be the giver of wealth, whence his traditional character for generosity. But all this must be considered highly conjectural until a related Celtic word is identified.

The other name representing that of *Nodens* in Welsh, as already stated, is 'Llûđ,' with which, or an earlier form of it, such as *Lôdens*, should be connected

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[1] i. 8 = ii. 32 = iii. 30. [2] iii. 85.

[3] *Nodens* looks like a participle belonging to a strong or pri verb, but no verb that would satisfy the conditions happens known to me in Celtic; the Teutonic languages, however, suppl as will be at once recognized in the German *ge-niessen*, *ge-nos*, *ge-* 'to eat, drink, enjoy, or have the use of,' Gothic *niutan*, *naut*, of much the same meaning, as was the case also with the Anglo- *neótan* and the Norse *njóta*; and among the related nouns mentioned the Norse *naut*, 'a head of cattle, a horned beast,' *neat*, of the same meaning; also German *nütze*, 'use;' while the area of the Teutonic languages we have a Lithuanian *naudà*, ing use, profit, proceeds, harvest, possessions or property general

Loth or Lot of the romances, which make the person so called king of Lodonesia or the Lothians, of the Orkneys and of Lochlann. In all these he is more or less associated with the sea; and even the Welsh tale, bearing his name in its form of Llûd, gives him a fleet. But on the whole the Welsh have been in the habit of regarding him rather as a great and thriving king of their ancestors, as one who delivered his subjects from three or more dire scourges to which they were subject, and as the hero whom Geoffrey makes the builder of the walls of London. The association of Llûd, or 'King Lud' as he has come to be called in English, with London, is apparently founded on a certain amount of fact: one of the Welsh names for London is Caer Lûd or Lud's Fort, and if this is open to the suspicion of having been suggested first by Geoffrey, that can hardly be supposed possible in the case of the English name of *Ludgate* Hill. The probability is, that as a temple on a hill near the Severn associated him with that river in the west, so a still more ambitious temple on a hill connected him with the Thames in the east; and as an aggressive creed can hardly signalize its conquests more effectually than by appropriating the fanes of the retreating faith, no site could be guessed with more probability to have been sacred to the Celtic Zeus than the eminence on which the dome of St. Paul's now rears its magnificent form.

The Irish Nuada was the same sort of god as his Welsh namesake: he was king of the Tuatha Dé Danann and their leader in war. When the Boyne is called the forearm of Nuada's wife, that queen would seem to be a personification of the land of Erinn; but it is not clear whether Nuada, as her consort, is to be regarded as god

of the incumbent air or of the surrounding sea, or else as the god of light, from whom the country derived its name of the Island or Plain of Fál. As compared with Llûđ, distinguished at most as a king and hero on land and a warrior at sea, Nuada was split into no less then three personages, one of whom was Nuada of the Silver Hand, the martial king, and another Nuada Finnfáil, god of light and of the heavens, while we have a third in Nuada Necht, whose connection with the world of waters has already been hinted at. Thus it appears that the mythology of the Celts was assuming a departmental form as far as regarded their chief divinity, out of whose wide character they specialized a warlike Posidon or Neptune, with a tendency to make that element predominate. This specializing presumably began before the Celts divided themselves into Gallo-Brythons and Goidels or settled in the British Isles; for it is not improbable that some of them accustomed themselves to a seafaring life long before the time when they began to cross in sufficient numbers to conquer these islands from their ancient inhabitants, and very long before the Parisii sent a colony down the Seine to seek a home on the other side of the Humber. But Nodens, the Celtic Zeus, was not simply a Neptune or a Posidon, in his connection with the sea: he was also a Mars, as the inscriptions at Lydney testify. That the Celts of Britain should have been inclined to transform their Zeus into a marine Mars at so early a date is a remarkable fact: it lends fresh significance to the words of Pomponius Mela[1] when he speaks of the two giants eponymous of Britain and Ireland, who fought with the

[1] Parthey's ed. pp. 50-1.

vagrant Hercules, as two sons of Neptune, while it forms a curious prelude to the history of that composite British people whose merchantmen and men-of-war now cover all the seas.

This leads me, however, in a direction contrary to the one I wish to take; for I am less interested at this point in the way in which the Celtic Zeus was split into several characters, than in the formation of an estimate of his character and attributes before the time of his transformation. As a god of the Celts in the earliest period of their existence, he was probably king of their gods, giver of wealth and increase, leader in war, and lord equally of both land and sea, if they then knew the sea. To compare Nodens or the Celtic Zeus with the Greek Zeus, one has to submit the latter to somewhat the same process of collecting his early attributes; that is to say, Nodens is not strictly to be compared with the classic Zeus, but with the pre-classic Zeus who was Zeus, Posidon and Pluto all in one; who also discharged the functions of several of his classically so-called sons, such, for example, as Ares. Greek literature usually presents Greek theology in a highly departmental state; but traces are not lacking of a previous stage. We have a well-known instance in Pluto, who was always a Zeus, that is to say a chthonian or catachthonian Zeus, with his realm in the deep earth as far below its surface as the sky is above it. This is borne out by the Orphic myth of the union with Persephone of Zeus in the form of a snake, but still as father Zeus; and by the Pontic cult which did not distinguish between Ζεὺς ὕπατος and Ζεὺς χθόνιος;[1] not to mention how near the idea of Pluto,

[1] Preller in Pauly's *Real-Encycl.* s. v. Jupiter (Vol. iv. 588).

or Πλούτων, as a god associated with wealth, comes to that of Ζεὺς πλούσιος.[1] Similarly with regard to the sea, Zeus is sometimes spoken of interfering with it,[2] and Posidon occasionally bears the designation of Ζεὺς Ἐνάλιος; but the original identity of Posidon with Zeus is even more strikingly shown in the case of Ζεὺς οὔριος, or the giver of the fair winds desired by the mariner. His temple was not unfrequently built on a headland looking over the sea; somewhat like that of Nodens as regards the estuary of the Severn. A celebrated image of the headland Zeus, the controller of wind and weather, was brought from Macedon to the Capitol in Rome, where it was known as Jupiter Imperator.[3] Here should also be mentioned Ζεὺς ἀποβατήριος, or the Zeus who protected the voyager's landings. It is thus clear that the provinces of Zeus and Posidon cannot be wholly separated, and they betray traces of a stage when a well-defined department of activity had not as yet been entrusted to the latter god.[4] Much the same remark applies in the case of some of the sons of Zeus, whose functions originally belonged to an undifferentiated Zeus. For instance, Ares looks like a personality developed out of the warlike aspect of Zeus's character, since his attributes coincide mostly with those of Ζεὺς ἀρεῖος. This was, however, only one of Zeus's epithets which had regard to him as a god of war: as leader he was Ζεὺς ἀγήτωρ; as possessed of great strength he was Σθένιος; as a helper in the conflict he was Ἐπήτιος; and as giver of triumph Τροπαῖος; not to mention the fact that the Zeus of the

[1] Preller's *Gr. Mythol.* (third ed.) i. 117.

[2] Ib. i. 123, note 5.

[3] Ib. i. 126.

[4] Pauly, iv. 588.

Carians was equipped with a battle-axe and clad in the complete armour of a hoplite,[1] which calls to mind the Zeus of the Gauls, their Mars-Jupiter, as one might venture to term him (p. 48). It is needless to say that the Roman Mars was in no sense a mere counterpart of the Greek Ares, but rather a sort of duplicate of Jupiter, owing his existence alongside of the greater god to the composite character of the ancient Roman community. Mars shared with Jupiter the title of father, and such epithets as Loucetius or bright, while the chief honours of a successful campaign belonged to Jupiter alone: the *spolia opima* were his, and Mars came only second. But to step again on Greek ground, the pre-classic Zeus, with whom one should compare the Nodens of the earliest Celtic period, may be described in almost the same terms which were used of the latter: he was sovereign of gods and men, the giver of wealth and prosperity, the supreme arbiter of the fortunes of war, and lord both of land and sea. By what steps the Zeus of the Celts came to be especially associated with the sea by some of their number, will appear more clearly in a later portion of this lecture.

Cormac, Conaire, Conchobar.

Though Nuada under his various names has detained us long, he is by no means the only representative in Irish literature of the Mars-Jupiter of the Celts. As one of the most remarkable personages of this origin, may be mentioned Cormac mac Airt, grandson of Conn the Hundred-fighter: he is regarded as having reigned at Tara in the third century, and his story may contain some

[1] Preller's *Gr. Myth.* i. 111-12.

slight admixture of history. His reign is represented as one of remarkable prosperity,[1] and he himself as exceeding 'all his predecessors in magnificence, munificence, wisdom and learning, as also in military achievements.'[2] So great was his reputation for legal knowledge, that a well-known book of Irish law has been attributed to him.[3] One version of his history as king of Erinn represents him driven from his throne by an enemy called Fergus the Black-toothed, but enabled afterwards, like Nuada, to recover the sovereignty.[4] Another, however, found in an older manuscript,[5] but not necessarily an older account, describes his court at Tara invaded by a champion called Aengus of the Poisoned Spear, whose brother had lost his daughter to a son of Cormac's called Cellach. Aengus slew Cellach between his father and the wall, and in so doing put out one of the king's eyes. This Aengus was a Plutonic prince associated with a historical people called the Déisi, which probably means that he was a god specially worshipped by them. Be that as it may, his deed of violence is represented as the beginning of a revolt against Cormac. In the war which followed, Aengus fell at the head of the Déisi, who were then driven out of their land by Cormac's son Cairbre and his sons. On the other hand, Cormac himself had to quit the office of king on losing his eye, so that he lived some time in the neighbourhood of Tara and helped his son

[1] *The Bk. of Ballymote*, quoted by O'Curry in his *Manners*, &c., ij. 18.

[2] O'Curry, ibid.

[3] *The Book of Acaill*, forming Vol. iij. of the *Senchus Mor*; see also O'Curry, ij. 27.

[4] O'Curry, ij. 139-46. [5] *The Bk. of the Dun*, 53*b*, 54*a*.

and successor with his counsel until he was, according to one account, killed by demons.[1] In any case he is not described in these stories as restored again to his throne; but the blemish incompatible with kingship is brought into relief in his person as in that of Nuada.

A description of Cormac's person on the occasion of his entering a great assembly in state, tells us that the equal of his form had never been seen, except that of Conaire the Great, of Conchobar son of Nessa, or of Aengus son of the Dagda.[2] It is remarkable that the ancient writer should mention these three, as they are adumbrations of the same god as Cormac. Thus I may here say, without anticipating the remarks to be presently made on the Aengus to whom I have alluded, that he was the constant aider and protector of the sun-hero Diarmait,[3] while Conaire was the subject of one of the most famous epic stories in Irish literature. The plot[4] centres in Conaire's tragic death, which is brought about by the fairies of Erinn, through the instrumentality of outlaws coming from the sea and following the lead of a sort of cyclops called Ingcél, said to have been a big, rough, horrid, monster with only one eye, which was, however, wider than an ox-hide, blacker than the back of a beetle, and provided with no less than three pupils.[5] The death of

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[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 50*b*.

[2] O'Curry, from the *Bk. of Ballymote*, ij. 18.

[3] See passim, *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*, now available in an excellent edition published by the Soc. for the Preserv. of the Ir. Language (Dublin, 1881).

[4] The oldest version is given in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 83*a*—99*a*, but it is incomplete.

[5] *Bk. of the Dun*, 84*b*.

Conaire at his hands is one of the Celtic renderings of the story which in its Greek form describes the treatment of Zeus by Typho.

In another cycle of stories, which may be called Ultonian, the Celtic Zeus finds his representative in Conchobar mac Nessa, or Conor son of Nessa, king of Ulster, who cannot be dismissed quite so briefly as the others. As in Cormac's case, a highly coloured picture is drawn of his reign, which the Euhemerists synchronize with the time of Christ, boldly fixing the Ultonian king's death on the day of the Crucifixion.[1] His death was occasioned by a ball, with which he had been wounded in the skull years before, and which the surgeons of the court had never ventured to extract: it had been made, according to a savage practice, of the brains of a fallen foe called Mesgegra, by mixing it with lime. There was a prophecy that Mesgegra would avenge himself on the Ultonians, and a champion of Conchobar's enemies, called Cét, having surreptitiously got possession of the ball thus made of Mesgegra's brain, found an opportunity of hurling it at the Ultonian king's head, with the result already mentioned. Both Cét and Mesgegra belonged to the mythological party of darkness and death, and here we have them helping to produce an Ultonian parallel to Cormac losing one of his eyes, and Nuada one of his hands, especially as the ball was in Conchobar's head for years before it caused his death, and partly disabled him all that time, as he had to abstain from all violent exercise

[1] This part of the story and what immediately follows will be found summarized in O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* p. 275, &c. See also the original, printed (from the *Bk. of Leinster*, 123*b*—124*b*) with a literal translation, pp. 636—643.

or excitement. But the early history of Conchobar is still more interesting, as it contains one of the Goidelic versions of the story which in its Greek form relates how Cronus was driven from power by his son Zeus. Conchobar's mother's name was Nessa, after whom he was called Conchobar mac Nessa. She was a warlike virago with a strange history; but who the father was is not quite certain: according to some accounts, he was a great Ulster druid or magician called Cathbad; but according to others, he was a monarch called Fachtna Fáthach or the Poetic, who died when Conchobar was a child. The king of Ulster at the time, Fergus mac Róig, fell passionately in love with Nessa, and made proposals of marriage to her; but she would only listen to him on the condition that he should hand over to her boy Conchobar the sovereignty of Ulster for the space of one year. Fergus consented, and Nessa made things so pleasant for the Ulster nobles during the year, that at its close they declined to restore Fergus to the kingship.

He thereupon made war on Conchobar, but as he proved unsuccessful he had to submit. He remained some years in Ulster, in the course of which Conchobar married a daughter of the king who reigned over Erinn at Tara. She bore the name of Medb, and she had a will of her own; for, becoming soon tired of Conchobar, she left him, and we read of her afterwards as the wife of a prince called Ailill. They are styled respectively king and queen of Connaught. As to Fergus, he undertook to reconcile Conchobar to the return of certain exiles known as the Sons of Usnech, whose misfortunes form the subject of a well-known Irish tale; but Conchobar behaving treacherously towards them, Fergus and all his followers went

into exile; and here it may be mentioned in passing that Fergus had, some time before departing from Ulster, acted as foster-father and tutor to the son of a sister of Conchobar's: this was Cúchulainn, who, as the greatest of the solar heroes of the Ultonian cycle, will have to be referred to repeatedly as we go on. Fergus and his adherents, while in exile, were hospitably received by Ailill and Medb.

This completes the part of the story which is here in point, and it requires one or two remarks. In the first place, Ailill has various descents ascribed him, or else Medb must have married two Ailills in succession, which is the view sometimes adopted; but that is of no great consequence. The name *Ailill* seems to be the Irish equivalent of the Welsh *ellyll*, 'an elf or demon,' and Medb's Ailill belongs to a race which is always found ranged against the Tuatha Dé Danann.[1] Medb herself, married first to Conchobar and then to Ailill, is to be classed with what I may, in default of a better term, designate goddesses of the dawn and dusk, who are found at one time consorting with bright beings and at another with dark ones. They also commonly associate themselves with water; thus Medb, after the death of her husband Ailill at the hands of an Ulster hero called Conall Cernach, one of the solar heroes of the Ultonian cycle of stories, dwelt in an island in Loch Ree, on the east side of which

[1] It is right, however, to say that an Ailill Find, 'Ailill the White or Fair,' belongs to the opposite race, as his wife Flidais is carried away by Fergus, at the end of a series of tragic events forming the subject of a well-known story introductory to the epic tale of the *Táin*, of which more anon. See the *Bk. of Leinster*, 247 *a*—248 *a*; also O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., iii. 338-9.

there was a spring where she bathed herself every morning: there she was at last killed by the avenging hand of one of Conchobar's sons.[1] To this may be added that Conchobar, when he lost Medb, married a sister of hers named Eithne, who is fabled to have given her name to a river in Westmeath, called after her *Eithne*, Anglicized into *Inny*.[2] But there were two other sisters of Medb, severally mentioned as Conchobar's wives, namely, Clothru of *Inis Clothrann*, or Clothru's Isle, in Loch Ree,[3] and Mugain, who is perhaps most commonly spoken of as Conchobar's queen.[4] In Fergus, usually called Fergus mac Róig after his mother,[5] we have a kind of good-natured Cronus of gigantic proportions, endowed with the strength of 700 ordinary men,[6] wielding a sword of fairy make, which extended itself to the dimensions of a rainbow whenever he chose to use it.[7] Nevertheless, he could not prevail over Conchobar, so he thought it best to leave the kingdom. Fergus' relationship to Conchobar differed from that of Cronus to Zeus, in that he was not Conchobar's father but his uncle.[8]

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[1] O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., ij. 290-1; but see also the *Bk. of Leinster*, 124*b*, 125*a*, where the story differs considerably from the version given by O'Curry from another source.

[2] O'Curry, ib. p. 290.

[3] *Bk. of Leinster*, 125*a*.

[4] Windisch's *Ir. Texte*, pp. 255, 258, 259, *et passim*.

[5] O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* p. 483.

[6] *Bk. of Leinster*, 106*b*. This Fergus is, mythologically speaking, to be identified probably with the Black-toothed Fergus of the story of Cormac: see p. 134.

[7] Ib. 102*b*.

[8] Fergus was son of Ross the Red, who was the father of Fachtna Fáthach, said to be the father of Conchobar: see *Bk. of Leinster*, 97*b*, 102*b*; also O'Curry, p. 483.

Given Conchobar king of the Ultonians, his runaway wife queen of Connaught, and the exile Fergus enjoying more than hospitality at her court, we have the relative positions of some of the principal forces marshalled in the greatest epic story of the Irish, that which their literary men most endeavoured to elaborate. It purports to describe the events of an expedition by Ailill and Medb, with their numerous allies, to the kingdom of Ulster. Their chief object is said to have been the possession of a marvellous bull, called the Black of Cúailnge, from the district in which he grazed. *Cúailnge* is in modern Irish *Cuailyhe*, Anglicized *Cooley*, the name of a mountainous part of the county of Louth:[1] ancient Ulster extended to the Boyne, and sometimes even further southwards.[2] The story serves as the centre around which other stories cluster, and the whole is known as the *Táin* or 'Driving' of the Kine of Cooley.[3] Ailill and Medb made use of Fergus on the *Táin* as the captain of the vanguard of their army, he being acquainted with the district they wished to reach; and they arrived there during the *couvade*[4] of the Ultonians, when none of their heroes could stir, excepting Cúchulainn, who accordingly had to face

[1] *Bk. of Rights*, p. 21, O'Donovan's note.

[2] O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* p. 269.

[3] It is called in Irish *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, or simply *in Táin*, literally 'the Driving' away of the cattle in question. The fragment of the tale in the *Bk. of the Dun* occupies fol. 55*a*—82*b*, and in the *Bk. of Leinster* it takes up much more space, namely, fol. 53*b*—104*b*, but neither is that complete. For references to other manuscripts of it, analyses and abstracts, see M. d'Arbois de Jubainville's *Essai d'un Catalogue de la Littérature épique de l'Irlande* (Paris, 1883), pp. 214—216.

[4] For an account of this strange custom, see Tylor's *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, pp. 289—297.

the invaders single-handed. The principal part of the Táin describes the astounding feats of valour performed by him, and it forms the Irish counterpart to the Greek story of Heracles defending the gods of Olympus by despatching their foes for them with his invincible arrows.

Conchobar, though he showed himself capable on occasions of being, like Zeus, unscrupulous and cruel, is described as an exemplary king of the heroic period. His palace was considered a model of magnificence and comfort—a view, however, to be accepted in a strictly relative sense, as may be inferred from the fact that the sleeping arrangements for the king and his adult sister Dechtere disclose the most awkward feature of modern over-crowding.[1] The king's own life at home shaped itself into a routine which divided the day-time into three parts;[2] and his administration of his kingdom is treated as a pattern of what kingly rule should be. He is even represented as a reformer of the administration of justice, in that he had put an end to the exclusive right of the poet-seers to give judgment. The chief seer of Ulster had died, so goes the story,[3] and the succession to his office was contested by his son and an older man of the same profession: the two argued their claims at great length with much eloquence, and even settled the case to their own satisfaction; but the king and his nobles understood naught of their abstruse and obscure language; so that when it was over, the former determined, with a pardonable weakness for what he

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 128*b*; Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 139.

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, 59*a*.

[3] It will be found in O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* pp. 45-6, 383, and in his *Manners*, &c., iij. 316.

could understand, that the seers and poets should no longer arrogate to themselves the right to administer justice. Conchobar's time was one of great prosperity for his people, and he is himself styled *Cathbuadach*, or victorious in war,[1] though he is more than once found overcome by his enemies, like Zeus by Typho. Thus on one occasion a battle took place between the Ultonians and a prince called Eogan mac Durthacht,[2] who more than once in Conchobar's history appears as the representative of darkness and treachery: the Ultonians were beaten, Conchobar was left on the field, and night supervened. The king's life was only saved by the coming of Cúchulainn, who found him exhausted and almost wholly covered over with earth. He dug him out, procured food for him and took him home to the court.[3] On another occasion the Ultonians were pursuing Ailill and Medb with their forces, when Ailill's charioteer, called Ferloga, concealed himself in the heather, whence he sprang on Conchobar's chariot and seized hold of the king's neck from behind; nor did he loosen his grasp until the latter had promised to ransom himself. When Ferloga specified his demand, it proved to be merely that Conchobar should take him to his capital and bid the un-

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 128*b*; also 124*a*, where the Irish word occurs abbreviated in the MS. to *cach*, first explained by Zimmer in his *Keltische Studien* (Berlin, 1881), i. 38-9.

[2] *Durthacht*, for which *Dairthechta* also occurs (see Windisch, s. v.), is probably of the same origin as the reduplicate *doruthethaig*, 'deperdidi,' *Gram. Celt.* p. 448 (incorrectly rendered *celebravit* at p. 351), and Stokes' *Goidelica*, pp. 4, 14; so that *Mac Durthacht* would seem to have had much the same meaning as the name of another character of the same class: I mean *Mac Cuill*, 'Son of Perdition or Destruction.'

[3] *Bk. of the Duñ*, 59*b*, 60*a*.

married women and maidens of Ulster sing around him every evening a rhyme, the burden of which was 'Ferloga, my sweetheart.'[1] The mythological meaning of this insult to the heroes of Ulster is not quite evident; but after a time Ferloga was sent home to the west with a present consisting of Conchobar's two steeds richly caparisoned in gold.[2]

Lastly, whatever elements of a historical nature have been absorbed by the Conchobar legend, his well-defined position as a king of Ulster becomes at once obscured when one begins to look a little more closely into the so-called early history of Ireland. Thus it speaks of another Conchobar, known as *Conchobar Abrad-ruad*, 'Conchobar of the Red Eyebrows,' who alone has been admitted to a place in the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, compiled by the Four Masters in the earlier part of the 17th century. In that work he is represented as reigning over Erinn six years before the Incarnation, and dying at the hands of a son of Lugaid,[3] a contemporary of Cúchulainn, son of Conchobar mac Nessa's sister, Dechtere: so that the time of this Conchobar, king of Erinn, coincides, roughly speaking, with that of the king of Ulster of the same name, and I have very little doubt that the two were originally one, a view corroborated by the fact that Conchobar is by no means a common name in the remoter portions of

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 114*a*; Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 106; and O'Curry's *Manners*, iij. 372.

[2] This looks as if Ferloga, though called Ailill's charioteer, should be a sun-god; and the name *Fer-loga* meaning the 'Man of *Lug* or *lug*,' a word to be discussed later, would seem to point in the same direction.

[3] *Four Masters*, A. M. 5192.

Irish pedigrees, which are here quite in point, as they make both Conchobars grandsons of one and the same Ross the Red.[1] Conchobar was doubtless not a man; his sister Dechtere, the mother of Cúchulainn, is called a goddess;[2] and the scribe of an old story in the Book of the Dun is obliged, in spite of his Euhemerism, to remark in passing that Conchobar was a *día talmaide*,[3] or terrestrial god, of the Ultonians of his time. He is, in short, to be regarded as holding, in the Ultonian cycle, a place analogous to that of Nuada and Llûd in the cycles to which they belong.

The Mac Óc and Merlin.

In respect of his partially acknowledged divinity, Conchobar differs from Cormac mac Airt, who is treated throughout as a mere man. The next to be mentioned is Aengus,[4] who, on the other hand, is never treated as a historical character: he is described as son of the god called Dagda the Great, and the goddess Boann,[5] from

[1] The *Four Masters* had not the courage to make Conchobar mac Nessa a historical character, but they call the other Conchobar the son of *Finn File*, 'Finn the Poet or Seer' (A.M. 5192), in whom we seem to have the same son of Ross the Red that is called Fachtna the Poetic, as the reputed father of Conchobar mac Nessa.

[2] *Bk. of Leinster*, 123*b*, where Cúchulainn is called *mc dea dechtiri*, 'of (the) son of (the) goddess Dechtire.'

[3] *Bk. of the Dun*, 101*b*; *Fled Bricrenn*, in Windisch's *Ir. Texte*, p. 259.

[4] Here, as elsewhere, there is some difficulty as to which form of the name to choose: the modern Irish spelling is *Aonghus*, while *Aengus* is older; but older still is *Oengus*, while *Oingus*, or *Oinguss*, would be the oldest to be found in manuscripts.

[5] *Boann*, also *Boand*, genitive *Boinne* or *Boinde*, was the name of the lady pursued by the Boyne: see p. 123.

whom the river Boyne takes its name. The younger god, fully described, was 'Aengus son of the (two) Young Ones.'[1] What this exactly meant is not clear; for though his parents as immortals might perhaps be regarded as ever young, no reference is made, so far as I know, to the youthfulness of either: on the contrary, the Dagda is represented both as old and old-fashioned, fond of porridge, and generally a good subject for comic treatment.[2] Aengus is also called *In Mac Óc*, 'the Young Son,' possibly 'the Young Fellow,' which is in harmony with the stories extant about his youthful beauty and personal attractions; as, for example, when he once on a time appeared to king Cormac and gave him prophetic answers to his questions about the future: on that occasion he carried a musical instrument, and he is usually described much devoted to music of an irresistible nature. The Mac Óc's foster-father was Mider, king of the Fairies, whose wife was Etáin, another dawn-goddess; but a fragmentary story[3] represents a rival of hers succeeding by her wiles and magic arts in severing her from Mider. When her husband lost her, she was found in great misery by the Mac Óc, who had her clad in purple and placed in a glass *grianan* or sun-bower, where she fed on fragrance and the bloom of odoriferous flowers. One of the most curious things in this very curious story is the

[1] In Irish *Oengus mac ind Óc*, or merely *Mac ind Óc*, a name which probably belonged to a lost pedigree of the god, differing from the one ordinarily given.

[2] See the British Museum MS. Harl. 5280, fol. 66*b*; also Dr. Sullivan's introductory volume to O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., pp. dcxxxix, dcxl.

[3] *Bk. of the Dun*, p. 129; Windisch, pp. 130–132.

statement, that, when the Mac Óc travelled, he carried the glass *grianan* about with him, and slept in it at night in order to attend on Etáin while awaiting the return of her former health and vigour. Once more Etáin's rival succeeded in separating her from her protector and in reducing her to a condition of great wretchedness, prior to her entering on a new state of existence. The rôle of protecting a dawn-goddess is ascribed to the Mac Óc in another story,[1] where she appears under the name of Grainne, daughter of Cormac mac Airt, and the Mac Óc is called Aengus. Grainne declines to wed Finn, the counterpart of the Welsh god Gwyn, king of the fairies and the dead; but she elopes with Diarmait, a solar hero who was Aengus' foster-son; and when Diarmait and Grainne found themselves hard pressed by Finn and his men in pursuit, Aengus repeatedly aided them by throwing his magic mantle around Grainne and carrying her away unobserved by Finn. Here the mantle answers the purpose of the more cumbrous glass *grianan*.

The latter, however, is of prime importance from a mythological point of view, as it seems to be a sort of picture of the expanse of the heavens lit up by the light of the sun; and in the Mac Óc, going about with this glass structure, we have a representation of the Aryan Zeus in his original character of god of the sun and daylight. Now if the Mac Óc be regarded as a Goidelic Zeus, the Dagda should be a Cronus, and that is corroborated by the peculiar relations in which the two Irish gods are placed with regard to one another. For

[1] '*The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*, already alluded to: see note, p. 135.

as Cronus is disinherited by his youngest son Zeus, so is the Dagda by his Young Son the Mac Óc, excepting that it is brought about in Irish mythology, not by war, but by craft. The story is recorded that the Dagda, as king of the Tuatha Dé Danann, allotted them their respective habitations, but that in so doing he happened to forget the Mac Óc, who presently called on his father to claim his inheritance. The Dagda replied that he had none left, at which his son naturally grumbled, and asked to be allowed to stay at the Dagda's palace till night. The Dagda assented; but at the end of the allotted time he told his son to go. The son replied that he had been granted day and night, which was the sum of all existence. So he stayed on in the palace of his father, who had to move out[1] to seek a home elsewhere. This scene doubtless belonged originally to Irish mythology before any Celts had settled in Ireland, but the story came to be localized in due time in that country, thus associating the name of the Mac Óc with one of the abodes of the happy departed.

How this was brought about may be gathered from the following facts. The Tuatha Dé Danann were regarded, nobody knows how early, as one of the races inhabiting Erinn, so that upon the arrival of the Sons of Mile, or the mythic race from which most of the human dwellers in the island are regarded as derived, a great battle took

[1] See the *Bk. of Leinster*, pp. 246*b*, 247*a*. According to a story summarized from the Bk. of Fermoy by Dr. Todd in the R. Irish Academy's *Irish MSS. Series*, i. 46, the dispossessed owner was not the Dagda but Elcmar, foster-father to the Mac Óc, who expelled him with the aid of the magic arts of Manannán mac Lir. See also M. d'A. de Jubainville's *Cycle Mythol.* pp. 276—282.

place between them at Tailltinn, situated between Kells and Navan in the present county of Meath.[1] The gods, defeated, withdrew from the ken of the invaders, forming themselves into an invisible world of their own. They retreated into the hills and mounds of Erinn; so tradition associates them especially with the burial mounds and cemeteries of the country. A very remarkable group of these dot the banks of the Boyne: take, for example, the burial remains of Newgrange, in Meath; of Knowth, near Slane, in the same county, and only separated by the river from the ancient cemetery of Ros na Rígh; of Dowth, near Drogheda; and of Drogheda itself—all of which appear to have been plundered by the Norsemen in the ninth century.[2] Add to these the Brugh of the Boyne, the home of the Dagda, which he lost to his crafty son the Mac Óc, known thenceforth as the Aengus of the Brugh.[3] Euhemeristic tradition came to represent the Dagda and his sons as buried there, and pointed to the *Síd*, or Fairy Mound, of the Brugh, as covering their resting-place.

The older account, however, which relates how the Mac Óc got possession of it, says nothing about it as a cemetery; in fact it describes it as an admirable place, more accurately speaking as an admirable land, a

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[1] *Four Masters*, A. M. 3500, & ed.'s note, p. 22.

[2] Ib. A. D. 861, & ed.'s notes.

[3] Ib. A. M. 3450, & note; Petrie's *Round Towers of Ireland*, in the Transactions of the R. Irish Academy, xx. 100-1; also O'Curry, iij. 122, 362. It may here be explained, that the word *brugh*, in older spelling *brug* or *brud*, is usually translated a 'palace.' The one in question was on the Boyne, at *Broad*-Boyne Bridge, near Slane, in the county of Meath.

term which betrays the usual identification[1] of the fairy mound with the nether world to which it formed the entrance. Admirable, it says, is that land; there are three trees there always bearing fruit; there is one pig there always alive, and another pig always ready cooked; and there is a vessel there full of excellent ale.[2] Nobody who is familiar with the literature of ancient Erinn requires to be told that this description is an expression of the old Irish idea of the Land of the Blessed. So the myth placing the Dagda at the head of the departed, simply happy on fruit and pork and ale, is the counterpart, and a very ancient one, of the Greek story of Cronus, vanquished and driven from power, wandering to the Isles of the Blessed, there to reign over them and share the functions of Rhadamanthus. The Irish idea of the Dagda as a Goidelic Cronus, ruling over an Elysium with which a sepulchral mound was associated, nay even confounded, contributed possibly to the formation of the story that all the Tuatha Dé Danann, beaten in battle, withdrew into the hills and mounds of Erinn; but be that as it may, this latter belief in its turn put an end to the singularity of the Dagda's position by making that of the other gods much like his. Further, the transference to his new sphere in Erinn of the incident of his replacement by his son, had the mythologically strange effect of making into a king of the dead in nether dusk the Mac Óc, who should have been the youthful Zeus of

[1] It was here helped by confounding *brug*, as applied to the Mac Óc's 'house' (*Bk. of the Dun*, 51 *b*), with some form of *bruig*, for an earlier *mruig* (see Windisch, s. v.) of the same origin as the English *Marches*, Ger. *mark*, Welsh *bro*, 'a land or district,' Gaulish Allo*broges* (p. 5).

[2] *Bk. of Leinster*, 246 *a*.

the Goidelic world, rejoicing in the translucent expanse of the heavens as his crystal bower.

A somewhat similar localizing of mythic personages is observable in connection with the ancient stone strongholds of the west. One of the most remarkable stands in the island of Arann, off the coast of Galway: it is not known when or by whom its cyclopean walls were built, but it is called Dun Aengus, after an Aengus son of Umór,[1] a father otherwise obscure. Now we read of a lady called Maistiu, daughter to this Aengus, acting as embroideress to the other Aengus;[2] and it is by no means improbable that the Dagda's Son of the one set of stories was Umór's Son of the other, whence it would follow that Aengus's daughter who embroidered for him might be regarded as corresponding to Zeus's daughter Athene, who excelled in the same kind of work. The story of Aengus, son of Umór, associates him with a mythic people called the Fir Bolg, and brings him and the Clann Umóir[3] from Scotland; they obtained land in Meath from the king of Erinn, but finding his yoke too heavy, they escaped to the west, when Aengus and his household settled in Arann. The meaning of this myth will readily be seen by comparing it with its Welsh counterpart, to which we are now coming. But before dismissing the Mac Óc, it may be worth while mentioning

[1] O'Curry's *Manners*, &c., ij. 122, iij. 5, 74, 122; and there appears to have been a tale, now unknown, about the Destruction of *Dún Oengusa* (in modern Irish *Dún Aonghuis*), the Fortress of Aengus: see M. d'A. de Jubainville's *Essai d'un Catalogue*, p. 244.

[2] *Bk. of Lecan*, fol. 233*a*, *b*, quoted by O'Curry, iij. 122.

[3] Some more references to Aengus and the other sons of Umór will be found in O'Donovan's note to the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1599 (p. 2104), and O'Curry's *Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 157.

that he, like Zeus, figures in love adventures, and Irish literature contains many allusions to him, some of which remain unexplained, such as one which speaks of the four kisses of Aengus of the Brugh of the Boyne, that were converted by him into 'birds which haunted the youths of Erinn.'[1]

The counterpart of Aengus in Welsh is to be found, I think, in Myrđin, better known in English as Merlin, and in Ambrosius called in Welsh *Emrys* or *Emrys Wledig*, that is to say Prince Emrys or Ambrose the *Gwledig*. In Nennius' *Historia Brittonum* we find him brought as a child before old king Vortigern in the neighbourhood of Snowdon, where he was trying to build a great fortress for himself and his household. Emrys then gave his name as Ambrosius, and, though a mere child, he confounded Vortigern's magicians and frightened the old king to leave him the fortress, together with all the western portion of the island.[2] The former was thenceforth called *Dinas Emrys*, the Town of Ambrosius, a name still borne by a hill-spur near Beđgelert in Carnarvonshire. Now this Ambrosius is otherwise identified with the king Emrys, who was brother to Uthr, or Uther as he is called in English:[3] the former is called in Latin Aurelius Ambrosius, in whom we seem to have a historical man, while the latter is to be identified with the god of the Wonderful Head mentioned in the last lecture (pp. 94—97). But the Emrys whom Nennius brings before Vortigern is the Myrđin or Merlin of other

[1] O'Curry, p. 478.

[2] San-Marte, *Gildas et Nennius*, pp. 53—55.

[3] Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. San-Marte, pp. 78-9, &c.

versions[1] of the story. So a distinction of persons has been sometimes made, according to which there was a prophet Merlin and a prince Emrys: even this was not found sufficient, for some have subdivided Merlin into three, to wit, Merlin *Ambrosius*, Merlin *Caledonius*, and Merlin *Sylvaticus*. In order to approach the original conception our course is clear: we must give all the attributes of Emrys and the Merlins to one Merlin Emrys; but this is only theoretically clear, as the process is disturbed by the historical element introduced in the person of Aurelius Ambrosius, who may possibly be regarded as in a sense responsible for some of the chief difficulties in our way, looked at from a mythological point of view. We should, however, not be far wrong in treating Merlin Emrys as an adumbration of a personage who was at once a king and warrior, a great magician and prophet, in a word a Zeus of Brythonic paganism.

But if Merlin Emrys be a Brythonic Zeus, then Vortigern ought to be a Brythonic Cronus; and this is, to say the least of it, in harmony with the evidence of Vortigern's name, which means a supreme lord or over-king, corresponding to the position of Cronus before he was driven from power. The Mac Óc is represented as the Dagda's son, which cannot be paralleled by any of the accounts of Merlin Emrys' birth; but this may be one of the results of the disturbing influence of the historical element. On a third point we are more fortunate: the Dagda and Cronus, supplanted by their respective sons, go to preside over the departed; and the parallel extends to Vortigern. For, when leaving

[1] Such as Geoffrey's, pp. 90—101.

his kingdom to Merlin Emrys, he proceeded to the north, a part of the island supposed at one time to have been the abode of the dead, a notion attested by so late an author as the Greek writer Procopius in the 6th century. Further, the district in the north to which Vortigern is made to go is called *Gwynnwesi*,[1] a derivative used probably as the plural of *Gwynwas*, which would mean the White or Blissful Abode. The compound, analysed into *Gwas Gwyn*,[2] of the same meaning, occurs in another story, which represents a solar hero, called Caswallawn son of Beli, going in pursuit of his mistress, Fflûr daughter of Mygnach the Dwarf, who was carried away by the Romans, according to one account to Rome, and according to another to Gwasgwyn. He recovered her after a great battle with the Romans, who, to avenge their defeat, afterwards invaded Britain under Julius Caesar:[3] another reference to the same mythic expedition of Caswallawn's makes him and his host settle permanently in Gwasgwyn.[4] Now Caswallawn belongs to Welsh mythology, but his name happens to be the same as that of the historical man Cassivellaunus of Caesar's narrative, and *Gwasgwyn*,

[1] San-Marte, in his *Gildas et Nennius*, p. 55, adopts the reading *Guunnesi*, but there are diverse others all consistent with an original *Guennuessi*, which may also have had the shortened form *Gunnuessi*.

[2] Compare the use of *gwas* in speaking of an abode or mansion in Heaven in the Bk. of Taliessin, Skene, ij. 110; see also p. 11 above. Probably the *Gwysmeuryc* of the Welsh version of Geoffrey, ij. 194*b*, derives its *gwys* from a very different origin, as the Latin version has *Westimaria*, p. 57, and *Westmarialanda*, p. 66.

[3] *The Triads*, i. 53, 77, ii. 58, iii. 102: see also San-Marte's Geoffrey, p. 253, note.

[4] Ib. i. 40, ii. 5.

in the stories mentioned, originally meant *Gwas Gwyn*, the White Mansion, the mythical abode of the happy dead; but it was misinterpreted to refer to Gascony, which came to be known in Welsh as *Gwasgwyn*.[1] It is to this mythic land of the White Mansion or Blissful Abode, whither the sun-god's bride had been hurried away by a rival, that the boy Merlin Emrys drove the aged and uxorious monarch once correctly styled Vortigern or supreme king.

It may here be remarked that Vortigern resembled Cronus more closely in point of character than did the Dagda, whose name appears to stand for an earlier *Dagodêvos*, meaning the 'good god,'[2] in reference probably to the goodnatured disposition usually ascribed him in his last sphere of activity; but no description of the corresponding portion of Vortigern's career has reached us, while we know that previous to his expulsion from his realm his reputation for cruelty and treachery was such that he was hated of his subjects. The crowning crime of his reign was his alliance with the enemies of his country and his marrying Rhonwen,[3] 'White-mane,' daughter of one of their two leaders, known by the similarly equine names, Hengist and Horsa. This has to some extent to be regarded as history, for the confounding of Aurelius Ambrosius, who was probably engaged in opposing German invasions, with a mythic Ambrosius

[1] *Gwasgwyn* also meant in Welsh a kind of horse for which Gascony was formerly famous.

[2] For *Dagda* the decompounded *Dagan* also occurs: see the *Bk. of Leinster*, 245 *b*.

[3] The form *Rowen*, or *Rowenna*, was obtained by a very easy misreading of *Rōuenn*, or *Ronuenn*, Geoffrey, pp. 84, 86.

in the person of Merlin Emrys, would bring in, as its natural complement, the explanation that the king, fabled to have been driven from power, deserved it because of his alliance with the invader; but it fails to account for the original truculence of Vortigern's character, which, looking at the Greek story of Cronus, I take to be part and parcel of the ancient myth.

It would be impossible, within the compass of these remarks, to touch, however slightly, on the many questions which the mention of Merlin must suggest to your minds; but before we have done with him, let us see in what form the crystal bower of the Mac Óc appears in his story. First, then, and foremost may be mentioned the legend which represents him going with his suite of nine bards into the sea in a Glass House, after which nothing more was ever heard of either him or them.[1] But another story appears to have placed the Glass House in Bardsey,[2] which probably derives its name from Merlin as the bard and prophet *par excellence;* and we read that Merlin took with him into the Glass House the thirteen treasures[3] of Britain, including among them such rarities as Arthur's tartan that rendered its wearer invisible, Gwyđno's inexhaustible basket, and other articles of equally fabulous virtues.

Further, a Welsh poet[4] of the 15th century tells us that

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[1] *Triads*, iij. 10.

[2] The *Brython* for 1860, pp. 372-3; the *Greal* (London, 1805), p. 188.

[3] Enumerated in the *Brython*, loc. cit.; also in Guest's *Mab.* ij. 354.

[4] Ieuan Dyfi, quoted by Morris in his *Celtic Remains*, s. v. Enlli, p. 170, where the author gravely disposes of the great enchanter as follows: 'This house of glass, it seems, was the museum where they

the reason why Merlin entered the Glass House was in order to please his leman. This tallies with the account, in the romances, of Merlin's final disappearance; the person whom Merlin loved is called the Lady of the Lake, to whom he is represented as disclosing the secrets of his magic art; but she would not rest satisfied until she had the means of detaining him for evermore. Merlin must teach her how she might imprison a man by enchantment alone in 'a tour with-outen walles, or with-oute eny closure.' He, understanding what it meant, declined for a while to consent; but her winning ways proved irresistible, for he showed her at length how to make 'a place feire and couenable,' so contrived by art and by cunning that it might never be undone, and that he and she 'should be there in joy and in solace.' So one day when they were going hand in hand through the forest of Brécilien, they found a 'bussh that was feire and high of white hawthorne full of floures,' and beneath that bush they sat them down in the shade. He fell asleep with his head on the lady's lap; but as soon as she found him fast asleep, she arose and gave effect to the feat of magic she had learned: she 'made a cerne with hir wymple all a-boute the bussh and all a-boute Merlin, and be-gan hir enchauntementz soche as Merlin hadde hir taught, and made the cerne ix tymes, and ix tymes hir enchauntementes.' When he woke he looked around 'and hym semed he was in the feirest tour of the worlde, and the moste stronge.' He could not issue thence, but the Lady of the Lake promised to spend the greater part

kept their curiosities to be seen by everybody, but not handled; and it is probable Myrddin, who is said to live in it, was the keeper of their museum at that time.'

of every day with him, as she could go in and out at will. Such is a summary of the story,[1] to which should be added that when Merlin had been missed at Arthur's court and several knights had gone in search of him, one of them, as he was passing through the forest of Brécilien, heard a groaning close by him; so he looked up and down, 'and nothinge he saugh, but as it hadde ben a smoke of myste in the eyre that myght not passe oute.' Merlin then, speaking out of the smoke of mist to the knight, explained to him how he came to be thus imprisoned, adding that no one should any more address him, save his mistress alone, since the knight would never be able to find the spot again.[2] Another story places the scene in another forest. Lastly, Merlin's prison is represented as a sepulchre of marvellous beauty, in which his leman has by magic arts entombed him alive,[3] a view partially reflected by old Welsh poetry in that it makes Merlin 'the man who speaks from the grave,' where he is consulted with deference and respect by Gwenddyd, who is, moreover, not associated with his interment: they address one another as brother and sister,[4] which recalls the romance that represents the Lady of the Lake always a virgin, as regarded the enchanter, who doted on her charms. According to another legend, of Breton origin,[5]

[1] See the Early English Text Society's edition of *Merlin* (1865—1869), pp. 680-1; and Southey's Introd. to his ed. of *Kyng Arthur*, &c. (London, 1817), pp. xlv—xlviij, quoted in Guest's *Mab.* i. 216—218.

[2] E. Eng. T. Society's *Merlin*, pp. 692-3; Southey's Introd. p. xlviij.

[3] Southey's notes to his *Kyng Arthur*, ij. 463—468; Guest, i. 219.

[4] *Red Book of Hergest*, see Skene, ij. 234, and i. 462—478 *et seq.*

[5] Southey's Introd. p. xlviij, where he refers to Anne Plumptre as his authority. He meant, I find, her *Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in France*, &c. (London, 1810), iij. 187.

his mistress chose to enclose him in a tree, but nobody knows where, though it is sometimes surmised to have been on a little island, off the Bec du Raz, called Sein, which is fabled to have been also the scene of his birth. Tennyson describes Merlin's prison as

> 'an oak, so hollow huge and old
> It look'd a tower of ruin'd masonwork.'

This deviates greatly from the original myth, but it retains one important feature: it makes Merlin immortal. He may pine away like Tithonus, but he is a god,[1] who cannot die; his living spirit abides with his dead body, an idea which Ariosto expresses with ghastly vividness in the words—

> 'Col corpo morto il vivo spirto alberga.'[2]

Similarly, the fact of the Lady of the Lake being represented coming every day to solace Merlin in his loneliness, is in thorough harmony with the mythological notion that made the dawn-goddess sometimes ally herself with the sun-god and sometimes with one of his dusky rivals. The same remark applies with even more force to the descriptions of Merlin's abode as a house of glass, as a bush of white thorns laden with bloom, as a sort of smoke of mist in the air, or as 'a clos .... nother of Iren, ne stiell, ne tymbir, ne of ston, but .... of the aire with-oute eny othir thinge be enchauntemente so stronge, that it may neuer be vn-don while the worlde endureth.'[3] These pictures vie with one another

[1] Is it possible that we owe Merlin's name or surname of *Ambrosius* to some pedant who had Merlin's divinity in view?

[2] *Orlando Furioso*, canto iij. 11; Guest, i. 219.

[3] *Merlin*, p. 693.

in transparent truthfulness to the original scene in nature, with the sun as the centre of a vast expanse of light, which moves with him as he hastens towards the west. Even when at length one saw in Merlin but a magician, and in his pellucid prison but a work of magic, the answer to the question, what had become of him and it, continued to be one which the storehouse of nature-myths had supplied. Where could Merlin have gone but whither the sun goes to rest at night, into the dark sea, into an isle surrounded by the waves of the west, or into the dusk of an impenetrable forest? So it came about that legend sends Merlin to sea in his house of glass never more to be heard of, or dimly moors him in the haze of Bardsey, or else it leaves him bound by the spells of his own magic in a lonely spot in the sombre forest[1] of Brécilien, where Breton story gives him a material prison in a tomb, at the end of the Val des Fées, hard by the babbling fountain of Baranton, so beloved of the muse of romance. For me, however, the other stories which leave Merlin in an isle off the Welsh or the Armoric coast have more interest just now, as they help more than anything else to explain, how the Zeus of the Celts could become so intimately associated with the sea as we found him to be under the names Llûđ, Nûđ, Nodens.

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[1] The *Brython* for 1861, p. 341, mentions an Anglesey legend, recorded by Lewis Morris, which represented Merlin living in a wild spot in a forest, with his sister keeping house for him. He was a great magician, but whoever wished to consult him must offer him drink, as he never remained any time in the same place without drink. What the interpretation of this curious statement may be, I know not for certain; but compare the libation funnel in the floor of the temple of Nodens.

MERLIN EMRYS AND MAXEN.

This is all corroborated by the name of Merlin, which is in Welsh Myrđyn, and by its association with Carmarthen, in Welsh 'Caer Vyrđin,' 'Myrđin's *Caer* or Fortress.' On the other hand, it is a matter of no doubt that here Myrđin is the regular and correct form of the ancient Brythonic name of the place, namely, *Moridûnon*, which meant a sea-fort, and correctly described the spot, in that it is reached by the tides in the Towy. Thus we have Myrđin as the name of the enchanter and as that of the town, which is to be explained by an accident of Welsh, my conjecture being that the two names were distinguished, in an earlier stage of the language, by a difference of termination. We have only to take *Moridûnon* as given by Ptolemy,[1] and to suppose a derivative of a common form made from it, and we have *Moridûnjos*,[2] which might mean 'him of *Moridûnon* or the sea-fort.' Taken in reference to Carmarthen, it would explain the legend which makes the prophet a native, under peculiar circumstances, of that town; but taken in connection with his mythic home and prison, it suits his abode in Bardsey or the Armoric isle of Sein, where he was also believed to have been born;

[1] *Geographia*, ed. C. Müller (Paris, 1883), lib. ij. cap. 3, 12 (i. p. 101). As the name of another town south or east of the Severn sea, it reads in the Antonine Itinerary *Moriduno* and *Mariduno*, and Parthey prints *Muriduno*: see his ed. pp. 231, 234.

[2] As a parallel to *Moridûnjos* shortened into 'Myrđin,' I may mention the Gaulish τοουτιους (p. 46), which we have in Welsh in the epithet of Morgant *Tud* in the romance of *Gereint and Enid* (*R. B. Mab.* pp. 261, 286-7). Morgant was the great physician of Arthur's court; can *tud* have originally meant a public leech or the medicine man of the state?

and as pedantry has had a hand in naming him, we may render *Merlinus Ambrosius* into English as 'the Divine or Immortal One of the Stronghold of the Sea.' Carmarthen enters into another legend which represents that town built by a princess called Elen Lüyđawg, or Elen Mistress of a Host: that is but another way of describing the Lady of the Lake constructing a house of glass or some still more pellucid material to be Merlin's prison. It is also remarkable that Elen is represented as causing to be built the highest fortress in Arvon, wherein we seem to have a reference to Dinas Emrys, the spot from which Merlin Emrys expelled Vortigern.

The Elen I have referred to is a personage of no merely incidental interest, and her story is essential to the theory of the identity of Aengus the Mac Óc with our Merlin Emrys. The name Elen still belongs to mythology in Wales: thus in Arvon, for instance, Arianrhod (p. 90) is said to have had three sisters who lived with her in her castle in the sea. They were named *Gwen* or *Gwennan*, *Muelan* and *Elen*;[1] all appear, like Arianrhod, to have belonged to the class of goddesses associated with the dawn. So also with an Elen said by Geoffrey to have been ravished on Mont St. Michel by the Spanish giant to whom a passing reference has already been made (p. 91). That incident is to be interpreted to mean the dawn passing into the gloaming, and finally losing itself in the darkness of night, a view corroborated by the fact that she is treated as sister of

[1] See my *Fairy Tales* in the *Cymmrodor*, vi. 162-3. In Arvon the mythic name *Elen* becomes, according to rule, *Elan*; while the ordinary name Ellen, much used in Wales, is pronounced in Arvon *Elin*, whenever *Elinor*, of which it is a shortened form, is not preferred.

a solar knight of Arthur's court, called Howel:[1] this last name means able to see or easy to be seen, that is to say, conspicuous, a fitting designation, whichever meaning you take, for a sun hero. But to return to Elen Lüyđawg: she is the heroine of an old Welsh saga known as the Dream of Maxen the Gwledig. The following is an abstract of it:[2]—Maxen was emperor of Rome and the handsomest of men, as well as the wisest, with whom none of his predecessors might compare. One day he and his courtiers went forth to hunt, and in the course of the day he sat himself down to rest, while his chamberlains protected him from the scorching rays of the sun with their shields. Beneath that shelter he slept, and he dreamt that he was travelling over hill and dale, across rich lands and fine countries until at length he reached a sea-coast. Then he crossed the sea in a magnificent ship and landed in a great city in an island, which he traversed from the one shore till he was in sight of the other: there we find him in a district remarkable for its precipitous mountains and lofty cliffs, from which he could descry an isle in front of him, surrounded by the sea. He stayed not his course until he reached the mouth of a river, where he found a castle with open gates. He walked in, and there beheld a fair hall built of stones precious and brilliant, and roofed with shingles of gold. To pass by a great deal more gold and silver and other precious things, Maxen found

[1] *Howel* is the colloquial pronunciation of what would, in book-Welsh, be *Hywel:* compare the note on *Owein*, p. 63.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 82—92; Guest, iij. 276—290; but I have also made use of a copy by Mr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans of the fragment in the Hengwrt MS. numbered 54.

in the hall four persons, namely, two youths playing at chess: they were the sons of the lord of the castle, who was a venerable, gray-haired man, sitting in an ivory chair adorned with the images of two eagles of ruddy gold. He had bracelets of gold on his arms and many a ring glittered on his fingers: a massive gold torque adorned his neck, while a frontlet of the same precious metal served to restrain his locks. Hard by sat his daughter in a chair of ruddy gold, and her beauty was so transcendent, that it would be no more easy to look at her face than to gaze at the sun when his rays are most irresistible. She was clad in white silk, fastened on her breast with brooches of ruddy gold, and over it she wore a surcoat of golden satin, while her head was adorned with a golden frontlet set with rubies and gems, alternating with pearls and imperial stones. The narrator closes his description of the damsel by giving her a girdle of gold and by declaring her altogether the fairest of the race. She rose to meet Maxen, who embraced her and sat with her in her chair. At this point the dream was suddenly broken off by the restlessness of the horses and the hounds, and the creaking of the shields rubbing against each other, which woke the emperor a bewildered man. Reluctantly and sadly he moved, at the advice of his men, towards home; for he could think of nothing but the fair maiden in gold. In fact there was no joint in his body or even as much as the hollow of one of his nails which had not become charged with her love. When his courtiers sat at table to eat or drink, he would not join them, and when they went to hear song and entertainment, he would not go, or, in a word, do anything for a whole week but sleep as

often as the maiden slept, whom he beheld in his dreams. When he was awake she was not present to him, nor had he any idea where in the world she was. This went on till at last one of his nobles contrived to let him know, that his conduct in neglecting his men and his duties was the cause of growing discontent. Thereupon he summoned before him the wise men of Rome and told them the state of mind in which he was. Their advice was that messengers should be sent on a three years' quest to the three parts of the world, as they calculated that the expectation of good news would help to sustain him. But at the end of the first year the messengers returned unsuccessful, which made Maxen sad; so other messengers were sent forth to search another third of the world. They returned at the end of their year, like the others, unsuccessful. Maxen, now in despair, took the advice of one of his courtiers and resorted to the forest where he had first dreamt of the maiden. When the glade was reached, he was able to give his messengers a start in the right direction. They went on and on, identifying the country they traversed with the emperor's description of his march day by day, until at last they reached the rugged district of Snowdon, and beheld Mona lying in front of them flat in the sea. They proceeded a little further and entered a castle where Carnarvon now stands, and there beheld the hall roofed with gold: they walked in and found Kynan and Adeon playing at chess, while their father Eudav, son of Karadawg, sat in his chair of ivory, with his daughter Elen seated near him. They saluted her as empress of Rome, and proceeded to explain the meaning of an act she deemed so strange. She listened courteously, but

declined to go with them, thinking it more appropriate that the emperor should come in person to fetch her. In due time he reached Britain, which he conquered from Beli the Great and his sons; then he proceeded to visit Elen and her father, and it was during his stay here, after the marriage, that Elen had Carmarthen built and the stronghold in Eryri. The story adds Caerleon to them, but distinguishes the unnamed Snowdon city as the favourite abode of her and her husband. The next thing she undertook was to employ the hosts at her command in the construction of roads between the three towns, which she had caused to be built in part payment of her maiden-fee. But Maxen remained here so many years that the Romans made an emperor in his stead. So at length he and Elen, and her two brothers and their hosts, set out for Rome, which they had to besiege and take by storm. Maxen was now reinstated in power, and he allowed his brothers-in-law and their hosts to settle wherever they chose; so Adeon and his men came back to Britain, while Kynan and his reduced Brittany and settled there.

Such is a summary of this curious story, which sounds far too native to have originally had a Roman emperor for its hero. Whose place, then, has Maxen usurped in it, you may ask. I have no hesitation in suggesting that it was that of Emrys, and I think I can assign at least one of the reasons why Maxen the *Gwledig* took the place of Emrys the *Gwledig*. The heroine is called Elen Lüyđawg, that is, Elen mistress and owner of a host, or the Elen who made expeditions with a host; but I take her host to have been of a mythical nature, and the

Triads[1] treat it as one of the Three Silver Hosts led out of Britain, leaving it a prey to its foes: in fact, Elen's host is virtually to be equated with St. Ursula's host of 11,000 virgins, whom the Euhemerists wish to treat as brides intended for Maximus and his men. These virgins may be compared with the smaller suite of the heroine of an Irish romance to be mentioned shortly; but for those who tried to translate myth into history, they were hosts of armed men; so it became necessary to face the question, who the tyrant was who led those troops abroad, and the choice very naturally fell on Maximus, the Maxen of the Welsh Dream with which you are now acquainted. For history speaks[2] of his revolt in Britain, of his landing on the continent with the troops he could muster here, of his success in acquiring possession of Gaul and Spain, of the flight and death of the Emperor Gratian in the year 383. This, I take it, together with national vanity, was the cause that led to the substitution of Maxen for Emrys, and it supplies the key to a puzzle in the Nennian Genealogies,[3] which make Maxen descend from Constantine the Great: this was because Emrys is commonly represented as the son of Constantine.

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[1] i. 40 = ij. 5.

[2] See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 1881), iij. 358—362. Gibbon is seldom detected napping, but I cannot help finding somewhat too much of the myth in his statement about Maximus (p. 360), that 'the youth of the island crowded to his standard, and he invaded Gaul with a fleet and army which were long afterwards remembered as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nation.'

[3] The British Museum MS. Harl. 3859, fol. 193 *b*: see also the *Annales Cambriæ*, Preface, p. x.

The narrator of the Dream of Maxen remarks, in connection with the mention of Elen ordering the roads to be made from one town to another, that they were therefore called the roads of Elen Lüyđawg: this is still the case, as it is not unusual to find a mountain track in Wales termed Fford Elen, 'Elen's Road,' or Sarn Elen,[1] 'Elen's Causeway;' and there is a certain poetic propriety in associating the primitive paths and roads of the country with this vagrant goddess of dawn and dusk. Similarly, Nennius' account of the British auxiliaries of Maximus has a mythic tone about it, which is worth noticing. 'The seventh emperor,' he says, 'who reigned in Britain was Maximianus,[2] the man who went with all the soldiers of the Brythons from Britain, and killed Gratian king of the Romans; and he held the government of the whole of Europe, and would not allow the soldiers who had gone with him to return to Britain to their wives, their children and their possessions; but he gave them numerous tracts of country from the lake on the top of *Mons Jovis* as far as the city which is called

[1] Our charlatans pretend, of course, that it is *Helen* and not *Elen*. At Carnarvon the Helen mania is so acute, that a place not far off, called *Coed Alun* ever since the 14th century (*R. B. Mab.* p. 63), runs the risk of having its name permanently transmogrified into *Coed Helen*.

[2] See *Nennius and Gildas*, § 27 (p. 44), where our Maxen is called Maximianus, while Maximus is the name given his predecessor. There is considerable confusion as to these names, and the shortened form *Maxen* points, though somewhat irregularly, to a *Maxentius* as its starting-point; but in the Nennian Genealogy I have just referred to, I read the MS. abbreviation as *Maxim*, which points unmistakably to a *Maximus*. But neither *Maxen* nor *Maxim*, be it noticed, is to be treated as a genuine Welsh form: both come from pedants and faulty in point of phonology.

Cantguic and as far as *Cruc Ochidient*, that is to say, the Western Mound. These are the Armoric Brythons, and they have never returned hither to this day.' The *Cumulus Occidentalis* alluded to sounds mythic enough to figure in the same sort of stories as the forest of Brécilien or the isle of Sein; not to mention that the choice of Brittany as the seat of the discharged auxiliaries may have been from the first dictated, at least in part, by mythology. For the Welsh for Brittany is *Llydaw*,[1] a name which may have originally meant an abode of the dead, a light in which almost any land situated on the other shore would seem to have appeared to the Celts of antiquity.

Be that as it may, I have tried to reinstate Emrys or Myrđin Emrys in the place usurped by Maxen. From this it would follow, among other things, that he was the conqueror of this country from the chthonian divinity Beli the Great, which derives unexpected confirmation from a hitherto unexplained Triad, i. 1, which states that Britain's first name, before it was inhabited, was Clas Myrđin, or Merlin's Close. In this Triad, which must be the echo of an ancient notion, the pellucid walls confining Merlin become, by a touch of the pencil of the mythic muse, co-extensive with the utmost limits of our island home. Here may be compared Erinn when called the Island of *Fál*, which suggests the possibility that the double meaning of 'wall' and 'light' attaching to its Welsh equivalent *gwawl* (pp. 123-4) has helped to give the Merlin myth the form in which we know it. But let

[1] One of the tarns on Snowdon, several of which have very uncanny associations, is called Llyn Llydaw, or the Lake of Llydaw. What can the meaning of the name have been?

me now bring your attention back to the dreams about the dawn-goddess Elen, and the conjecture that the real dreamer was not Maxen but Merlin Emrys; for I am persuaded that you will not fail to recognize a more primitive version of the same story in the following Irish tale, called the Vision of Aengus:[1]—

One night Aengus the Mac Óc dreamt that he saw at his bedside a maiden the most beautiful in Erinn: he made a move to take hold of her, but she vanished he knew not whither. He remained in his bed till the morning, but he was in an evil plight on account of the maiden leaving him without vouchsafing him a word, and he tasted no food that day. The next night the same lovely form appeared again at his bedside, and this time she played on the sweetest of musical instruments. The effect on him was much the same as before, and he fasted that day also. This went on for a whole year, and he became the victim of love; but he told nobody what ailed him. The physicians of Erinn were called in, and one of them at length guessed by his face what he was suffering from: he bade his mother Boann be sent for to hear her son's confession. She came and he told her his story. She then sent for the Dagda his father, to whom she explained that their son was the victim of a wasting sickness arising from unrequited love, which was considered a fatal disease in ancient Erinn. The Dagda was in bad humour and declared he could do nothing, which was promptly contradicted; for he was told that as he was the king of the *Síde*, that is of the gods and fairies

[1] Published in the *Rev. Celtique*, iii. 342—350, from the Egerton MS. at the British Museum, by Dr. Ed. Müller. See also M. d'A. Jubainville's *Cycle Myth.* pp. 282-9.

of Erinn, he might send word to Bodb the Red, king of the fairies of Munster, to use his great knowledge of the fairy settlements of Erinn to discover the maiden that haunted the Mac Óc's dreams. Aengus had now been ill two years, and Bodb required a year for the search, but he proved successful before the year was out; so he came with the news to the Dagda and took the Mac Óc to see if he could recognize the lady. The Mac Óc did so the moment he descried her, among her thrice fifty maiden companions. These, we are told, were joined two and two together by silver chains, and their mistress towered head and shoulders above the rest. Her name was Caerabar, or more shortly Caer, daughter of Etal Anbual, of the fairy settlement of Uaman in the land of Connaught. She wore a silver collar round her neck and a chain of burnished gold. Aengus was grieved that he had not the power to take her away; so he returned home, and the Dagda was advised to seek the aid of Ailill and Medb, the king and queen of the western kingdom. But Caer's father declining to answer the summons that he should appear before them, an attack was made on his residence, when he himself was taken and brought before Ailill and Medb. He then explained to them that he had no power over his daughter, who with her companions changed their forms every other year into those of birds. In fact, he added that on the first day of the ensuing winter they would appear as 150 swans on *Loch bel draccon occruit cliach*, or the Lake of (the) mouths of (the) Dragons, near Cliach's Crowd. Peace was accordingly made with Etal, and Aengus betook him to the shore of the lake on the day mentioned. Recognizing Caer in the form of a swan, he called

and said, 'Come to speak to me, Caer.' 'Who calls me?' was the reply. 'Aengus calls thee,' he said. 'I will come,' said she, 'provided I obtain that thou wilt on thy honour make for the lake after me.' 'I will,' said he. She accordingly came to him, whereupon he placed his two hands on her; then they flew off in the form of a pair of swans and they went thrice round the lake. They afterwards took their flight to the Brugh of the Boyne, where they made such enchanting music that it plunged everybody in a deep sleep, which lasted three days and three nights. Caer remained at the Brugh of the Boyne as the Mac Óc's consort.

Here must be added one or two extracts from the Irish manuscript, of the 14th century, called the Speckled Book: the first runs, in the words of O'Curry's translation, as follows:[1] "It is in the reign of *Flann Cinaidh* [*Ginach*, or 'the voracious'] that the Rowing-wheel, and the Broom out of *Fanaid*, and the Fiery Bolt, shall come. *Cliach* was the harper of *Smirdubh Mac Smáil*, king of the three Rosses of *Sliabh Bán* [in Connacht]. *Cliach* set out on one occasion to seek the hand in marriage of one of the daughters of *Bodhbh Derg*, of the [fairy] palace of *Femhen* [in Tipperary]. He continued a whole year playing his harp, on the outside of the palace, without being able to approach nearer to Bodhbh, so great was his [necromantic] power; nor did he make

[1] The italics and the parentheses are O'Curry's, whose rendering, though not quite accurate or without one 'bull,' will do for my purpose: see his *MS. Materials*, pp. 426-7, 632-3, and the original in the *...lar Brecc* or Speckled Book, fol. 242 *b*: the reference is to the ...aphed facsimile published by the R. Irish Academy, Dublin, ...See also the *Bk. of Leinster*, 169 *a*.

any impression on the daughter. However, he continued to play on until the ground burst under his feet, and the lake which is on the top of the mountain sprang up in the spot: that is *Loch Bél Séad*." One of the previous names of the lake was *Loch Crotta Cliach*, or the Lake of Cliach's Harps, as O'Curry renders it; but the instrument was a crowd, not a harp, and its bulging shape may have helped to give a part of a hill a highly descriptive name. The passage goes on as follows to explain the name Loch Bél Séad:—"*Coerabar boeth*, the daughter of *Etal Anbuail* of the fairy mansions of Connacht, was a beautiful and powerfully gifted maiden. She had three times fifty ladies in her train. They were all transformed every year[1] into three times fifty beautiful birds, and restored to their natural shape the next year. These birds were chained in couples by chains of silver. One bird among them was the most beautiful of the world's birds, having a necklace of red gold on her neck, with three times fifty chains depending from it, each chain terminating in a ball of gold. During their transformation into birds they always remained on *Loch Crotta Cliach* [that is, the Lake of *Cliach's* Harps], wherefore the people who saw them were in the habit of saying: 'Many is the *Séad* [that is, a gem, a jewel, or other precious article] at the mouth of Loch Crotta this day.' And hence it is called Loch Bél Séad [or the Lake of the Jewel Mouth]. It was called also *Loch Bél Dragain* [or the Dragon-Mouth Lake]; because Ternôg's nurse caught a fiery dragon in the shape of a salmon, and St. *Fursa* induced her to throw it into *Loch Bél Séad*. And it is

[1] The original means 'every second year.'

that dragon that will come in the festival of St. John, near the end of the world, in the reign of *Flann Cinaidh*. And it is of it and out of it shall grow the Fiery Bolt which will kill three-fourths of the people of the world, men and women, boys and girls, and cattle, as far as the Mediterranean Sea eastwards. And it is on that account it is called the Dragon-Mouth Lake."

How closely the story of Aengus and Caer, which in ome respects recalls that of Leda and the Swan, cor- esponds to the Welsh Dream, I leave you to judge; urther, the Irish prophecy reminds one to a certain xtent of the event termed in Norse literature, the Doom of the Powers; but the reference to the Dragon should be xamined in the light of the conjecture that the Welsh Elen's northern stronghold occupied the site of Dinas Emrys, where Llûd in a previous age had imprisoned he dragons that disturbed the peace of his dominions. Welsh story lays it to Vortigern's charge as one of his great crimes that he disturbed them, whereby he brought calamity on his unfortunate country, which was destined e free from oppression and safe against the sword of foreigner so long as the dragons continued securely isted in the subterranean lake in the fastness of nowdon. Lastly, Caer's 150 companions with their silver hains supply an explanation of the name Elen Lüyddawg, hat is Elen of the Host: her maiden attendants were er host, and it becomes also clear why her expedition n company with her husband is spoken of as the de- arture of one of the three Silver Hosts of the Isle of Britain; for the silver was not of the common terrestrial ind, but the ancient metal of a Celtic myth. How- this is no answer to the further question which

suggests itself, namely, what interpretation one is to put on the presence of the attendant maidens, whether of Caer or Elen. Some, having regard to the number of St. Ursula's companions, would say that they mean the starry host of heaven, which goes away, so to say, with the dawn and appears again with the dusk. But another hypothesis is possible, and I venture to sketch it, chiefly as a means of connecting certain facts which are not altogether irrelevant. It is to the effect that the 11,000 companions of Ursula might be regarded as an exaggeration of a far smaller number, and that those making up the latter might be reckoned the priestesses in attendance on the dawn-goddess, herself the consort of the god represented in the Merlin story as imprisoned. The attendant damsels might then be compared with the virgin priestesses of the isle of Sein, described by Mela as capable of taking any animal form they chose. In the case of Caer and her train the form preferred seems to have been that of swans, while in other cases they are mostly described more vaguely as birds, as when the goddess Dechtere is mentioned escaping, together with her fifty maiden companions, from her brother's court in that form; but the coupling-chains[1] of silver or gold are seldom wanting. The corresponding Welsh superstition prefers the goose to the swan, and makes an approach to Mela's description of the maiden priestesses of Sein, in that it treats those who assume the anserine form as witches.[2] This dates from remote antiquity, as

[1] See Windisch, pp. 136-7, 143-4, 207.

[2] I take the following from the MS. of a Welsh essay on the folk-lore of Carnarvonshire, written by Mr. E. Lloyd Jones, of Dinorwic, for a competition at the Eisteddvod held at Carnarvon in August

it readily explains why the flesh of the goose was tapu to the Brythons of Caesar's time: *leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant.* Nor is it irrelevant to add, that the goose was sacred in ancient Rome to Jupiter's consort Juno.

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and printed since in the American newspaper called the *Drych:* 'It was an evil omen,' he says, 'to see geese on a lake at night; those likewise must be witches, and especially in case the time was the first Thursday night of the lunar month.' My wife has also a distinct recollection of the same belief prevailing in Arvon when she was a child, and of the importance attached to the first Thursday night (of the moon). This is all the more deserving of mention, perhaps, as Thursday is in Welsh 'Dyđ Iau,' that is to say *Jeudi*, or Jove's Day.

LECTURE II.

THE ZEUS OF THE INSULAR CELTS.

PART II.

CAMULOS, CUMALL AND NWYVRE.

LET me now touch on a question which ought perhaps to have been dealt with at an earlier stage: how could the Aryan Jupiter have acquired the comprehensive character which has just been ascribed, in the early stages of their history, to Nodens, together with the other Celtic gods to be identified with him, and to Zeus? It has not, so far as I know, been minutely studied from this point of view; but M. Gaidoz has devoted to the Roman Jupiter some general remarks, which are highly relevant and deserving of being given at greater length than was done in the passing reference already made to them (p. 55). According to him,[1] the god of light and the sun became the god of the heavens by extension, and he points out certain traces of an ancient notion which ascribed the phenomenon of thunder to the sun: more correctly speaking, the lightning may have been represented as a spark from the fiery body of the sun; but the god that occasioned the lightning might also be said to cause both the thunder and the rain that usually followed: in fact,

[1] *Études*, pp. 88—90, 93.

there are even now nations, such as the Samoans,[1] that directly attribute rain to the sun. In other words, the sun is the king of the heavens, as poets have so often told us; and even when one does not feel the immediate effect of his power, one supposes his presence behind the clouds that conceal him. The confusion between the sun-god and the sky-god is frequent in mythology, as it would seem to be in nature itself. Once one believes in the existence over our heads of a god in the sky, that is to say, of a man with more than human power, it is easy at one time to fancy there several gods, relations of one another, rivals or enemies, and at another to attribute all atmospheric phenomena to one and the same god, one's good father in the heavens—all that depends on the subjective disposition of man; so the variety of his opinions, and, therefore, of his conceptions, must be understood in relation to epochs and surroundings in which his beliefs have not been reduced to the immutable regularity of dogmas. Such are the views entertained by M. Gaidoz; but how the sun should have been thought a great hunter and warrior, needs no remark; and how a god of this origin should become likewise that of the sea and the nether world, is a form of the question which did not come in M. Gaidoz's way to discuss. It admits, however, of being readily answered in the same spirit as the other forms of it; for the sun is seen to sink to the world beneath the horizon every evening, and to rise thence in the morning, so that he might be said to pass half his time in the lower world. For the inhabitants of

[1] Turner's *Samoa*, p. 331.

a maritime land this could not fail to present itself in a still more vivid light: he would be seen to rise from the ocean in the morning to career over the waves and to deal slaughter among his enemies, the shades of night and the clouds that would hide his face from man; while at the end of the day the converse phenomenon would present itself in the splendours of his setting in the billows of the west.

All these remarks must be taken for what they are worth, as an attempt to show how it is conceivable that a divinity originally a god of light and the sun should come by degrees to have the character of a Roman Jupiter or of a Celtic Nodens. The theory of the extension whereby a divinity originally a sun-god became also that of the heavens, has, as already explained, its etymological complement in the interpretation of his name *Zeus* or *Jove* as the Bright or Shining One, together with the fact that the word remained also an appellative applicable to the sky or the open air. Now, though the Celtic god is not known to us under any form of this name of double import, we seem to detect him under names of other origin, but agreeing with that of *Zeus* or *Jove* in connoting sky or atmosphere; one should rather say that sky or atmosphere is otherwise their only signification. To one or two of them I would now call your attention: the most important is the *Camulus* of the inscriptions alluded to in the first lecture. In *Camulus*—in early Celtic probably *Camulos*—we seem to have, as was then suggested, the Celtic equivalent of the German *himmel* and its congeners; the Irish form was *Cumall*, the name of the father of Finn, who fills a great place in Irish

legend and is usually called *Finn mac Cumaill*, or Finn son of Cumall: the latter was the king-warrior of Erinn.[1] Now the name of one of the Welsh equivalents of Finn mac Cumaill is Gwyn mab Nûd, or Gwyn son of Nûd; and in both *finn* and *gwyn* we have the ordinary words for white or fair, and both personages so called were celebrated as great hunters, while Gwyn is usually known to the Welsh as the king of the Fairies and the other world generally. The designations Finn mac Cumaill and Gwyn mab Nûd would seem to oppose Cumall and Nûd to, or equate them with, one another.

Further, the story of Kulhwch and Olwen mentions Gwyn son of Nûd with two other Gwyns, called respectively the son of Esni and the son of Nwyvre;[2] but the composition of the lists of names in that piece is such as to allow of our supposing Gwyn son of Nûd, and Gwyn son of Nwyvre, to have been really only one: *Esni* is a name otherwise unknown to me; but *Nwyvre* is the Welsh for the atmosphere, or the space in which the clouds float above the earth; and in the designation Gwyn son of Nwyvre, we seem to have the exact rendering of Finn son of Cumall. The story also associates with Gwyn son of Nwyvre, a certain *Fflam mab Nwyvre*,[3] whose name would mean Flame son of Atmosphere: he is probably to be identified with the personage otherwise called in the same story *Fflewdur Fflam Wledic*,[4] or Prince Ffleudur

[1] See *Fotha Catha Cnucha* in the *Rev. Celt.* ij. 89; *Bk. of the Dun*, 42*a*.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* p. 106: Lady Charlotte Guest's edition omits these two Gwyns both in the text and the translation: see ij. 205, 259.

[3] *R. B. Mab.* p. 107; Guest, ij. 261.

[4] *R. B. Mab.* p. 106; Guest, ij. 259.

Fflam, and also *Ffleudor mab Naf*, or Ffleudor son of Nav;[1] while the Triads (i. 15 = ij. 26 = iij. 114) seem to speak of the same personage as Ffleudur Fflam son of Godo; but *Godo* is not known to have any other meaning than that of a cover, shelter or roof; and in this kind of word, used as a proper name, we seem to have a synonym of Nwyvre or Sky in the sense of Οὐρανός and Varuṇa. Nwyvre is also mentioned in another Triad (i. 40 = ij. 5), which alludes to an expedition to Gaul under the leadership of Gwenwynwyn and Gwanar, sons of Lliaw son of Nwyvre and of Arianrhod their mother. With the reference to Ffleudor son of Nav, may be mentioned an allusion in the same story to a Gwenwynwyn son of *Naw*,[2] to be corrected doubtless into *Nav;* for there is a third passage in point which describes Gwenwynwyn as Arthur's *rhyswr* or huntsman, and calls him the son of *Nav Gyssevin*,[3] which means 'first or original lord.' Thus it is not improbable that in spite of the Lliaw or Lliaws of the Triads, Nwyvre was the same personage who is here called *Nav Gyssevin*.

It is, however, a matter of some doubt whether the names *Nav Gyssevin* and *Nwyvre* or *Godo* referred to the Celtic Zeus in the first instance, and not rather to a forgotten Uranus or Hymi, whose name also meant the sky, considered as a cover, a darkening cover (p. 115). The same doubt would likewise attach to the ancient name *Camulos* and the Irish *Cumall*. On the other hand, it is not to be believed that a cosmic giant subjected to the treatment

[1] *R. B. Mab.* p. 110; Guest, ij. 265. The MS. reads *ffiendor*.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* p. 107; Guest, ij. 259: the MS. has *naó*, while the other, *R. B. Mab.* p. 110, is *naf*.

[3] *R. B. Mab.* p. 108; Guest, ij. 262.

of Uranus or Hymi could figure as the Celtic Zeus; so we should, in the case suggested, be left to suppose that the precarious personality of the former had been early forgotten, and that his names had come to be treated as mere synonyms of those of the god whom one may, for brevity's sake, call the Celtic Zeus or Mars-Jupiter. Hence the confusion that was likely to follow, as, for example, when Welsh Nûđ and Irish Nuada are found to occur in the pedigree of Gwyn and Finn respectively. It is worthy of a passing remark that we have a glimpse of somewhat similar confusion in the East, where Dyaus and Varuṇa look, from our western point of view, just as if they had exchanged places. Thus it is Dyaus, the namesake, so to say, of Zeus, that his son Indra severs from Pṛithivî or Earth, and it is he that is usually consigned to insignificance and oblivion; while it is Varuṇa, the namesake of Uranus, that assumes the rôle of a supreme god, the upholder of the universe, and the preserver of order both physical and moral. It is right, however, to say that another view is possible, namely, that the Aryans of the pro-ethnic period used the prototypes of the names Zeus and Uranus loosely, without settling which was to be Zeus and which Uranus, and that their descendants decided their respective application independently of one another, and in such a way that he who was called Zeus by one branch of the family was called Uranus by another. But on the whole it seems safer to regard the usage as fixed for all in the earlier stage, and to treat the difference to which reference has just been made as of later growth, the result, in fact, of the synonymity of the two sets of names.

Sites Sacred to the Celtic Zeus.

By way of recapitulating the burden of these last remarks, one may on the whole say that the supreme god of the ancient Aryans was originally designated, not the Sky or Heaven, but the Bright Being, a name known in Greek as Ζεύς, genitive Διός, and its congeners, which, while recalling the idea of sky, heaven or atmosphere, referred to him, in the first instance, as the great light and sun of the world of the early Aryans (p. 116). This harmonizes with the fact that Zeus was represented as haunting the elevated points of the countries inhabited by the Hellenic race, whether one regard the highest ground in Greek cities, which was usually crowned with his temple, or the loftiest mountains in their lands, the summits of which were also sacred to him. It might, however, be urged that it was but natural for the high esteem in which the god was held to find its expression in the placing of his image or fane on a site physically high, and especially in the case of him whom the worshipper thought supreme. It might be added in the same direction that this haunting the heights was not peculiar to him or any special kind of divinity, seeing that the Welsh god of the dead, Gwyn ab Nûđ, displayed the same predilection for high ground, and that in Gaul a god of a very different nature, the Gaulish Mercury, had his temples crowning the Puy de Dôme, the Donon and other elevations in that country. Still it may be doubted whether this way of looking at the matter could lead us to the true and original reason for associating Zeus with the mountain-tops and the pure ether in which he was supposed to dwell in his celestial city on the

summit of Olympus in Thessaly, that land which was the home of the Greeks before they spread further southwards. The choice of the god's seat of superiority, overlooking the landscape below, would certainly seem to have been dictated, at least in part, by his solar origin and connection with the sky. There on the mountain-top he was supposed to rule the weather: there the clouds gathered themselves together before making their descent on the plains below; thence the flashes of the god's lightning burst forth at one time, and thither the mists might be seen at another lazily creeping. Such were the phenomena which the ancient Greeks associated with Zeus, and a richly mythical poem in the Welsh language refers to the Celtic Zeus as the blazer of the mountain-top.[1]

Further, the views of the Greeks and the Celts as to the method of procuring rain from the god, when the earth suffered from excessive drought, will be seen from the following instances to have coincided to a remarkable extent: I allude to the Lycæan mountain in Arcadia, the top of which was sacred to Zeus and stood so high that the greater part of the Peloponnese was to be seen from it.[2] Now there was a story current to the effect that it was on that Peloponnesian height that the god had spent his childhood, and that once in times in the distant past an Arcadian king had there sacrificed his child on his altar. Within the sacred enclosure the god's presence was always believed to shine so that nothing there could cast a shadow, and on the same mountain there bubbled

[1] *Bk. of Taliessin*, xlviij.: see Skene, ij. 203.

[2] Teubner's *Pausanias* (ed. Schubart), ij. 153 (*Arcadica*, viij. 38, 7).

a sacred spring to which the priest went in times of great drought to procure rain. This he effected by touching the water in the holy well with a branch of oak; a vapour would then be seen to arise from it and go on forming till the country round had been blessed with the wished-for showers.[1] The means adopted to get the god to grant rain were borrowed from the arsenal of ancient magic, which relied to a great extent on a sort of association of ideas, solemn mimicry of the action wished for being regarded as forcing the god whom the worshipper intended to influence, to put forth the activity desired.

With the sacred Arcadian well I would now compare a Breton one to which recourse is had with the same object: I allude to the Fountain of Baranton in the forest of Brécilien, so famous in the romances. Thither the people of the country resorted in the early Middle Ages; when they wanted rain, they would take up the tankard always at hand and throw some of the water from the spring on a slab near it. Rain would then fall in abundance, and one romancer[2] makes this the means of bringing on a terrific storm of thunder and lightning. Now the water, on the brink of which fairies loved to disport themselves, issued near the perron or tomb in which Merlin had been incarcerated, and the whole was overshadowed by a mighty tree.[3] This is all the more to the point, since the enchanter as the youth Merlin Ambrosius expelling the old duke Vortigern from

[1] Toepfner's *Pausanias*, ij. 152 (*Arcadica*, viij. 38, 4); Preller's *Gr. Myth.*[3] i. 100-2.

[2] Henri de Mery (ed. Tarbé, Rheims, 1851), pp. 126-7, quoted in Guest's *Mab.* i. 220.

[3] Guest's *Mab.* note, i. 219—224.

his own, is one of the Brythonic equivalents, as already suggested, of the Mac Óc driving his father the Dagda from his house and home, and young Zeus banishing his father Cronus (pp. 147, 151). So we should probably be right in assuming the spring, the tomb, the slab and the tree, to have all belonged to the Celtic Zeus, and that it was he who was originally supposed to give the rain, and to cause the storm of thunder and lightning. An incident of the same kind is related in connection with the story of Owein ab Urien: he was told that, in order to make the Black Knight he desired to encounter come forth to fight with him, he should go to a spot where a large tree overshadowed a well, hard by which lay a marble slab with a silver tankard fastened to it. Owein finds the place, takes up the silver tankard, and dashes water from it with such effect on the slab that it brings on a fearful hail-storm, which strips the tree of all its foliage, and causes wide-spread devastation in the domains of the Black Knight,[1] who in consequence thereof rides forth to avenge himself on the intruder.

Lastly may be mentioned the case of the Snowdonian Carn Dulyn or Black Lake, of which we have an account, published in the year 1805, to the following effect:[2] 'There lies in Snowdon Mountain a lake called Dulyn, in a dismal dingle surrounded by high and dangerous rocks: the lake is exceedingly black, and its fish are loathsome, having large heads and small bodies. No wild swan or duck or any kind of bird has ever been seen to light on it, as is their wont on every other Snow-

[1] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 167-9, 171-2; Guest, i. 47-9, 53-4.

[2] The *Brython* for 1859, p. 88; Guest's *Mab.* note, i. 226; *The Greal* for 1805, p. 285, where an authority is quoted from the year 1721.

donian lake. In this same lake there is a row of stepping-stones extending into it; and if any one steps on the stones and throws water so as to wet the furthest stone of the series, which is called the Red Altar, it is but a chance that you do not get rain before night, even when it is hot weather.' This helps us to understand the others; for the fact of the furthest stone being called the Red Altar, even supposing it to have been naturally red, which is not suggested, leaves us the word *allawr* 'altar,' which cannot be explained except on the supposition, that the slab in the other stories was originally an altar on which to sacrifice to the god. What the sacrifices consisted of, we cannot tell; but it is not improbable that the victims were now and then human, especially in times of great distress or national calamity: in the Celtic instances, the water was thrown on the god's altar instead of being touched with the sacred twig of oak as in Arcadia, when rain was the object of the ceremony.

One at least of these sacred spots retains to this day some of its ancient prestige, namely, the Fountain of Baranton: it is true that it is no longer regarded with the awe which made one of the romancers speak of it as *la périlleuse fontaine;*[1] for owing to its mineral nature, and the bubbling of its water when a bit of iron or copper is thrown into it, little children amuse themselves, we are told by M. de Villemarqué, by dropping pins into it, whilst addressing it in the most familiar manner, *Ris donc, fontaine de Berendon.* But it still retains its pluvial importance; for in seasons of drought the inhabitants

[1] Guest's *Mab.* note, i. 220.

of the surrounding parishes, we are told, go to it in procession, headed by their five great banners and their priests ringing bells and chanting psalms. On arriving, the rector of the canton dips the foot of the cross in the water, and it is sure to rain within a week's time.[1] This ingenious compromise between Christ and Merlin has probably no exact parallel in this country: we have no bannered processions to the *temenos* of an effete Jupiter: we have rain-prayers instead.

There is an Irish tale which is worth citing here, as it gives a somewhat detailed account of a spot sacred to a god, to be identified probably with the subject of this lecture. It relates to an adventure which happened to Diarmait or Dermot, a well-known hero of Goidelic romance, of whom much is said in Irish legend and romance. Diarmait and Finn mac Cumaill once on a time set out in search of certain of the latter's men who had been carried away by a wizard chief, and they sailed together towards the west till they came near a steep cliff which seemed to reach to the clouds. Leaving Finn and his party below, Diarmait undertook to climb the cliff and search the island, and after incredible perils and exertions he found himself on the top. "He now looked inland"—to give the story in the words of Dr. Joyce[2]—"and saw a beautiful country spread out before him:—a lovely, flowery plain straight in front, bordered with pleasant hills, and shaded with

[1] Ib. i. 225, where Lady Ch. Guest quotes from Villemarqué's charming account of his *Visite au Tombeau de Merlin*, in the *Revue de Paris*, Vol. xli. pp. 47—58.

[2] *Old Celtic Romances, translated from the Gaelic* (London, 1879), pp. 246—259, 266.

groves of many kinds of trees. It was enough to banish all care and sadness from one's heart to view this country, and to listen to the warbling of the birds, the humming of the bees among the flowers, the rustling of the wind through the trees, and the pleasant voices of the streams and waterfalls. Making no delay, Diarmait set out to walk across the plain. He had not been long walking when he saw, right before him, a great tree laden with fruit, overtopping all the other trees of the plain. It was surrounded at a little distance by a circle of pillar-stones; and one stone, taller than the others, stood in the centre near the tree. Beside this pillar-stone was a spring well, with a large, round pool as clear as crystal; and the water bubbled up in the centre, and flowed away towards the middle of the plain in a slender stream. Diarmait was glad when he saw the well; for he was hot and thirsty after climbing up the cliff. He stooped down to take a drink; but before his lips touched the water, he heard the heavy tread of a body of warriors, and the loud clank of arms, as if a whole host were coming straight down on him. He sprang to his feet and looked round; but the noise ceased in an instant, and he could see nothing. After a little while he stooped again to drink; and again, before he had wetted his lips, he heard the very same sounds, nearer and louder than before. A second time he leaped to his feet; and still he saw no one. He knew not what to think of this; and as he stood wondering and perplexed, he happened to cast his eyes on the tall pillar-stone that stood on the brink of the well; and he saw on its top a large, beautiful drinking-horn, chased with gold and enamelled with precious stones. 'Now surely,' said Diarmait, 'I have

been doing wrong; it is, no doubt, one of the virtues of this well, that it will not let any one drink of its waters except from the drinking-horn.' So he took down the horn, dipped it into the well, and drank without hindrance, till he had slaked his thirst. Scarcely had he taken the horn from his lips, when he saw a tall *gruagach*[1] coming towards him from the east, clad in a complete suit of mail, and fully armed with shield and helmet, sword and spear. A beautiful scarlet mantle hung over his armour, fastened at his throat by a golden brooch; and a broad circlet of sparkling gold was bended in front across his forehead, to confine his yellow hair, and keep it from being blown about by the wind. As he came nearer, he increased his pace, moving with great strides; and Diarmait now observed that he looked very wrathful. He offered no greeting, and showed not the least courtesy; but addressed Diarmait in a rough, angry voice—'Surely, Diarmait O'Duibne, Erinn of the green plains should be wide enough for you; and it contains abundance of clear, sweet water in its crystal springs and green-bordered streams, from which you might have drunk your fill. But you have come into my island without my leave, and you have taken my drinking-horn, and have drunk from my well; and this spot you shall never leave till you have given me satisfaction for the insult.'" Then began a duel which lasted all day; but when the evening came, the *gruagach* suddenly sprang outside the range of

[1] The word *gruagach* is usually supposed to mean a long-haired creature, and it is commonly applied to a giant or any kind of uncanny fellow, for instance, in the stories in Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlonds;* but it is also employed of a female: see Campbell, i. 23-4.

Diarmait's sword, and with a great bound leaped into the well: down he went, leaving his antagonist wondering at his disappearance and smarting from his wounds. Diarmait then walked towards the end of a great forest that stretched from the mountain to the plain, and, espying a herd of speckled deer, he killed one of them; then he lit a fire and cooked a part of the deer's flesh, which, together with some draughts of clear water from the drinking-horn, formed his supper. He slept soundly, and his breakfast was of the same description as his previous meal. When he had done, he went to the well and found the *gruagach* there awaiting him: he was more wroth than the first day, as he now complained that Diarmait had hunted on his land and killed some of his speckled deer; so they fought as before and with the same result, that the *gruagach* disappeared at dusk into the well. This scene repeated itself each day till the evening of the fourth, when Diarmait, finding his antagonist drawing towards the well, threw his arms round him, and both sank into the well. At length they reached the bottom in *Tir fa Tonn*, or the Land beneath the Billow, and the *gruagach*, disengaging himself, left Diarmait alone in a strange land, where, however, he fell in with the *gruagach's* brother, who complained that he had been disinherited by the *gruagach*, or the Knight of the Fountain as he called him. So Diarmait allied himself with the former, and they made war on the Knight of the Fountain, who was ultimately routed and slain by the hero of the tale.

A story of which Diarmait was a principal figure required him of course to be victorious in his contests, and this applied with special force to one in which the

romancer could make his hero right a wrong. On the other hand, the Knight of the Fountain taking possession of his brother's kingdom is to be regarded as a version of the disinheritance of the Dagda by his son the Mac Óc; and the story comes pretty near a Welsh one, the hero of which is called Pwyll, who is made, as related in the Mabinogion,[1] to rid Arawn Head of Hades of a troublesome neighbour. This last would seem practically analogous to the Knight of the Fountain in the Irish story, and he bore the name *Havgan* or Summer-white, which may be viewed as a corroboration of the conjecture here offered. In the tree and the sacred spring one cannot help recognizing an early specimen of the holy wells still so numerous in Ireland; and as to the richly adorned horn, which in the story of Diarmait takes the place of the silver tankard in that of Owein, we have a reference to the custom of providing wells, probably only holy ones, with vessels mentioned in Cormac's Glossary. From an article there devoted to the word *ána*,[2] we learn that it was the name for small vessels at the wells under 'the strict laws,' that they were most usually of silver and intended for the weary to drink from, and that they served the kings of the country as a test of the respect in which the law of the land was held. This allusion to the weary drinking and the kings testing their subjects dates probably from a time when the original signification of the vessels had been forgotten: it was doubtless of a religious nature.

The circle of pillar-stones in the sacred island invaded

[1] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 1—7; Guest, i. 37—46.

[2] The Stokes-O'Donovan edition, p. 7.

by Diarmait may, in the light of other allusions, be inferred to have represented the gods honoured there. Thus, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth,[1] Merlin, on being asked to assist with his advice in the matter of building Stonehenge, said that the best thing to do would be to bring to this country the pillar-stones called the Choir of the Giants, that stood on a spot in Irelan described in the Latin text as *Killaraus Mons*, and to s them up here in the order in which they stood ther With the enchanter's marvellous aid, that was done, an Stonehenge came soon into being. This story proves among other interesting things, that formerly a circle o stones like that of Stonehenge or like a portion of it, was well known to exist in Ireland; and its site can hardly have been other than the Hill of Usnech, which plays a great rôle in Irish legend. It stood in the parish of Killare,[2] in the barony of Rathconrath, in the county of Westmeath. Giraldus Cambrensis, speaking of the five provinces into which Ireland used to be divided, when Meath was reckoned one of them, uses the following words with regard to the Hill of Usnech: 'Et eam [Hiberniam] vacuam invenientes, in quinque portion æquales inter se diviserunt: quarum capita in lapi quodam conveniunt apud Mediam juxta castrum de Kilair qui lapis et umbilicus Hiberniæ dicitur, quasi in medi et meditullio terræ positus.'[3] The stone is described as

[1] Sans-Marte's ed. pp. 108-9, 361.

[2] *Four Masters*, A.D. 507, editor's note.

[3] *Topographia Hiberniæ*, Dist. iij. c. 4. Giraldus himself recognized no connection between the stone and the Giants' Choir: in fact, he speaks in another passage, Dist. ij. c. 18, of the latter and the story about Merlin removing it to this country, and states that it was *in*

a very large one,[1] and it is believed to have been cursed by St. Patrick on account of the pagan worship there; or, more correctly speaking, the stones of Usnech—for there were more than one—became so accursed owing to that saint's malediction, that they never failed to prove the ruin of any structure into which they happened to be built: in fact, a bad stone in a building was proverbially said to be one of the stones of Usnech cursed by St. Patrick.[2] This I mention by the way: what I wish to call your attention to, is, the reason Merlin is represented giving, for fetching those stones from so far, namely, that they were endowed with various virtues, especially for healing: the giants of old had, he said, ordained that bodily ailments might be healed by bathing the patient in the water in which the stones had first been bathed, or by the application of herbs dipped in the same holy bath. This would seem to point in particular to those of the Stonehenge stones which geologists have hitherto failed to recognize as belonging to the rocks of the district; and the idea of washing them, and the virtues thereby imparted by them to the water, presumably implies that the stones were regarded as divine or as the seats of divine power: compare the story[3] of St. David splitting the capstone of the Maen Ketti cromlech in Gower, in order, as we are told, to

Kildarensi planitie, non procul a castro Nasensi, where one might see it in his day. To me, however, the two stories appear to have been originally one, the error having arisen from the place-names Killare and Kildare.

[1] See *Cambrensis Eversus* (Dublin, 1848), editor's note, i. 416.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum*, March 17, Vol. ij. p. 561.

[3] *Iolo MSS.* pp. 83, 473.

prove to the people that it was not divine. It is not improbable that many of the stone circles one meets with in this country were similarly sacred, and used at times for some such a purpose as that specified in the case of the alleged prototype of Stonehenge.

We cannot leave this point without alluding to the question, whose temple Stonehenge was, or whose it chiefly was. After giving it all the attention I can, I have come to the conclusion that we cannot do better than follow the story of Geoffrey, which makes Stonehenge the work of Merlin Emrys, commanded by another Emrys, which I interpret to mean that the temple belonged to the Celtic Zeus, whose later legendary self we have in Merlin. It would be in vain to look for any direct argument for or against such an hypothesis: one can only say that it suits the facts of the case, and helps to understand others of a somewhat similar nature. What sort of a temple could have been more appropriate for the primary god of light and of the luminous heavens than a spacious, open-air enclosure of a circular form like Stonehenge? Nor do I see any objection to the old idea that Stonehenge was the original of the famous temple of Apollo in the island of the Hyperboreans, the stories about which were based in the first instance most likely on the journal of Pytheas' travels.[1] In spite of the fabulous element introduced, one cannot help seeing that the northern island, which was as large as Sicily and situated opposite the mouth of a mighty river, must have

[1] The version here chiefly referred to is that to be found in the *Bibliotheca* of Diodorus Siculus, ij. cap. 47, where Hecatæus of Abdera is quoted as one of the writer's authorities. See also Elton's *Origins of English History*, pp. 88-9, 426.

been Britain. The inhabitants, we are told, were much devoted to the worship of Apollo, whence it was inferred that his mother Latona was a native of the island: it contained a magnificent temple for her son, and a circular shrine whose walls were adorned with votive offerings. Further, the kings of the city containing the temple and the overseers of the latter were the Boreads, who took up the government in succession, according to their tribes. The citizens gave themselves up to music, harping and chanting in honour of the Sun-god, who was every nineteenth year wont himself to appear about the time of the vernal equinox, and to go on harping and dancing in the sky until the rising of the Pleiades. To interpret this in connection with Stonehenge, we are not obliged to lay any stress on the guess which recognized in the Boreadae the Celtic bards; and we have only to substitute for Apollo a native divinity of light. No one would fit better than the Celtic Zeus; nor is it likely to have been an accident that his temple should be without a roof: it had probably been thought appropriate that it should receive unrestrained the rays of the god's presence, and stand, as a Roman might literally say, *sub Jove*.

After all, it is a matter of no great importance whether Stonehenge was or was not the Hyperborean temple about which the Greek writers of antiquity romanced; for there were in the British Islands other stone circles which would suit the story nearly as well. I need not mention instances still in existence; but I wish to call your attention for a moment to a temple elsewhere, which is only known to us from the pages of antiquity. Allusion has been made to the Breton isle of Sein (p. 158) as one of the scenes of Merlin's birth and of his imprisonment at

the last; but the mythological reputation of the spot is of no modern date, for Pomponius Mela, who calls the island Sena, speaks of it as follows: 'Sena, in the Britannic Sea, opposite the coast of the Osismi, is famous for its oracle of a Gaulish god, whose priestesses, living in the holiness of perpetual virginity, are said to be nine in number. They call them Gallizenae, and they believe them to be endowed with extraordinary gifts, to rouse the sea and the wind by their incantations, to turn themselves into whatsoever animal form they may choose, to cure diseases which among others are incurable, to know what is to come and to foretell it. They are, however, devoted to the service of voyagers only who have set out on no other errand than to consult them.'[1] Mela says nothing about the divinity's temple; but all the islands on the coast of Brittany had their religious associations, and one of these spots, more to the south than Sein, was spoken of by Posidonius, a Greek who travelled in the first century B.C. Strabo and others who made use of his narrative speak of it as possessed by the women of the *Namnites*,[2] whose name probably survives in that of *Nantes* on the Loire. These Namnite women are represented as priestesses of a god whom ancient authors identified with Bacchus, on account solely, as it would seem, of the noisy and orgiastic nature of the cult to which

[1] *De Chorographia*, ed. Parthey, iij. cap. 6. The best MSS. read *Gallizenas vocant*, which one is tempted to emendate into *Galli Senas vocant*; but it is open to doubt.

[2] The readings of this name vary: Meineke in his edition of *Strabo*, iv. 4, 6, reads τὰς τῶν Σαμνιτῶν γυναῖκας; while Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis Descriptio* (Müller's *Geog. Gr. Minores*, ij. 140), line 571, has ἀγανῶν Ἀμνιτάων; but it is highly probable that the people meant were those whom Cæsar, iij. 9, calls *Namnites*.

they devoted themselves: the rest of the account is very curious, and states that the women used to pay visits to the men on the mainland, but that no man durst place his foot on the island. The god worshipped there had a temple which was roofed, but it was the custom of the priestesses to unroof it once a year; it must, however, be roofed again before sunset. So each of the women came to the work bringing on her shoulders a burden of the requisite materials, and in case any one allowed her burden to fall to the ground, she was instantly torn to pieces by her companions, who carried her mangled remains round the temple with jubilant exultation until the flame of their fury burnt itself out. It so happened, we are further told, that each succeeding year saw the horrid scene repeated.

Several things in these ancient accounts of the Armoric isles are deserving of special notice: take, for example, the one last mentioned: there we have a covered temple or sanctuary of some kind, which it was thought necessary to unroof once a year. This clearly implies that originally it had no roof but the sky, as in the case of Stonehenge and other stone circles. Further, in the case of the nine priestesses of the isle of Sein, we find that they were believed to possess the power of disturbing the sea and raising storms, a notion which postulates as its complement a belief, that the god to whose cult they devoted themselves had the control of the elements, especially the wind and the wave; and this exactly fits the Celtic Zeus, with his tendency in Brythonic mythology to become a sea-god. The same remark might be made as to the nine's gift of prophecy: in a word, the Gaulish oracle in the isle of Sein, spoken of by Mela, need not be

supposed other than that of the great prophet Merlin, who prophesied from his prison to the knight from Arthur's court (p. 157).

It is worthy of note that this kind of paganism died hard in the islands on the Armoric coast: in fact, it lasted, in spite of Church and State, down to the time of the Norsemen's ravages. For the Eddic poems called the Helgi Lays, which Dr. Vigfusson has shown to refer, among other localities, to the island of Guernsey,[1] allude to such sibyls as Mela mentions. In the flyting in one of these lays, one of the characters taunts another in words which have been rendered as follows:[2]

> 'Thou wert a sibyl in Guernsey,
> Deceitful hag, setting lies together.'

They are also called 'Bearsark brides in Hlessey,' who injured the rover's boat, and were represented by him as 'hardly women.'[3] But other passages in the Helgi Lays describe them very differently as 'mysterious half-human half-supernatural Walcyries, riding through the air in groups of nine, acting as guardian-angels to sailors, who come to heal wounded wickings, and who have the knowledge of dreams, the power of stilling as well as of raising tempests.'[4] Such notions as these are distributed by the modern Celt between mermaids,[5] who have most of the characteristics of the Helgi sibyls, and witches, who, as pictured by Welsh superstition, strongly remind

[1] See Vigfusson and Powell's *Sigfred-Arminius*, &c. (Oxford, 1886), pp. 28—36.

[2] Ib. p. 32.

[3] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 121.

[4] *Sigfred-Arminius*, &c. p. 33.

[5] For some Welsh ideas about mermaids, see my *Fairy Tales* in the *Cymmrodor*, v. 86—92, 119.

one of the nine priestesses of Sein in the pages of Mela. The witch can not only raise storms and cause disease, but also reverse both processes; and she is also remarkable on account of her capacity to take other forms than her own, the favourite one being that of the hare. The faculty of turning oneself into a hare at will is regarded as hereditary in certain families in Wales;[1] but it is confined, as the theory here suggested would lead one to expect, to the women of those families, none of their male relatives being ever supposed capable of any such a change of their nature. The witch-hare differs in several respects from an ordinary hare: among other things, it cannot be successfully hunted except with a jet black greyhound without a white hair in his coat. The blackness of the hound is suggestive, and still more so is the leporine form selected by the witch, for the hare stands foremost among the animals whose flesh was, according to Caesar,[2] tabooed by the Celts of this country in his day. Perhaps one would not be wrong in regarding it as an animal sacred to the Celtic Zeus or to his associate; and it would be in harmony with the account given by Dio Cassius[3] of Boudicca, queen of the Eceni, who, while exhorting her subjects to rise against the rule of Rome, let loose a

[1] My nurse belonged to one of these families, and was supposed to possess its hereditary characteristics; but in my boyhood few people of my acquaintance in Cardiganshire believed in this superstition: it was only a sort of joke. There is, however, a valley in the neighbourhood of Snowdon, whither I have been warned not to go to question the inhabitants on the subject of witch-hares. For certain other superstitions about the hare, see Elton, pp. 297-8, and Pennant's *Tours in Wales* (Carnarvon, 1883), iij. 164.

[2] *Bell. Gall.* v. 12.

[3] *Historia Romana* (Tauchnitz ed.), lxij. Nero, 6, 5.

hare, and thanked the goddess Andraste as soon as she saw the course taken by the frightened beast to be one of good omen: the address put into her mouth further represents her praying to Andraste[1] for victory, salvation and liberty. Nothing is otherwise known of this goddess; so that we are at liberty provisionally to regard her name as one of those borne by the associate of the Celtic Zeus as god of war and victory.

After this digression, I wish to return to the question of stone circles, and to call your attention to a Goidelic instance which shows a certain advance in point of art. In this, the rude stones give way to images, more or less richly adorned, of the gods they were supposed to represent. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, one reads as follows: "Thereafter went Patrick over the water to Mag Slecht, a place wherein was the chief idol of Ireland, to wit, Cenn Cruaich, covered with gold and silver, and twelve other idols about it, covered with brass. When Patrick saw the idol from the water whose name is *Guth-ard* (i.e. elevated its voice) and when he drew nigh unto the idol, he raised his hand to put Jesus' crozier upon it and did not reach [it], but it bowed westwards to turn on its right side, for its face was from the south, to wit, to Tara. And the trace of the crozier abides on its left side still, and yet the crozier moved not from Patrick's hand. And the earth swallowed the twelve other images as far as their heads, and they are

[1] On the difficulties of identifying this name with the modern Welsh *Andras*, pronounced *Andros* in Arvon and Anglesey, see the Rev. D. Silvan Evans's *Dictionary of the Welsh Language*, s. v. *Andras* and *Anras*.

thus in sign of the miracle, and he cursed the demon, and banished him to hell."[1] This legend is contained in a version of St. Patrick's Life attributed to St. Eleranus,[2] who is said to have lived in the seventh century; but whatever the date of the life, it would seem that, by the writer's time, the pagan sanctuary had been so long falling into decay, that of the lesser idols only their heads were to be then seen above ground, and that the idol of *Cenn Cruaich*, which meant the Head or Chief of the Mound, was slowly hastening to its fall, whence the story of its having had an invisible blow dealt it by St. Patrick. This is also, possibly, the explanation of another name sometimes given to the chief idol, namely, that of *Cromm Cruaich*, 'the Crooked or Bent One of the Mound,' in reference merely to the attitude of the image in the later days of its decadence.

In some verses of difficult interpretation in the Book of Leinster,[3] a manuscript of the beginning of the twelfth century, *Cromm Cruaich* has applied to him the adjective *crín*, which usually means withered and ready to fall, as in the case of a tree which the sap has left. The verses I allude to were written to explain the meaning of the name of the place called Mag Slecht, but they tell us further that the ancient Irish used to sacrifice there the first-born

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[1] The translation is by Dr. Whitley Stokes in the *Rev. Celt.* i. 260; another version will be found in O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, pp. 538-9; and a variety of references are given by M. d'A. de Jubainville in his *Cycle*, pp. 106-8.

[2] For references to Colgan and others with regard to the ancient authors of lives of St. Patrick, see T. Duffus Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue* (Rolls edition, 1862), I. i. pp. 64-5.

[3] Fol. 213*b* of the facsimile.

of their children and of their flocks,[1] in order to secure power and peace in all their tribes, and to obtain milk and corn for the support of their families. The place, Mag Slecht, was, we are told, so called from the kneeling and other more violent acts of adoration through which the people went before the god: it is ascertained[2] to have been near the village of Ballymagauran, in the barony of Tullyhaw, in the county of Cavan; and St. Patrick is said to have built there a church called Domhnach Mór,[3] the name of which is worth a passing remark. The adjective *mór*, 'great,' was added to distinguish it from other churches called Domhnach: this word is no other than the Latin[4] *dominicum*, 'a church or edifice sacred to the Lord,' borrowed, and it can hardly be regarded as an accident that the edifice to supersede the sanctuary of the chief of the Goidelic pantheon should have been called after the Lord and Head of the Christian religion. It would, however, be hazardous to conclude as much regarding all the localities in Ireland now marked by churches bearing this name of Domhnach.[5]

Be that as it may, there is on record a place-name which bears evidence to the worship of the heathen god in the centre of ancient Britain. For if we turn the

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[1] O'Conor's *Bibliotheca Manuscripta Stowensis* (Buckingham, 1818), i. 40-1, and his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores* (Buckingham, 1814), Vol. I. (proleg. i.) pp. xxii, xxiii; also *the Four Masters*, A.M. 3656, note by O'Donovan; and M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Four Masters*, ibid.

[3] *Four Masters*, ibid.

[4] *Domhnach* has also become the regular word for Sunday, that is *Dies Dominicus*, 'the *Lord's* Day,' French *Dimanche*.

[5] No less than twenty such figure in the index to *The Martyrology of Donegal* (Dublin, 1864).

Irish *Cenn Cruaich*, 'Chief of the Mound,' into its etymological equivalents, in modern Welsh we have *Pen Crûg*,[1] which was written formerly *Penn Cruc*, while at a much earlier date, when the language still retained its case-endings, it must have had the form *Pennos Crûci*, or else that of a compound *Pennocrûci*.[2] This last, as the basis of an adjective relating to the god so-called, would yield the forms *Pennocrûcjo-s*, *Pennocrûcja*, *Pennocrucjo-n*; and the last mentioned, the neuter, actually occurs, namely, Latinized into *Pennocrucium*, which would accordingly seem to have meant a place associated with the god who was called Chief of the Mound, that is to say, a spot devoted to his worship. The station called *Pennocrucium* in the Itinerary of Antoninus[3] has been variously identified with Stretton and Penkridge, in Staffordshire; and the name *Penkridge*, written *Pencrik*,

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[1] This would in its turn admit of two translations, according as one took *pen* to mean the top or end (in the physical sense) of the mound, or else the top, in the metaphorical sense of head or chief; and so far as I know, *Pen Crûg* or *Pencrug* as a modern Welsh place-name means nothing more than the Top of the Mound, the Mound's End, or the like.

[2] This compound is like *Vassocaleti* (see note, p. 12), except that the qualifying element is a genitive and not an adjective; but this way of compounding words would seem to have fallen early out of fashion both in Welsh and in Irish, where we should otherwise have had *Cenn Chruaich*, and not *Cenn Cruaich*. *Netu(-Ttrenalugos)* has been mentioned at p. 12, but considerable irregularity prevails with regard to its later equivalent, nom. *nia*, gen. *niad*, as, for instance, in the case of the name *Cairbre Nia-fer*, Cairbre Champion of Men; for the nominative *nia* is found used for the crude form, which should be *niad*: thus in two passages cited in O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* pp. 507, 513, *Nia-fer* has to be construed as a genitive, while the *Bk. of Leinster*, 161 *b*, has *Nia-fer* as a dative.

[3] Parthey and Pinder's edition, pp. 224, 368.

in an eighth century charter of Æthilheard of Wessex,[1] is beyond all doubt a continuation of that in the Itinerary. That, however, does not quite decide the question of site, as there may have been not a few localities entitled to the same interesting appellation.

The God's Mounds, Fetishes and Symbols.

What, it may now be asked, can have been the meaning of calling the god by a name signifying the Chief of the Mound? The answer must depend a good deal on what was meant by the word which I have thus far rendered 'mound.' Now the Irish word *cruach* might mean a heap of anything, and it is attested in the more restricted sense of a rick of hay or the like; the Welsh *crûg* admits of much the same use, but it is especially employed in the case of artificial mounds or tumuli; and so it appears in a great many names of places, such as that of *Crûg Hywel*, Anglicized *Crickhowel*, the name of a village near Abergavenny, and the *Wyddgrug*, which seems to have meant the Burial Mound: the town so called is in Flintshire, and it is found formerly named *Mons Altus*,[2] modern English *Mold*. Let us now look at some of the synonymous terms: one of these is *tommen*, usual in North Wales, and well known as applied to a tumulus at Bala, which served till lately as the rallying-point of the great open-air services of the Calvinistic Methodists; but a more promising word is gorsed, which while etymologically meaning any high station or position,

[1] Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. lxxvi.

[2] The feature so called is said by Pennant to be partly natural and partly artificial: see his *Tours in Wales* (Carnarvon, 1883), i. 35-6.

and used in the Welsh literature of the Middle Ages in the sense of a mound or tumulus, came to be the word for a throne or a judgment-seat: it may also mean a court or tribunal, and Pen yr Orseđ, 'the Gorseđ Top or Hill,' is not an uncommon name of conspicuous positions in certain parts of the Principality. Some of the ancient gorseđs continued long in story to be the seats of supernatural power: take, for example, that known as the gorseđ of Arberth, in South Wales, of which it is said in the Mabinogi of Pwyll Prince of Dyved,[1] that no one ever ascended it without receiving wounds and bodily harm, or witnessing some kind of miracle, which the tale bears out by relating how Pwyll repeatedly went up on the gorseđ, and how very strange adventures befel him, all of which began from the gorseđ.

Similarly, wonderful things are related as happening in Irish story to kings of Tara who chanced to ascend the gorseđ[2] of that city in the early morning: in one instance, it is related[3] that Conn the Hundred-fighter, having done so, happened to tread on a stone, which thereupon screamed all over the land. This was followed by a thick fog, out of which rode a fairy prince, who led Conn away to his residence to be informed of the future

[1] *R. B. Mab.* p. 8; Guest, iij. 46.

[2] The Irish term used in the story of Echaid Airem (*Bk. of the Dun*, p. 130*b*) is *sosta*, the plural of *sossad*, 'a station or seat;' but in the story of Conn about to be mentioned in the text, it is *rí-ráith*, 'a royal *ráth* or fortification;' for sometimes the *ráths*, as may still be seen in Ireland, consisted of earth heaped up over rooms previously formed, a kind of work which an outsider still fancies he can trace at Dover, and more fortresses than one on the Rhine.

[3] See O'Curry in his *MS. Mat.* p. 618, quoting *MS. Harl.* 5280 (p. 119) in the British Museum.

history of Ireland, and to be told the length of his reign and the names of his successors for many centuries afterwards. This stone, of which something must now be said, was the so-called *Lia Fáil*, or Stone of Fál, and Irish legend speaks of it as one of the four precious things brought to Ireland by the Tuatha Dé Danaan: it was one of its properties that, wherever it was taken, a Goidel of Milesian descent, like Conn, would be sovereign there, and at Tara it gave a scream[1] under every king whom it recognized in the sovereignty. From the possession of the warlike descendants of Conn, it is supposed by some[2] to have been traced to Scone, the capital of the kingdom of Alban, where Edward I. found it in such esteem that he thought it worth his while to have it brought to the English capital;[3] and the stone from Scone is believed, as you know, to be now in the Coronation chair at Westminster Abbey. But its removal to England was not the end of the beliefs attached to it; in fact, Irish and Scotch historians saw them verified anew when the throne of England came to be occupied by the Stuarts, who were supposed to be descended from Goidelic ancestors of Milesian race. In the name of the *Lia Fáil*, sometimes called the Stone of Destiny, the word Fál is probably to be treated as in the case of *Inis Fáil* 'the Island of Fál,' where I take the word to have meant light, and to have referred to the god in his early identification with the sun. In other words, the Lia Fáil

[1] *Irish Nennius* (Dublin, 1848), pp. 200-1.

[2] O'Curry was not one of them: see his *MS. Mat.* p. 480.

[3] Keating's *History of Ireland* (Dublin, 1880), p. 7; Skene's *Chron. of the Picts and Scots*, pp. 196-7, 266, 280, 333, 335; O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* pp. 618—621.

was a fetish connected with his worship; and however one looks at it, one cannot regard it as singular in the religious world of the Aryans. Witness the stone swallowed by Cronus under the impression that it was his child Zeus, and set up afterwards by the latter at Delphi. "It was not a large stone," says Andrew Lang,[1] interpreting Pausanias, who saw it, "and the Delphians used to anoint it with oil and wrap it up in wool on feast-days. All Greek temples," he goes on to say, "had their fetish-stones, and each stone had its legend."

But not only was the Irish fetish called the Stone of Fál, but it was first heard of in Erinn at *Temair Fáil*,[2] 'the Temair of Fál,' that is to say, the ancient capital, the site of which is known as Tara Hill, in the present county of Meath. There were in Ireland several other places called *Temair*, genitive *Temrach* (Anglicized *Tara*), and the name may be guessed to have had some such signification as that of a height or an acropolis; but the Tara *par excellence* may be assumed to have been one of the oldest and most important centres of the warlike Celts who conquered the country, and it would not be surprising if it had occurred to them to call it after their chief divinity, who was both god of war and of light, and one of whose names, recalling him in the latter character, was, as it is here contended, the *Fál* in question. *Temair Fáil*, or Fál's Tara, would thus have meant Fál's Hill or Height; and one may compare the case of a warlike people of this country, who called their capital *Camulo-*

[1] *Custom and Myth*, p. 52; Pausanias, x. 24.

[2] O'Curry, *MS. Mat.* p. 479; *Book of Rights* (ed. O'Donovan), p. 56; *Book of Fenagh* (ed. Hennessy), pp. 322-3.

dunon or the Acropolis of Camulos, with the name of which that of Fál's Tara may perhaps, mythologically speaking, be equated.

These scattered facts, which I have tried to connect with one another, not only suggest that Nuada Finnfáil, or the Goidelic Nodens, was the same divinity as Fál, and the latter as Cenn Cruaich; but they further go to prove a connection between his cult and the high places, which, whether artificial or natural, agree, so far as concerns the object in view, with the selection in Greece and Rome of elevated positions for the temple of Zeus and Jupiter. It would agree even more closely with the custom, still practised by the Parliament of the Isle of Man, of promulgating the laws made by it from an artificial mound called the Tynwald, which was done at Midsummer under the Old Style, but now on the 5th of July, a date of no institutional significance. It is in this light, perhaps, that one should chiefly regard the *cruach* or 'gorsed' sacred to the Celtic god and his assessors: in other words, the Irish probably assembled on Mag Slecht, for example, not only to worship Cenn Cruaich, but also to hold their courts under the sanction of the chief of the nation's gods, much as the English House of Lords pays homage to Christianity by opening its proceedings with a public prayer. But one need not leave Celtic ground to look for an instance more pagan and far more in point: I allude to the gorsed or court under the authority of which the Eisteddvod is held as a sort of session, as its name indicates, for letters and music. The gorsed is held in the open air, a circle of stones being formed, with a stone bigger than the others in the middle; the proceedings are opened with prayer

by the presiding druid as he is called; afterwards he goes on to admit to degrees the candidates recommended by persons technically competent to do so. When all the business is over, the company goes in a procession to the building fixed for holding the Eisteddvod, which it is necessary to have announced at a gorsedd held a year at least previously. As regards the gorsedd itself, the rule is "that it be held in a conspicuous place within sight and hearing of the country and the lord in authority, and that it be face to face with the sun and the eye of light, as there is no power to hold a gorsedd under cover or at night, but only where and as long as the sun is visible in the heavens."[1] In the absence of documentary evidence bearing on the history of the gorsedd, we have to judge of it as we find it, and it is remarkable that everything connected with it seems to suggest that it is but a continuation of a court of which the Celtic Zeus was originally regarded as the spiritual president: witness the circle of stones, the importance attached to the sun and the eye of light, and also the nature of the prayer pronounced by the officiating druid. There are several versions[2] of it, and, though not one of them is

[1] The original is printed in the *Iolo MSS.* p. 50, from the manuscripts of Llewelyn Siôn, who died in the year 1616.

[2] Four of these versions are to be found in the *Iolo MS.* pp. 79, 80, 469-70, and the one breathing the purest pantheism is there ascribed to the ancient poet Talhaearn; it runs thus:

'Oh God! grant strength;
And from strength, discretion;
And from discretion, knowledge;
And from knowledge, the right;
And from the right, the love of it;
And from that love, love for all things;
And in love for all things, the love of God.'

probably early in the form in which we have it, the fact of their containing nothing distinctively Christian is all the more remarkable, and it favours the belief in the antiquity of their origin.

I may explain that in the remarks to which the name Cenn Cruaich has here given rise, the Celtic Zeus or Mars-Jupiter has been regarded as standing before us in his character of a god of light and the sun, but that at a very early stage in his history, his attributes expanded themselves to such an extent that he ceased to be in any very strict sense of the term a sun-god: other sun-gods of a far simpler and narrower nature grew up, and one of them appears in the story of Conn and the Stone of Fál. For at the same time that the name Fál seems to have referred to the more ancient god of light, the fairy prince (p. 205) who disclosed the future history of his country to Conn is stated to have been called Lug,[1] who as a sun-god occupies a distinguished place in Irish legend. When the connection of the other god with light had been forgotten, the name of Lug as a sun-god was still familiar, and the story shaped itself accordingly.

The observations made in reference to the term Fál as a name of the god would be incomplete without some allusion to the mythical creation known as *Roth Fáil*, or Fál's Wheel, and *Roth Rámach*, or the Wheel with Paddles.[2] It is said to have been made by Simon Magus,

[1] O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* p. 618, where the ancient text calls him *Lug mac Edlend mic* [sic] *Tighernmais. Edlend* was his mother's name.

[2] O'Curry in his *MS. Mat.* pp. 385, 401-3, 423, speaks of it as a 'Rowing Wheel;' and at p. 428 he calls it also an 'Oar Wheel,' which is likewise correct enough, since *rámach* means 'provided with *ráma*,' which signified both oars and shovels or spades (the *Cymmrodor*,

assisted by Mog Ruith, a celebrated Irish druid from the island of Valencia, who, having learned all the druidism or magic that could be learned in these islands, went with his daughter to take lessons from Simon Magus, in whose contest with St. Peter he is represented taking a part. The Wheel was to enable Simon to sail in the air; but it met with an accident, and Mog Ruith's daughter brought certain fragments of it to Ireland, one of which she fixed as the rock or pillar-stone of Cnámchoill, a place near Tipperary, the name of which has been Anglicized into *Cleghile*. The stone was believed to produce blindness if looked at, and death if touched.[1] But there were other versions which made the coming of the Wheel a great calamity, not only to Ireland, but to a great portion of the west of Europe: it became a recognized element in so-called prophecies of calamities to overcome Erinn. Thus in one called the Ecstasy of St. Moling, the Wheel is represented as destined to come followed by a dreadful scourge which was to destroy three-fourths of the people as far as the Tyrrhene Sea (p. 173), in the reign of a king Flann Ginach of Durlas.[2] Another extravagant prophecy, vainly attributed to St. Columba, made the Wheel into an enormous ship containing a fabulous number of warriors, and sailing over sea and land with equal ease; but it was fated to be

vij. 65; *Senchus Mór*, iij. 204, 210); and the reference implied in the adjective must have been to the paddles or float-boards of an undershot water-wheel.

[1] O'Curry, *MS. Mat.* pp. 402-3; *Irish Nennius*, pp. 264-5 (also editor's note with references to Duald Mac Firbis's MS. in the Lib. of the Royal Irish Academy, and to the *Bk. of Lecan*, fol. 133); Stokes-O'Donovan ed. of *Cormac*, p. 74.

[2] O'Curry, *MS. Mat.* pp. 402-3.

wrecked on the pillar-stone of Cleghile, and the warriors would all be cut off in the reign of Flann Ciothach.[1] For a reason not assigned, Cleghile appears to have been fixed upon as the terminus for the course of the Wheel, which is called in such legends the *Roth Rámach;* but the allusion to Cleghile enables one to recognize a reference to the same thing in Cormac's Glossary, namely, under the word *Foi*, which is explained to have meant the place called Cnámchoill, 'Cleghile.' So far as it can be translated without context as it stands, the passage represents the druid Mog Ruith saying that somebody or something would perish because the *Roth Fáil* would come as far as the king of Durlas west of Foi, i.e. west of Cnámchoill.[2] I am not aware that the Wheel is called *Roth Fáil* anywhere else; the passage in the Glossary, however, proves the identity of the *Roth Fáil* with the *Roth Rámach.*

But what, you will ask, does all this mean, and especially the introduction of Simon Magus? The appearance of Simon on Celtic ground is not very difficult to

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[1] O'Curry, *loc. cit.*

[2] See the Stokes-O'Donovan ed. of *Cormac*, p. 74, and Stokes' *Old Irish Glossaries*, p. 20, where the passage, which is partly Latin and partly Irish, reads: 'Item Mog Ruith peribit quod Roth Fáil perveniet dicens cori Durluis find iar Foi. i. iar Cnámchaill.' Here *dicens* refers to the sentence beginning with *peribit*, which is used in Irish fashion for *periturum esse*, and the whole is introduced as an instance of the occurrence of the name *Foi.* I translate accordingly: 'Also Mog Ruith saying, that it (he or she) will perish because *Roth Fáil* will come to the king of fair Durlas [Thurles] west of Foi, that is, west of Cnámchoill.' The place called Thurles is not west of Cleghile, though the king of Thurles may at any given time have been; *Durlas* was, however, not an uncommon place-name, so it is not certain that the one now called Thurles was intended.

explain. He was known to the early Church as a notorious opponent of the apostles, and his name became identified with all that was pagan and anti-christian: thus the ancient druidic tonsure usual among the clergy of the British Church till the latter half of the eighth century, and among those of the Irish Church not quite so late, was probably a druidic tonsure continued: at any rate, it was described by those who had adopted the Roman tonsure as that of Simon Magus.[1] As to Ireland in particular, all the fiercest opposition there to Christianity is described as headed by the druids, who competed with Patrick and other saints in working miracles. So it would be natural enough for Christian writers to liken the chief druids of Ireland to Simon, especially seeing that when they used the Latin tongue the native word *drui*, 'druid,' had to be rendered by *magus*, 'a magician.' *Vice versa*, Simon Magus became in Irish *Simon Drui*, or Simon the Druid:[2] nay, he was at last claimed as an Irish ancestor,[3] and as such he appears as Simeon Brec, or Simeon the Freckled, son of Starn or Stariath, of the family of Nemid, and as ancestor of the Fir Bolg, who, owing to Simon's eastern origin, are made

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c. i. 112, 113; Reeves, Adamnan's *Vita Columbæ*, note, p. 350; Stokes's *Goidelica* (London, 1872), pp. 86, 91; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*[2], p. 74.

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, p. 79*a*, where mention is made of a garment which had found its way to Ireland, though originally made by *Simón Drái* for Dair [Darius?], king of the Romans; see Rhys, *Celt. Brit.*[2], p. 71, for reference to the name in the T. C. D. MS. (of O'Mulcoury's Glossary), H. 2, 16, col. 116; and *Ir. Nennius*, p. 265, for a reference to it in the R. Ir. Ac. MS. (of Duald Mac Firbis), p. 535, and the *Bk. of Lecan*, fol. 133.

[3] O'Curry, *Manners*, &c. ij. 213.

to come from the East on one of the motiveless wanderings so common in the legendary history of Ireland.[1]

Now the prophecies about the Wheel appear to have consisted partly of an ancient Irish belief in a mythic wheel and a mythic ship,[2] and partly of Christian tales about Simon Magus, such as the one about his flying in the air, or ascending like Elijah in a fiery chariot, in order to show his superiority over Peter and Paul;[3] but his brief aerial success contrasts most markedly with the ease with which Irish druids, and Mog Ruith in particular, are described soaring in the air by means of a simple pair of wings,[4] put on or off at pleasure like an ordinary article of dress. So here no room is left for the clumsy expedient of a wheel, and we have to look for that in another direction—the one, in fact, indicated by the name *Roth Fáil*, which may be rendered the Wheel of Light, and regarded as probably referring in the first instance to the disk of the sun: I said, 'in the first instance,' as one has only to glance at M. Gaidoz's account of the symbolism of the wheel to see how capable it was of modification, as, for example, when it took the form of a winged disk or even of a cross.[5] The importance attached to the place called Cnámchoill, 'Cleghile,' which translated would mean the Forest of

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[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, p. 16*b*; Keating's *Hist. of Ireland*, pp. 90-7.

[2] *Melusine*, ij. 134, 159; Gaidoz, *Études*, pp. 99, 100.

[3] *Arnobius*, ij. 12 (in Migne's *Patrologia*, v. 827-9); St. Ambrose, *Hexaem.* iv. 8 (Migne, xiv. 205); Maximus Taurinensis, *Homil.* lxxii. ci. (Migne, lvii. 405-6, 488-90); and for more authorities, see Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, s.v. *Simon*, Vol. xiv. 252.

[4] O'Curry's *Manners*, &c. ii. 214, 215.

[5] *Études*, pp. 49, 68, & passim.

(the) Bones or Bone-wood, is not to be understood without ampler data than we have; but it looks as though the spot had been another Mag Slecht adorned with another and ruder figure of Cenn Cruaich, covered with gold and credited with glory exposed to no vulgar gaze but fenced around by the solitude of a sacred forest, like one which figures in the history of ancient Prussia.[1]

Lastly, we have another proof of the existence in ancient Ireland of a wheel myth in the name *Mog Ruith* of the druid involved in the stories occupying our attention at present. It meant *Servus Rotae*, or the Slave of the Wheel, and most probably of no other wheel than the one here in question, the *Roth Fáil* or Wheel of Light. Personal names formed in this analytic fashion, so familiar to Semitic scholars in such instances as *Abdiel*, 'Servant of El,' *Abdallah*, 'Servant of Allah,' and the like, are not unusual in Irish; and they not unfrequently involve a god's name, as in the case of *Mog Nuadat*, '*Servus Nodentis*,' and *Mog Néit* or Slave of Nét, this last being a name of the Goidelic god of war, as we are told in Cormac's Glossary.[2] The habit of forming proper names of men in this way is probably of pre-Celtic origin in Ireland; but it was continued in Christian times with the aid of the words *mael*, 'bald, tonsured,' and *gille*, 'boy, servant-boy,' as in *Maelpadraic*, rendered into Latin as *Calvus Patricii*,[3] or the Tonsured Slave of Patrick, still current as *Mulpatrick; Maelmuiri*, '*Marianus*,' or the Tonsured Slave of Mary; and *Gillecrist*, 'Christ's Servant,' curtailed into *Gilchrist; Gillecomded*, '*Servus*

[1] Voigt's *Geschichte Preussens* (Berlin, 1827), i. 599—614.

[2] Stokes-O'Don. s.v. *Neit*, p. 122.

[3] Nigra, *Reliquie Celtiche*, p. 19; Rhys, *Celt. Britain*, pp. 73, 262.

Domini,' or the Servant of the Lord, and many more. Should these guesses prove well founded, it would follow that the *Roth Fáil* had a well-defined place in Irish theology long before any such a name as that of Mog Ruith could have come into existence; and it is also to be observed that the attempt to replace its name, *Roth Fáil*, by a later designation meaning the Rowing or Paddle Wheel, corroborates, so far as it goes, the opinion here advanced as to the relative antiquity of the belief in the Wheel.

The God of Druidism.

Reference has been made in this lecture several times to a tree overshadowing the sacred well of the god, and to the slab hard by. Others might be added; and I would call your attention to the well-known type of Irish holy-well overshadowed by a tree whose branches are loaded with such votive offerings as bits of cloth; not to mention that at the spot where the pious visitor there makes his cross are to be found other gifts, containing among them, as I have seen more than once, coins of the present day. The placing of offerings, however humble, among the branches of the tree had probably the same meaning as the hanging up in the like manner by the ancient Gauls and Germans of the heads of the animals sacrificed to the gods. The subject has been treated in his thorough way by Jacob Grimm in his well-known work on Teutonic Mythology, where he has brought together many allusions to the trees marking the holy places of his race in old times.[1] Especially deserving of mention is the evergreen tree with wide-spreading branches

[1] *Deutsche Myth*[4]. i. 53—71.

said to have stood in close proximity to the temple of the gods in the ancient town of Upsala,[1] and the mythic tree called Glass, described as standing with leaves of gold before the hall of Sig-týr, or the Norse Zeus of Victory.[2] On the whole, the oak would seem to have been the tree far the most closely associated with the supreme god of the Aryans. Thus in ancient Greece the mighty growth of the oak was regarded as symbolic of him.[3] Not only was it a twig of oak that was used in the Greek ceremony of rain-making, but several celebrated oaks sacred to Zeus are alluded to in Greek and Roman literature: suffice it to recall the Trojan oak famed in the Iliad, and the words of Virgil in the Georgics, iij. 332, &c.:

> 'Sicubi magna Jovis antiquo robore quercus
> Ingentes tendat ramos.'

There were also at Dodona, one of the most ancient Greek seats of the Zeus worship, sacred oaks, the murmuring of the wind among whose branches and leaves was watched and treated as oracular;[4] and sometimes the oak was something more than a tree merely sacred to the god or marking out the place of his abode: it was itself regarded as the seat of his divinity, as in the case of Ζεὺς φηγός or φηγοναῖος also at Dodona,[5] of which Silius Italicus says, iij. 691:

> 'Arbor numen habet coliturque tepentibus aris.'

In the Celtic instances alluded to, no predilection for

[1] Voigt (quoting Schol. to Adam of Bremen, 233), i. 580.

[2] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 79.

[3] Preller in Pauly's *Real-Encykl.* s.v. *Jupiter*, p. 590.

[4] Ib. p. 604.

[5] Overbeck's *Kunstmyth*, i. 4.

the oak seems to suggest itself; but if we go back to the ancient Gauls, their preference for it is placed beyond all doubt. Witness Pliny's well-known account of the druids in his *Natural History*, xvi. 95; the whole passage is so much to the point that I cannot help quoting it at full length: "Nor is the admiration of Gaulish lands in this matter to be passed over in silence: the druids, for so they call their magicians, have nothing which they hold more sacred than the mistletoe and the tree on which it grows, provided only it be an oak [*robur*]. But apart from that, they select groves of oak, and they perform no sacred rite without leaves from that tree, so that the druids may be regarded as even deriving from it their name interpreted as Greek. For they believe whatever grows on these trees to be actually sent from heaven, and to form a mark in each instance of a tree selected by the god himself. That is, however, very rarely to be met with, and when it is found it is sought with much religious ceremony. They do this especially at the time of the sixth moon, the luminary which marks the beginning of their months and their years, and after the tree has passed the thirtieth year of its age, because of its having even then plenty of vigour, though not half the size to which it may grow. Addressing it in their language as the universal healer, and taking care to have sacrifices and banquets prepared with the correct ceremony beneath the tree, they bring to the spot two white bulls, whose horns have never been bound before. The priest, clad in a white robe, climbs the tree, and with a golden sickle cuts the mistletoe: it is caught in a white cloth. Then at length they sacrifice the victims, with a prayer that god may make his own gift benefit

those to whom he has given it. They believe that drinking of a potion prepared from it gives fecundity to barren animals, and that it is a remedy against all poison."

Add to this important passage the statement of Maximus Tyrius to the effect that the Celts worshipped Zeus, and that the Celtic ἄγαλμα or image of the god was a lofty oak,[1] and that the name of the Galatian place of assembly in Asia Minor, as given by Strabo,[2] was Δρυνέμετον or the sacred Oak-grove. The words of Maximus Tyrius might, according to Jacob Grimm, have been applied to the Teutons also and all nations originally related to them;[3] he establishes his opinion as regards the former, and briefly alludes to some of the latter, and among them to the Lithuanian branch as represented by the ancient inhabitants of Prussia. Their place of greatest holiness was a spot called Romove, in a meadow where a high and mighty oak afforded shelter against rain and the heat of the summer sun. Here, in niches cut in the sacred tree, were placed images of their three principal gods, and of these the chief was placed in the middle between the two others. His name was Perkunos, and he was reckoned the god of thunder, of rain, and other atmospheric phenomena. He was also the giver of health and the helper of those who suffered from disease. The water of the lakes held sacred to him was considered to possess remedial virtues, and so were the ashes of the perpetual fire kept up before the sacred oak. The priest who happened to let that fire go out atoned for his negligence with his life, and the sacrifices made

[1] Dissert. viij. (Reiske's ed. i. 142).

[2] Meineke's (Teubner) edition, xii. 5, 1 (Vol. ii. p. 796).

[3] *Deutsche Myth*[4]. i. 55 et seq.

to Perkunos and his two assessors not unfrequently consisted of human victims.[1] Now Perkunos was, under slightly modified forms of the name, worshipped by all the Litu-Slavic nations, and it would be interesting to ascertain his exact mythological position, but that is not a very easy matter. Grimm saw in the name Perkunos a form related to the Norse Fjörgynn, genitive Fjörgvins, of the same origin as the Gothic *fairguni*, 'mountain,' Anglo-Saxon *firgen* of the same meaning; and he has suggested the possibility that *Fjörgynn* was an ancient name for Thor, whom it would suit well enough as a thunderer to be designated a god of the mountains or dweller on the heights; or else that the Goths may have preferred it, in the form of *Fairguneis*, to Thor's more usual designation. But, on the other hand, the Teutonic god corresponding to Zeus had even more right to be called the god of the mountain-tops. May not the right solution be that *Perkunos* and its congeners represent the Gothic name of Thor, borrowed and given by the Litu-Slaves to a god of their own, who was the counterpart of Zeus rather than of Thor, though resembling the latter in his having the attribute of thunder? That borrowing by somebody took place in the matter of the name is proved by the related word *Porguini*, cited by Grimm as the name of the Mordvinian thunder-god.[2] There have also been futile attempts to connect the name of Perkunos with that of the Hindu god of rain and thunder, Parjanya, who would seem to have been a form or aspect of Dyaus, whose son he was sometimes called.[3]

[1] Voigt, i. 582. [2] Ib. i. 143: see also iij. 64.

[3] For a comprehensive account of Parjanya, see an article by Bühler in Benfey's *Orient und Occident*, i. 214-29.

Whatever the origin of the name of the god Perkunos may prove to have been, the priesthood devoted to the holy place of which he was the chief divinity is described as forming one of the most despotic hierarchies the world has ever seen; and its head is represented enjoying absolute power and seclusion more impenetrable than could probably be secured by the most influential druid among the Celts. For to read of the priests connected with the holy forest of Romove in ancient Prussia unavoidably leads one to this comparison, and reminds one in a striking manner of what is told us in the classics about the druids of Gaul, and in a later literature about those of Ireland. Seeing the importance of sacred trees in the ancient cult of the chief god of the Aryans of Europe, and the preference evinced for the oak as the tree fittest to be his emblem or even the residence of his divinity, I am inclined to regard the old etymology of the word druid as being, roughly speaking, the correct one. Pliny, alluding to the druids' predilection for groves of oak, adds the words: *ut inde appellati quoque interpretatione Graeca possint Druidae videri.*[1] The necessity he seems to have been under of interpreting the term by reference to the Greek word δρῦς, 'an oak,' was probably what made him express himself so hesitatingly. Had he possessed knowledge enough of the Gaulish language, he would have seen that it supplied an explanation which rendered it needless to have recourse to Greek, namely, in the native word *dru*, which we have in *Drunemeton*, or the sacred Oak-grove, given by Strabo as the name of the place of assembly of the Galatians. In fact, one has

[1] *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 95; Diefenbach, p. 314.

if I am not mistaken, been sceptic with regard to this etymology, not so much on phonological grounds as from failing exactly to see how the oak could have given its name to such a famous organization as the druidic one must be admitted to have been. But the parallels just indicated as showing the importance of the sacred tree in the worship of Zeus and the gods representing him among nations other than the Greek one, help to throw some light on this point. According to the etymology here alluded to, the druids would be the priests of the god associated or identified with the oak; that is, as we are told, the god who seemed to those who were familiar with the pagan theology of the Greeks, to stand in the same position in Gaulish theology that Zeus did in the former.

This harmonizes thoroughly with all that is known about the druids. On the one hand, Zeus was the source of all divination:[1] the rustling of the wind in the leaves of the sacred oaks at Dodona, the voices of the doves, and the bubbling of the spring near the sacred oak, were all held to be oracular; and even in the case of the celebrated oracle of the Pythian Apollo at Delphi, the latter was no more than the προφήτης or mouthpiece, so to say, of Zeus. On the other hand, one may sum up the impressions of ancient authors as to the druids by describing them as magicians who were medicine-men, priests, and teachers of the young. This applies more especially to Gaul, but their characteristics appear to have been much the same in Ireland—in both they were above all things magicians; for we have Pliny's express state-

[1] Preller in Pauly's *Real-Encykl.* s.v. *Jupiter*, iv. 604.

ment that the name which the Gauls gave their magicians was that of druids; and Irish literature teaches us the like lesson[1] as to the kindred Irish term, as already instanced in the case of Simon Magus, called in Irish *Simon Drui*. But let us examine the druids a little more closely on Irish ground. Now Cúchulainn, whose name has already been mentioned (p. 138), was educated at the school of which Cathbad a druid was the master; but what the latter's teaching mostly consisted of we know not; incidentally we find that he told his pupils of lucky and unlucky days. One morning, for instance, he informed an elder pupil that the day then beginning would be a lucky one for anybody who should take arms on it for the first time, which Cúchulainn overhearing, at once carried out, to the surprise of his teacher and the king, both of whom he outwitted in the matter.[2] To be able to make the declaration ascribed to the druid would seem to imply that he began the day with augury or some other kind of divination. Years later, when Cúchulainn was asked as to his education, he is represented enumerating among the advantages he had enjoyed, that of having been taught by Cathbad the druid, which had, he said, made him a master of inquiry in the arts of the god of druidism or magic, and rendered him skilled in all that was excellent in visions. With regard to this latter statement, suffice it to say that the druids were always ready to interpret a dream, which was probably done according to canons they had elaborated for their use. What interests one most is, the remarkable

[1] *Celtic Britain*[2], pp. 71-2.

[2] *Book of the Dun*, 61*a*, 61*b*; *Book of Leinster*, 64*b*—65*b*.

allusion contained in the term *dé druidechta*, 'of the god of druidism,' which doubtless meant the divinity with whom the druids as magicians had to do, and with whose aid they practised their magical arts. We are unfortunately not told the name of the god; but it is natural to suppose that it was the chief of the Goidelic pantheon, and this is practically settled by the kind of miracles which the druids are usually represented as able to perform with most success, in their competition with the early saints engaged in the task of Christianizing Ireland. These miracles may be described as mostly atmospheric, consisting of such feats as bringing on a heavy snow, palpable darkness, or a great storm, such as the one by means of which a druid tried to effect the shipwreck of St. Columba on Loch Ness in Scotland.[1] The reason, I may observe in passing, why the druids are such familiar figures in Irish literature, at any rate as compared with the literatures of Wales and Brittany, is that the Goidel's faith in druidism was never suddenly undermined; for in the saints he only saw more powerful druids than those he had previously known, and Christ took the position in his eyes of the druid κατ' ἐξοχήν.[2] Irish druidism absorbed a certain amount of Christianity; and it would be a problem of considerable difficulty to fix on the point where it ceased to be druidism, and from which onwards it could be said to be Christianity in any restricted sense of that term.

Though druidism is far harder to discover in the oldest literature of the Welsh, it is possible there to recognize

[1] Reeves' Adamnan's *Vita S. Columbae*, ij. 34 (pp. 148-50).

[2] See Reeves' note on *Magi*, ibid. pp. 73-4.

the Welsh counterpart of the Goidelic god of Druidism, namely, in Mâth ab Mathonwy, also called Mâth Hên, or M. the Ancient. Besides the meagre references[1] to him in Welsh poetry, one of the Mabinogion takes its name from him.[2] There he is described as king of Gwyneđ or Venedotia, with his head-quarters at a place called *Caer Dathal*, supposed to have been the fortified hill-top now known as Pen y Gaer, or the Hill of the Fortress, on the eastern side of the Conwy, a short distance from the ferry and railway-station of Tal y Cavn, as you go from Llandudno to Bettws y Coed, in Carnarvonshire. Among other characteristics, Mâth shared with Welsh fairies and demons the peculiarity of hearing, without fail and without regard to the distance, every sound of speech that reached the air;[3] and as the Greek Zeus was the source of divination, so Mâth is named the first and foremost of the three great magicians of Welsh mythology,[4] in which respect he is to be compared with Merlin and the Mac Óc. Moreover, he taught his magic arts to Gwydion ab Dôn, the Culture Hero, with whose assistance he was able, for example, to create a woman out of flowers;[5] and, roughly speaking, his relations with Gwydion resembled those of Zeus with Heracles and Prometheus, except that Mâth was never guilty of the unscrupulous and cruel conduct not infrequently ascribed to Zeus. But, in fact, no negative praise of

[1] Skene's *Four Anc. Bks. of Wales*, ij. 142 (i. 281), 147 (i. 269), 303 (i. 286), where *Matheu* should be *Math Hen*.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 58—81; Guest, iij. 217-51.

[3] *R. B. Mab.* p. 60; Guest, iij. 219.

[4] Triads, i. 32 = ij. 20 = iij. 90.

[5] *R. B. Mab.* p. 73; Guest, iij. 239.

the kind could render justice to Mâth's good qualities, among which the Mabinogi enables one to recognize a calm and complete freedom from the feelings of jealousy and revenge, and a supreme regard—lacking in Merlin and the Mac Óc—for justice and right, leading him to punish the wrong-doer and indemnify the injured with a certainty of power and purpose no one durst oppose.[1] For various reasons it is not pretended that Mâth could compare with the Zeus of the Odyssey at his best; but he may be distinctly pronounced the highest ideal, as regards the sense of justice and equity, that can be associated with the heathen element in Welsh literature.

Since Celts and Teutons have been repeatedly compared with one another in these lectures, the subject of druidism may be supposed to offer an inviting occasion to do so once more; but the result proves in some measure not so much a similarity as a contrast, and that a contrast which may be said to maintain itself to a certain extent to this very day. The Celts had their druids to attend to religious matters and even a good deal more, while the Teutons had no such a highly developed order of men. It is true the Teutons had their priests and even their priestesses; but religious functions were, it may be supposed, not so exclusively discharged by them as by the druids among their neighbours. The Teutonic chiefs and kings could on occasion act also as priests. Take, for example, the Norsemen as late as the time of King Hácon in the tenth century: they had priests to take charge of the temples, but any family or individual

[1] Ib. passim, but see more especially pp. 65, 67; Guest, iij. 227, 230.

might have a high place for the gods, and at the great festivals he who made the feast and was chief had to hallow the toast and all the meat of the sacrifice,[1] a state of partial independence of a priestly order probably not to be found where the druid was in power among the Celts. The same comparative independence of the hierarchy of the Roman Church was no inconsiderable factor in bringing about the Protestant secession in Germany; while in England the King was always very sensitive in respect of any papal interference, and made himself in the person of the second Tudor formally the Head of the Church within the realm; so our Queen is at this moment declared supreme over all British courts, not only civil but ecclesiastical; and, acting through her Ministers, she appoints to the highest offices in the Church. That is the one side of the picture, with the Queen head of one of the two Churches recognized by the State; while the other side displays the Celt in a State of chronic revolt from both the State Churches, and in the attitude either of an adherent of the Church of Rome, as in Ireland, or of a dissenter, as in Cornwall, Wales and the Gaelic districts of Scotland.

Such a difference of temper is often regretted, but nobody can deny its existence; and whatever explanation of details the history of many centuries has to offer, the contrast may be said to be as great now as it was in the time of Julius Caesar. But evident as is its persistence, its origin is by no means easy to define. On the one hand, it may be said that the Celts, who delivered religious matters over to their druids, that is, to their

[1] Vigfusson and Powell in the *Corpus*, i. 404, 407.

magicians and medicine-men acting as priests, showed themselves proner to superstition and lent themselves more readily to spiritual thraldom; but, on the other hand, some of the modern students of institutions would probably tell us that a community where the chiefs discharged both civil and religious functions was on a lower level of civilization and culture than one in which they belonged respectively to different persons. This might be said doubtless to apply to the Celts and the Teutons of Caesar's time, since the former were more advanced in culture than the latter, owing, if to nothing else, to their standing in closer connection with the centres of Mediterranean civilization. In ancient Rome, the differentiation alluded to was greatly advanced by the abolition of the office of king and the transference of his civil functions to the consuls, his religious duties being left to one who continued to be called king, that is to say, the *Rex Sacrorum*. The Teutonic nations might, perhaps, have in their own way and their own time effected a complete differentiation of state and religion; but the fact that they have not gone further than they have in that direction, would seem to be somehow connected with the state of political development they had reached when their institutions came under the influence of Christianity; and their comparative independence of a priesthood having been then, as it were, stereotyped, may be taken as the historical antecedent of the wholesome intolerance they have on many subsequent occasions evinced in the matter of priestly rule.

This manner of reasoning would, however, presuppose Celts and Teutons to be of the same race, which would be doubtless true of their common origin in so far as they

are both Aryan; but both families may be supposed to have largely absorbed other elements and thereby become more or less mixed. Such is doubtless the case with South Germany, where the bulk of the population still adhere to the Church of Rome, and such it is in most Celtic lands; nor is it irrelevant to note that druidism would seem to have been most powerful in those districts where a pre-Celtic population may naturally be conjectured to have survived in the greatest numbers, namely, in the west of Gaul, in the west of Britain, and in Ireland. That could not, however, afford an adequate foundation for the sweeping generalizations often made with regard to the Celts of the present day, that, as compared with nations of the Teutonic stock, they are naturally and essentially superstitious and fanatic, only fit to be ridden by priest or preacher, even where the parson has just been thrown off. Such a belief may prove as unfounded as another lately shattered, namely, that our Celts were incapable of advance in their political ideas; for it has come to this, that they are now hated of Jute and Saxon for entertaining views which Jute and Saxon, rightly or wrongly, hold to be too advanced. In matters of religion and dogma, a Celt can undoubtedly go, for better or for worse, as far as a Teuton: witness the case of the ancient Brythonic heresiarch, Morien,[1]

[1] The Welsh account of Morien as a heretic will be found in the *Iolo MSS.* pp. 42-3, 420-1. The oldest attested form of the name *Morien* is *Morgen*, which must have meant Sea-born or Offspring of the Sea, whence he was called Pelagius; but *Morgen* is not to be confused with the modern name *Morgan*, the old form of which was *Morcant*, though the error has the sanction of the translators of the Book of Common Prayer, who have made the 'Pelagians' of Article IX. into *Morganiaid*, or 'Morgans.'

better known as Pelagius, and that of the Gallic Celt Voltaire, one of the founders of freedom of thought and of the forerunners of the Revolution in France; or, to come to our own day, take that of Renan, than whom no one can be said to write with wider sympathies and more fascination of frankness as regards matters of religion and theology, whatever you may think of the correctness of his views, or be found to dwell with more fondness on his Celtic origin and Breton boyhood.

These are after all, you might say, but individual cases, which is not to be denied. But I could, if time allowed, produce a larger though humbler witness from my native county of Cardigan: I allude to a small community which has been in existence there for the last century and a quarter or more. There in an agricultural tract between the rivers Aeron and Teivi, the ordinary beliefs of Trinitarian Christians have passed into those known as Unitarian. Now it is believed by the inhabitants of the country round this Black Spot, as they call it, that Unitarian theology can have no attraction for the religious mind: still that theology has deeply and firmly taken root there. The Black Spot is a quiet rural district without a town or even a village of any large size. The small farmers and farm-labourers of Llandyssul, thoughtful and intelligent men as they are, cannot in any sense be reckoned Renans or Voltaires; and the question inevitably thrusts itself upon us, why should a creed believed to have no charm for the mass of men, and views verging, if I am not mistaken, on extreme scepticism, exercise a decided sway over their minds? Let those answer who believe the Celt essentially a superstitious fanatic. Of the merits or demerits of Uni-

tarianism I say of course nothing, lest the Calvinism of my early training should prove to have made me incapable of forming an impartial estimate; and I need scarcely add, that I am quite willing to leave the conflict of the creeds to be decided by the inexorable logic of natural selection, feeling confident, as I do, that the fittest of them and best calculated to meet the wants of man will survive.

It is right, however, to say that we are not compelled to account for the fact, that druidism seems to have been most flourishing in the western parts of the Celtic world of Caesar's time, wholly by postulating a mixture of race to which it may have been more congenial than to the thoroughbred Aryan Celt: the explanation may partly be, that in the more progressive parts of southern Gaul, the neighbourhood of the Rhone and the Roman province, the palmy days of druidism were even then over. In Ireland, for instance, druidism and the kingship went hand in hand; nor is it improbable that it was the same in Gaul, so that when the one fell, the other suffered to some extent likewise. It would thus seem probable that druidism had here and there begun to lose a good deal of its power and influence during the revolutions, which had resulted in the abolition of the ancient kingship in most of the more important Gaulish communities mentioned by Caesar. This would be the political side of the question; but it had also a more purely religious aspect, and there was a cause at work the action of which cannot have tended to the greater glory of druidism: I allude to the change which must have come over Gaulish paganism some time or other, and the outward effect of which was to make the Gaulish Mercury or

culture-god practically the head and chief of the Gaulish pantheon. Here, again, it is worth the while to compare Celts and Teutons together: in the next lecture it will be attempted to show that the Teutonic counterpart of the Gaulish Mercury and culture-god was Woden; and it is interesting to find that in this matter both families of nations, as represented by the Gauls and the Norsemen respectively, proceeded on the same lines, in that they made the culture hero paramount over the old gods. Even in the far east, the same thing is to be noticed in the case of Indra becoming the head of the Hindu pantheon, and, as it is put in the Rig Veda, sending the other gods away like (shrivelled-up) old men.[1] It is gratifying to come upon such traces of progress in the theology of our early ancestors, whether Celts or Teutons; and still more so to think that in the practice of their heathen religion it meant the establishment, probably, of a milder worship, making in some small degree for humanity and greater regard for human life. The older cult of the divinity that was *par excellence* the god of druidism, with its direst horrors, would probably have left in the hands of the druids despotic power, which the spread of the worship of the Culture hero or Man-god may be supposed to have indirectly tended to lessen. That is, however, but an inference, and the data only amount to negative evidence to the effect, that the sacrifice of human victims to the Gaulish Mercury is unknown, while the contrary is the case as regards the older divinities, Teutates, Esus and Taranis. This would seem likewise to apply to the Scandinavian Woden, as contrasted

[1] Max Müller's *Hib. Lectures*, p. 280.

with the more old-fashioned god Thor:[1] the former, we are told in one of the Eddic poems, owned all the gentle-folk that fall in fight, but Thor the thrall-kind, which would seem to refer to an ancient custom of sacrificing thralls on Thor's altar.[2] This last is described in a well-known passage which speaks of a place called Thors-ness; and, in its allusion to the blood, it reminds one of the Snowdonian stone called the Red Altar. "There," says the writer, "is still to be seen the doom-ring wherein men were doomed to sacrifice. Inside the ring stands Thor's stone, whereon those men, who were kept for the sacrifice, had their backs broken, and the blood is still to be seen on the stone."[3] As to Woden, those who fell in battle were regarded as belonging to him, but it may be doubted that men were sacrificed by the Old Norsemen to him in the literal and ceremonial sense in which they were to Thor.

Were one inclined to draw a parallel in the spirit of Casaubon or Bishops Lowth and Horsley, one might point to the rise of the figure of the Man-god in Celtic and Teutonic heathendom, as helping to introduce a cult less given to the shedding of human blood than that which went before; and with it one might compare the worship of a very different kind of Man-god who abolished for Christians all the blood sacrifices in which the Jewish

[1] It is right, however, to note that with the ancient Germans human sacrifices to their Mercury were, according to Tacitus, not unusual; see his *Germania*, ix.

[2] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 120. Criminals also of the worst kind were sacrificed to Thor: see the same work, i. 410.

[3] See the *Eyrbyggia Saga*, cited by Vigfusson and Powell in the *Corpus*, i. 409, where they call attention, by way of comparison, to the Blood-stones in the Fiji Islands.

religion, like most other ancient cults, took no small delight in spite of the reforming voice of an Isaiah. It is better, however, to abide on the safer ground of confronting one Aryan religion with another; and in this instance one may contrast the direction which progress took in the theology of our ancestors with that which it followed in Greece and Italy, where Zeus or Jove, etherealized and expanded like his namesake the heavens, was able to hold his own, though it must be confessed that he came near having a formidable rival, not in any one of the older divinities, but in Heracles, a god whom Greek theology regarded as by birth a mortal. In this matter at least, Celts, Teutons and Hindus take a respectable position in the comparison with Greeks and Romans, when, unlike the latter, some of them proceeded to raise to the highest seat in their pantheon the representative of the intellectual aspect of man's nature, and the exponent, however narrow and inadequate, of the striving of human reason to conquer all things and surmount all difficulties by dint of genius and persistent effort.

LECTURE III.

THE CULTURE HERO.

THE great difficulty in studying the religion and mythology of the ancient Celts, is to bridge over the gulf of ages dividing the literature of the Celtic nations of the present day from the narrative of the writers of antiquity and the testimony of the stones. But that a few slender lines of connection can be thrown across, has been shown in the case of Nodens; and I now propose to make a similar attempt in that of a very different figure in the Celtic pantheon. It is but sparingly that the literature of the Goidel speaks of a god or goddess as such, and this applies still more emphatically to that of the Brython. That is, however, but an accident of the medium, so to say, through which our information about Celtic paganism has reached us: the gods have, in the course of the transmission of the legends about them through Christian channels, been reduced to the status of men playing parts, more or less heroic, in a mythic history. So it is only by careful comparison that one is enabled to find that such and such a hero of our stories was, in the pagan period, such and such a god. Let me call your attention to one of the kind, who, in the Mabinogion, bears the name

Gwydion Son of Dôn.

He is intimately associated with the district in North Wales, which is somewhat loosely termed Arvon.[1] In order to place Gwydion's character in a clear light, I venture to give you an abstract of one or two connected tales about him, contained in the Mabinogi, bearing the name of his uncle and tutor Mâth,[2] who was mentioned in the last lecture (p. 225), as having his head-quarters in the Arvonian district with which the name of Gwydion was also connected. The first story relates how Gwydion thrice thwarted his mistress, Arianrhod, with regard to a son of theirs whom she wished to disown. Gwydion had the boy reared at Dinas Dinlle, a town or fortress now represented by a huge mound, into which the sea, not far from the western entrance into the Menai Straits, is fast eating its way: the site seems to have been turned to use by the Romans. But be that as it may, a short distance thence, one is shown a spot where the waves break on a rock visible only at low water. It is the supposed remains of Caer Arianrhod, or Arianrhod's Castle, which local legend affirms to have subsided owing to the wickedness of its occupants. Well, Gwydion one day took his boy with him to visit his mother, who had not seen him since his birth; she was disgusted to find that his father had had him reared, as she was desirous of passing for a virtuous maid: so she laid the boy under a destiny that he was never to have a name till she gave him one her-

[1] It is the country looking towards the sea between the Conwy and the Fevi Mountains, or the Rivals, as they are sometimes called by Englishmen; but the coast from the Conwy to Bangor or thereabouts used to be called Arllechwed, and not included in Arvon.

[2] *M. B. Mab.* pp. 70—81; Guest, iij. 233-51.

self, intending that he should ever be nameless. Gwydion went his way, declaring that the boy should have a name nevertheless; so one day some time afterwards, he took the lad with him for a walk on the sea-shore. There, by dint of magic, in which he was an adept, he converted some sedges and sea-weeds into a ship fully rigged out with sails and everything requisite for a vessel; and by another effort of his art he transformed himself and the lad into cordwainers. They moored beneath the walls of Arianrhod's castle, where it was soon announced to the lady that there lay hard by a vessel, with a man and a boy on board busily engaged in fashioning shoes of the most exquisite Cordovan leather anybody had ever seen. She sent to have a pair made for her; but when the shoes came to be tried on, they proved too large, so that others were ordered. These latter were as much too small; so the cordwainer would work no more for her without measuring her foot himself. She came down to the vessel; and when she had got on board and expressed her surprise that he could not make a shoe according to measure, a wren lighted on the ship, and the lad took his aim and so cleverly hit it that Arianrhod laughed aloud and exclaimed, that it was with a steady hand[1]

[1] This is a guess at the meaning required by the context; but the real signification of the adjective *gyffes* or (in its dictionary form) *cyffes* has not been ascertained: it must be analysed *cyf-hes*, otherwise one cannot account for the *ff*, and in that case the syllable *hes* may possibly be a word of the same origin as *hyd*, 'length,' and the whole word *cyffes* might be conjectured to have had the meaning of 'long.' We should then interpret *Llaw-gyffes* to mean *Longi-manus*, as in the case of Llew's Goidelic counterpart, Lug *Lám-fada*. It is scarcely necessary to add that *llew*, 'lion,' is entirely out of place here, as the older form of the name was *Lleu*, the etymological equivalent of *Lug* and the

(Hawgyffes) the lion (Hew) hit the wren. Gwydion quickly declared himself pleased with her utterance, and said that the boy's name should thenceforth be Llew Llawgyffes. Of course Arianrhod's dainty foot was left unmeasured, while the ship and its belongings returned into their former elements. Arianrhod was wroth beyond measure, and laid the boy under another destiny, namely, that he was never to wear arms till she put them on him with her own hands. His father declared that it would not avail her; so when he found young Llew beginning to become an idler for want of arms, he took him out some distance; and then they came back on horseback in the guise of bards from South Wales. They announced themselves at Arianrhod's gate, and were admitted to receive the most hearty welcome and good cheer. In the evening, when eating was over, Arianrhod conversed with Gwydion respecting story and history: the Mabinogi adds, 'And he, Gwydion, was a good historian.' When it was time, they went to sleep; but Gwydion got up very early in the morning and betook him to his magic arts. By daybreak the whole countryside was in commotion; and it was not long ere Arianrhod and her handmaid knocked at Gwydion's door, which was opened by the younger bard: she had come to tell them in what a plight they were, as the sea could not be seen for ships, and as invaders were landing in all directions. Gwydion told her to have the gates of the castle secured, and to bring arms for him and his fellow-bard. That was done at once; and while the

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Gaulish *Lugus, Lugoves:* it probably meant light, and referred to the sun-god.

handmaid helped Gwydion to put on his arms, Arianrhod herself put arms on the younger man. When she had done, Gwydion asked if his friend had been completely equipped; she answered that he had, whereupon she was told that there would be no further need of the arms, since the hostile fleet and forces had disappeared. Her anger then was greater than the other time; and she laid the boy under another destiny, to the effect that he should have no wife of the race then inhabiting the earth. Gwydion went away somewhat disconcerted at this, and journeyed to his uncle, the master magician Mâth, complaining bitterly of Arianrhod. They resolved to fashion a woman out of flowers to be Llew's wife: they called her Blodeued,[1] a name which meant flowers in a collective sense. She was the fairest of the women of her time; nor was she less faithless than the most notorious of those utilized by poets to point a moral or adorn an epic. She fell in love with another prince, who advised her to ascertain from Llew in what way he could be killed. She found out at length that it could only be done if a bath were made for him beneath a thatched roof in the open air, and if he stood with one foot on the side of the bath and the other on the back of a he-goat: if he were wounded in that position, it would be his death.

[1] Another account of her origin is given by the poet D. ab Gwilym, who makes her daughter of March ab Meirchion; see poem clxxxiii. p. 365 of the (London) edition of 1789. She is more commonly called Blodeuwed, which may be explained as Antho-eides or Flower-like: this, as the more generally intelligible, is probably the later of the two. The name translated is that of Fflûr, Caswallawn's leman (p. 153), but whether *Fflûr*, directly represents *flôs*, *flôris*, 'flower, blossom,' or *Flôra*, the name of an Italian goddess of no better morals than Blodeued, is not easy to decide, as *flûr* occurs in the sense of *bloom*.

By simulating innocent curiosity and concern for his safety, she succeeded in persuading him to go to the bath and place himself in the perilous position, when her paramour, lying in wait, cast a spear at him, the head of which remained in his body, whereupon Llew uttered an unearthly cry and flew off in the form of an eagle. When Gwydion heard of it, his grief was inconsolable, and he wandered all over the country for many a weary day in search of his son. At length he came to a place near the Lakes of Nantlle, where he saw in the branches of an oak a wretched eagle, whose flesh kept falling from him to the ground. He guessed that it was Llew, and sang an *englyn* to him, whereupon the eagle descended to a lower branch: he sang a second *englyn*, and a third, with the result that the bird alighted at last on his lap. He touched Llew with his wand, when he assumed his former shape, excepting that there was nothing of him left but skin and bones. When Llew recovered, Gwydion and he proceeded to avenge his wrongs: his murderer had to place himself in the position in which Llew was when he was killed; and so Goronwy Pevr, for that was the name of Blodeued's paramour, died by Llew's unerring spear, while she herself was subjected to a terrible punishment by Gwydion, who overtook her as she was making for the recesses of a dark lake. It is known, however, that there once existed another and older version of the story, which placed the scene in the skies, and connected the stars in the Milky Way with Gwydion's hurried pursuit of the erring wife.[1] The more common account, given in the

[1] See Lewis Morris' *Celtic Remains*, p. 231, s.v. *Gwydion*.

Mabinogi, explains that the punishment which he inflicted on her was to strike her with his wand into an owl, whence it is, we are told, that all other birds hate the owl and permit her to come out only at night. Popular superstition, it may be added on the other hand, gives expression to the feeling of Blodeued in her changed condition: she takes delight in spiting the fair sex of which she was once the fairest, by beginning early in the evening to proclaim from the churchyard yew to the villagers of Glamorgan the tripping in their midst of some unwary maid.[1] With the fate of Blodeued, doomed by the touch of Gwydion's wand to sleep her days away as an owl, may be compared the Norse account of Sigrdrifa, sometimes identified with Brynhild, punished by Woden for bringing about the death of a hero favourably regarded by him: Woden, we are told, touched the helmed maid with his wand of sleep and she forthwith fell into a slumber, the pale spells of which she had no power of her own to cast off.[2]

The Culture Hero acquiring certain Animals for Man.

The Mabinogi of Mâth gives another curious tale about Gwydion: the south-western portion of Wales,

[1] For this I am indebted to a prize essay on *the Folk-lore of Glamorgan* at the Aberdare Eisteddvod in 1885: Mr. Thomas Evans, the author, writes as follows: "When an owl was heard hooting early in the night from the yew-tree in our village churchyards, it was looked upon as a sure sign that some unmarried girl of the village had forsaken the path of chastity. There are even now in some places persons who maintain the trustworthiness of this sign (p. 166 of the MS.), which, I believe, has not yet been published).

[2] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 158.

including the counties of Pembroke and parts of those of Cardigan and Carmarthen, used to be called Dyved, from its ancient inhabitants the Demetæ. Now it had come to Gwydion's knowledge that the king of Dyved, who was called Pryderi, son of Pwyll Head of Hades, had been presented from Hades with a species of animals never before met with in this country, namely, *hoben*, that is to say, swine; and Gwydion resolved to bring some of them into Gwyneđ or his own Venedotian country, in North Wales. He set out, accordingly, to ask for some of the swine; but he did not expect his errand to be an easy one. He had, however, full confidence in his own powers; for when Mâth hinted that he might be refused the swine, his answer was, 'I am not a bad hand at a bargain: I shall not come without the swine.' So he and eleven followers, all disguised as bards from North Wales, presented themselves in due time at the court of Pryderi, on the banks of the river Teivi. They met with an excellent reception; and on the evening of the first day, Pryderi suggested that one of the young men in Gwydion's suite should tell a tale or relate a history—I use both words, because the Mabinogi, touched by no nice discrimination born of the bolder wisdom of a later age, makes no distinction between story and history, between story-tellers and historians.[1] Gwydion replied in the following words: 'It is a custom of ours that the chief professional of the company should recite the first night we come to a

[1] This will, however, scarcely be treated as irrefragable evidence of antiquity by any one who has thought of the number of the stories which historians still allow to count as history. More than one instance has been noticed in these lectures.

great man's house: I will tell a story willingly.' The Mabinogi thereupon remarks as follows: 'Now Gwydion was the best story-teller in the world; and he entertained the court that night with amusing entertainments and history, so that he was admired of everybody in the court, and so that Pryderi was delighted to converse with him.' By and by, when Gwydion had charmed the king with his eloquence, he said he wondered whether another would be likely to transact his business with him better than he should himself, to which the king replied, that it was not at all probable, adding words to the effect, that his was an excellent tongue. Pryderi, on being told Gwydion's errand, said that he was bound by an engagement with his people to part with none of the swine until they had bred double their number in his kingdom. Gwydion asked him not to give him a refusal that evening; and retired unsuccessful but not disheartened. By the morning, Gwydion produced by magic twelve steeds, fitted out with saddles and bridles mounted with gold wherever iron might have been expected, and twelve jet black white-breasted greyhounds with collars and leashes such as no one could tell, that they were not likewise made of gold. These Gwydion offered to Pryderi in exchange for some of his swine, urging that he would be thereby freed from his engagement to his country neither to sell nor to give the swine away for nothing. Pryderi and his nobles were tempted by the splendour of the gift, and Gwydion set off with the swine as hurriedly as he could, for the charm would only last twenty-four hours, when the horses and the hounds would again become the fungus out of which they had been made. Gwydion and his men barely succeeded in reaching the

strongholds of Arvon ere Pryderi and his army arrived in pursuit of them; but the war that ensued proved most disastrous to the Demetians, and those of them who regained their country returned without their arms and without their king, who was slain by Gwydion in single combat at the ford called the Velenryd, between Portmadoc and Maen Twrog: in fact, Maen Twrog[1] is mentioned as the spot where he was buried.

Now Gwydion's obtaining some of the swine of the Head of Hades is alluded to in the Book of Taliessin,[2] a manuscript of the thirteenth century, in a manner implying that it was considered a great achievement on his part; and the story must have formed part of a tradition pretending to trace some or all of the domestic animals to Hades, whence they were brought by fraud or force by the benefactor of the human race. But the story of the swine does not stand alone: in the great collection of Welsh manuscripts published by Owen Jones (Myvyr) and his friends, under the title of the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, on the first day of this century, a few stanzas occur, i. 167, which are attributed to Gwydion, and they are prefaced in words to the following effect: "These are the *englyns* sung on the occasion of the battle of Godeu, which others call the battle of Achren. It was fought on account of a white roebuck and a puppy, which were of Hades — Amathaon son of Dôn had caught them. Therefore Amathaon son of Dôn fought with Arawn king of Hades, and there was in the engagement [on the side of Hades] a man who could not

[1] *R. B. Mab.* p. 64, where the MS. has *Tyuawc* instead of *Tyryawc*, so pointed in Guest's *Mab.* iij. 196.

[2] Skene, ij. 158.

be vanquished unless his name could be discovered; while there was a woman on the other side, called Achren, whose name was to be found out before her side could be vanquished. Gwydion son of Dôn guessed the man's name and sang the two following englyns." They are the verses alluded to, and they embody Gwydion's guess as to the man's name, which he discovered to be Brân; and as Brân, which means 'a crow,' is one of the appellations of the terrene god, he may be supposed to have been a principal in the conflict, that is to say, he was probably the king of Hades himself. So the woman called Achren is either to be altogether discarded, or else to be ranged, as appears more probable, on Brân's side; for Gwydion's first verse, in spite of the obscurity of its language, seems to give the woman's name as Olgen, which, if correct, proves that she was among his adversaries, and that the author of the note in the Myvyrian misunderstood the text, a thing by no means to be wondered at.[1] The struggle is called in the [illegible] the Three Frivolous Battles, as it is said to have been fought on account of a bitch, a roe and a [illegible] at the expense of 71,000 lives. Dogs and deer are [illegible] useful to man in different degrees and [illegible]

[1] The anonymous note in the Myvyrian is couched [illegible] is inaccurate, not to say illiterate; but it is doubtless as the echo of an ancient myth, though it must have [illegible] tion: thus the words relating to the woman called [illegible] unchallenged. They appear to come as we have [illegible] who thought the symmetry of the quarrel required [illegible] could be more mistaken; for it was a peculiarity [illegible] from their king down to the tiniest of Welsh fa[illegible] names.

[2] i. 47 = iij. 50.

but the introduction of the lapwing is remarkable. But to call the battle a frivolous one shows, as regarded from my point of view, that the original account of it had been forgotten; and the lapwing may have been thrown in by way of emphasizing the frivolity alluded to. Possibly one should take a different view, and regard the lapwing, called in Welsh *cornicyll*, from *corn* 'a horn,' as sacred to, or in some way associated with, the terrene god, whom the Gauls represented with the antlers of a stag; and the same may have been the cause, partly or wholly, of introducing here an animal of the deer kind. But that does not touch the statement in the Mabinogi of Mâth, that before Pryderi had swine sent him from Hades, none had ever been heard of here before.

It is worth while noticing that the pig is believed to have been one of the first animals to be domesticated, the first of all being probably the dog; and the story of the latter is to be found at length in Irish literature, with the important substitution of Albion for Hades and lapdog for dog: thus in Cormac's Glossary[1] we read that in the time of Cairbre Musc "no lapdog had come into the land of Erinn, and the Britons commanded that no lapdog should be given to the Gael on solicitation or by free will, for gratitude or friendship. Now at this time the law among the Britons was, *Every criminal for his crime such as breaks the law.* There was a beautiful lapdog in the possession of a friend of Cairbre Musc in Britain, and Cairbre got it from him [thus]. Once as Cairbre (went) to his house, he was made welcome to

[1] Stokes-O'Donovan, pp. 111-12, s.v. *Mug-eime.*

everything save the lapdog. Cairbre Musc had a wonderful skene, around the haft whereof was adornment of silver and gold. It was a precious jewel. Cairbre put much grease about it and rubbed fat meat to its haft, and afterwards left it before the lapdog. The lapdog began and continued to gnaw the haft till morning, and hurt the knife, so that it was not beautiful. On the morrow Cairbre made great complaint of this, and was sorry for it, and demanded justice for it of his friend. 'That is fair, indeed: I will pay for the trespass,' said he. 'I will not take aught,' says Cairbre, 'save what is in the law of Britain, namely, *every animal for his crime*.' The lapdog was therefore given to Cairbre, and the name, i.e. *Mug-éime* [slave of a haft] clung to it, from *mug* 'a slave' [and *éim* 'a haft'], because it was given on account of the skene. The lapdog (being a bitch) was then with young. Ailill Flann the Little was then king over Munster, and Cormac, grandson of Conn, at Tara; and the three took to wrangling, and to demand and contend for the lapdog; and the way in which the matter was settled between the three of them was this, that the dog should abide for a certain time in the house of each. The dog afterwards littered, and each of them took a pup of her litter, and in this wise descends every lapdog in Ireland still." The Irish substitution, for such I take it to be, of lapdog for dog, and Britain for the *Síd* or Fairy-land, in this tale, go both to show that the original signification of the story had been forgotten; but other traces of the Goidel's indebtedness to the terrene powers are to be found in the story of Echaid Airem, or Eochy the Ploughman, which cannot, however, be gone into at this point.

To return to the battle of Gođeu; it is one frequently mentioned in Welsh poetry, especially in the Book of Taliessin. The poet pretends to have been present at all the great events which have taken place from the beginning of the world, and he says in Poem xiv.[1] that he was with Llew and Gwydion in the battle in question; but in another poem, usually known by the title of the Harryings of Hades,[2] the poet speaks of himself accompanying Arthur on board his ship Prydwen to a variety of places—more correctly speaking, perhaps, to one and the same mythical region spoken of under a variety of names. Here we have the exploits of Gwydion and Arthur overlapping: thus one of the expeditions was to Caer Wydyr, or Glass Fortress, and to a Caer Ochren, or Castle of Ochren, in which we have a name to be identified probably with the Achren already mentioned (p. 245): in fact, the allusion seems to be to the same battle in which Gwydion is said to have guessed Brân's name. The poem opens with the usual tribute to Christianity, which not unfrequently begins and ends the Welsh poems most replete with heathen lore, and then it plunges into what proves to be a reference to Gwydion and Arthur. The first stanza is to the following effect:

'The Lord, I adore him, princely sovereign,
Whose sway is over earth's strand extended.
Stout was the prison of Gweir in Caer Sidi,
Through the messenger of Pwyll and Pryderi:
Before him no one entered thereinto.
The heavy dark chain held the faithful youth,
And while Hell was spoiled, he grievously sang,
And thenceforth till doom he remains a bard.

[1] Skene, i. 154.

[2] Poem xxx.: see Skene, ij. 181.

Thrice Prydwen's freight went we to Caer Sidi,
Thence but seven did we regain our country.'

The same couplet, slightly modified to suit the rhyme, closes the remaining six stanzas of the poem, with the exception of the last, which ends with a short prayer; and we know from another poem[1] in the same manuscript that Caer Sidi was in a mythical country beneath the waves of the sea. Pryderi and his father Pwyll Head of Hades have already been mentioned, though it is not evident who was meant by their apostle or messenger; but it may be guessed that it was the porter of Hades. His masters, however, could not be expected to have treated Gweir with tenderness in case he should prove to have been Gwydion; and here it may be asked why Gweir should be supposed to have been Gwydion. Now Gweir son of Gweiryoed occurs in one of the Triads, where he is called one of the Three Paramount Prisoners of the Isle of Britain, the other two being Llûd[2] and Mabon (p. 28), both gods of the pagan Celts; and we seem to be warranted in assuming Gweir to have been of similar rank. But it is right to mention, as an instance of Arthur's intrusion, that, in spite of the triadic arrangement, his name is here added as that of a fourth and greater prisoner than the other three. The triad referred to is found in one of the collections in the Red Book of Hergest, a Jesus College manuscript of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; but it occurs in a brief and presumably old form in an earlier group in

[1] No. xiv.: see Skene. ij. 155, i. 276.

[2] ij. 49: see also *R. B. Mab.* p. 131; the other versions have *Llyr*, *Triads*, i. 50, iij. 61.

the same manuscript, where,[1] instead of *Gweir* son of *Gweiryoed*, we read *Geir* son of *Geiryoed*,[2] and the probable identity of Geir with Gwydion will appear when the etymology of the latter name comes to be discussed later.

Poetry associated in its Origin with the Culture Hero.

One of the most remarkable things in the Taliessin poem just cited, is the statement that, in consequence of what he went through in his captivity, Geir should for ever continue a bard or poet; but traces of a somewhat similar notion meet one in the once prevalent belief, that if a man spent a night on the Merioneth mountain, where the giant Idrys was thought to have

[1] *Triads*, ij. 7; *R. B. Mab.* p. 300.

[2] The difference is of importance, and the reading *Geir* is supported by the other versions (*Triads*, i. 50, iij. 61) in which the name is mentioned. The genuineness of the latter has in its favour the fact that they say nothing about Arthur, while they describe the personage here in question as Geir son of Geiryon, lord of Geirionyd, a locality whose name survives in connection with the Lake of Geirionyd, whose waters fall from Gwydion's country into the Conwy a little below Llanrwst. Thus the earlier Triad in the Red Book and all the other published versions of the Triads read *Geir*, while the later Triad in the Red Book and the verse in the Taliessin poem, which may be regarded as of about the same age, probably, as the portion of the Red Book in which the Triads occur, give us *Gweir:* which then is to be regarded as having the prior claim? The probability is decidedly in favour of Geir, which, as meaning 'word,' and otherwise unknown as a proper name, may readily be supposed to have been replaced by the better known personal name *Gweir;* I should, however, not discard the latter, but rather regard both *Geir* and *Gweir* as referring to the same. *Geiryoed* was pronounced, as in modern Welsh, Geirioed; similarly the *Gweiryoed* of the Triads was Gweirioed. Add to this that the old forms *Gweir* and *Geir* become later *Gwair* and *Gair*.

his *cader* or seat, one would descend in the morning a bard or a madman; while on Snowdon the place to pass the night with a view to the same result was the hollow underneath the huge block called the Black Stone of the Arđu, near the Black Tarn of the Arđu. It is sometimes assumed that the exposure chiefly constituted the ordeal, but that view is untenable in the case of the latter sheltered position; while the dismal tarn of the Arđu was formerly believed to be haunted by a race of fairies,[1] and the word Arđu,[2] 'black,' found elsewhere applied to the terrene god, suggests that the hardship consisted in passing a night in the society of him and his fairies. These last, regarded from the popular point of view, may be said to delight chiefly in music and dancing, while instances are also mentioned of their expressing themselves in verse and of their joining to sing stanzas of poetry in a sort of chorus.[3] But in Irish literature, poetry is even more explicitly associated with them, as, for example, in a curious story published by O'Curry,[4] to the following effect: "Finn observed a favourite warrior of his company, named Cael O'Neamhain, coming towards him, and when he had come to Finn's presence, he asked him where he had come from. Cael answered that he had come from Brugh in the north (that is the fairy mansion of Brugh, on the Boyne).

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[1] Rhys in the *Cymmrodor*, iv. 180.

[2] *Book of Taliessin*, poem xlviij. (Skene, ij. 203).

[3] Rhys in the *Cymmrodor*, v. 127.

[4] *MS. Mat.* pp. 308-9: the poem referred to is translated at pp. 309-11, and the Irish text and the rest of the story, from the *Book of Lismore*, fol. 206. *b. a*, is given at pp. 594-7.

What was your business there? said Finn. To speak to my nurse, Muirn, the daughter of Derg, said Cael. About what? said Finn. Concerning Credé, the daughter of Cairbré, king of Kerry [*Ciaraighe Luachra*], said Cael. Do you know, said Finn, that she is the greatest deceiver [flirt, coquette] among all the women of Erinn; that there is scarcely a precious gem in all Erinn that she has not obtained as a token of love; and that she has not yet accepted the hand of any of her admirers? I know it, said Cael; but do you know the conditions on which she would accept a husband? I do, said Finn: whoever is so gifted in the art of poetry as to write a poem descriptive of her mansion and its rich furniture, will receive her hand. Good, said Cael; I have with the aid of my nurse composed such a poem; and if you will accompany me, I will now repair to her court and present it to her." They went there, and the sequel relates that Crede was so charmed with Cael's genius that she gave him her hand and left off her life of flirtation.

O'Curry also gives the substance of a story which may be regarded as the Irish parallel to Gweir's captivity, of which Welsh literature tells us so little: it even relates what happened to the captive; or, to be more accurate, the meaning of the original incident having been clean forgotten, no captive or prisoner figures in O'Curry's version, but only a poet who failed to meet with due hospitality. It will be remembered that Nuada of the Silver Hand had lost his hand and arm in a conflict with the mythic race of the Fir Bolg or the Bagmen, and that on account of that blemish he had to give up his throne, when it was taken possession of by Bres

(pp. 120, 122). Now this Bres[1] belonged by race to the terrene or submarine folk called the Fomori, more or less closely associated with the Fir Bolg, though Irish legend usually tries to distinguish them. We are told that while Bres was in power, "a certain poet and satirist named Cairbré, the son of the poetess Etan, visited the king's court; but in place of being received with the accustomed respect, the poet was sent, it appears, to a small dark chamber, without fire, furniture, or bed, where he was served with three small cakes of dry bread only, on a very small and mean table. This treatment," O'Curry goes on to say, "was in gross violation of public law, and could not fail to excite the strongest feeling. The poet accordingly arose on the next morning, full of discontent and bitterness, and left the court not only without the usual professional compliments, but even pronouncing a bitter and withering satire on his host. This was the first satire ever, it is said, written in Erinn; and although such an insult to a poet, and the public expression of his indignation in consequence, would fall very far short of penetrating the quick feelings of the nobility or royalty of these times (so different are the customs of ancient and modern honour),[2] still it was sufficient in those early days to excite the sympathy of the whole body of the Tuatha Dé Danann, chiefs and people."[3] The result was that Bres had to escape and seek the aid of his kinsmen the Fomori: the Tuatha Dé Danaan came and fought a great battle with them, in which the Fomori

[1] The later spelling is *Breas*, and some have attempted to base a distinction of persons on that unstable foundation.

[2] O'Curry's Lectures were published in 1860.

[3] *MS. Mat.* pp. 248-9.

were defeated and their great captains killed. So goes the story as related by O'Curry, and no one knew Irish literature better than he, but one can no longer follow him in treating this as history. Without the aid, however, of the meagre allusions in Welsh poetry and prose, we should have been groping about in vain for the meaning of such a myth. Gwydion, as Gweir, let us say, goes to Caer Sidi beneath the waves of the sea, and Cairbre visits the court of the Fomorian king Bres, of submarine origin. The Welsh hero becomes a bard—originally the story made him probably the first bard of Welsh legend—as the result of the treatment dealt out to him there; while Cairbre gives utterance to the first satire composed in Erinn, which comes to the same thing, as the first effort of the Celtic muse was presumably of the nature of a magic spell, which, according to Irish belief, was irresistible, and productive, among other effects, of immediate blotches on the face of him against whom it was pronounced: in this instance it was the means of hurriedly driving from his throne the Fomorian, whose treatment of Cairbre is to be ascribed to jealousy rather than contempt for the poet's art; for Bres is doubtless to be identified with the personage of that name said to be the son of Brigit goddess of poetry (p. 75), and of Elathan king of the Fomori.[1] In both versions the individual efforts of the man of poetry was followed by the coming of his friends, to harry Hades, according to the Welsh account, and to overthrow the Fomori, according to the Irish one. With Cairbre, poet and satirist, is doubtless to be identified a Cairbre

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 187 *c*.

known as the possessor of a wonderful crowd or Celtic banjo, in which there was a so-called chord of science, which, tuned by Cairbre's hand, left him in ignorance of no secret from the rising of the sun that day to the setting thereof: his crowd told him everything.[1] One may further venture to identify with Cairbre, poet and musician, Cairbre, the father of the poetic lady Crede, to whom allusion has just been made. As Gwydion was king of a part of Wales, so this Cairbre was king of Kerry; and above all is he probably to be identified with Cairbre Musc, who figures in the story of the Dog and the Skene, in which we found a parallel to Gwydion cheating Pryderi son of Pwyll Head of Hades, in the matter of his swine. That this Cairbre corresponds to Gwydion and may even be equated with him, will appear still more probable when we come to compare their families with one another. Suffice it for the present to say, that many Munster houses traced their descent back to Cairbre Musc, and that many districts in the south-west of Ireland are called after his name or some one of his various surnames[2] to this day. Nor, lastly, is the Cairbre who was mentioned in the story of Lomna's Head (p. 98) to be overlooked; for his relations with the Luignian wife of Finn seem beyond doubt to

[1] O'Curry's *Manners*, &c. iij. 250-1.

[2] O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, pp. 42, 45, 48, 83; *Four Masters*, A.D. 165, 186. The name Cairbre, Cairpre, Coirpri and Corpri, for it is found spelled in these and other ways, was not an uncommon one; but its etymology is obscure, nor is it evident whether it was in use before it was given to the counterpart of Gwydion. In Welsh it was *Corbre*, which occurs in the *Black Book*: see Skene, ij. 29.

form part of an older and more complete account of the culture hero.

To return to the Welsh poem on the harrying of Hades, among the things which the spoilers found there was the cauldron of the Head of Hades; and we are told of it that it had a ridge of pearls round its brim, that voices issued from it, that it was kept boiling by the breath of nine maidens, and that it was a discriminating vessel, which would not cook food for a coward, a peculiarity to be compared with the knack of refusing to cook during the narration of an untrue story, which was supposed to characterize the food in the fairy palace of Manannán mac Lir.[1] The invaders left the cauldron in the hands of one of their number, for it was in all probability the chief object of their incursion into the realm of Hades. All this would have been very puzzling had not Welsh literature preserved other references to the mysterious vessel. The Mabinogi of Branwen speaks[2] of a cauldron which a giant called Llassar had brought up out of a lake in Ireland and given to Brân son of Llyr: one of its properties was, that a dead warrior thrown into it would be alive and well by the next morning, but unable to speak. This was a use it was put to in the war which Brân waged later in Ireland, and on account of this property which it was supposed to have, it is occasionally referred to as *Pair Dadeni*,[3] or the Cauldron of Regeneration. Now the names both of Brân and Llassar connect the cauldron with Hades, and on Irish ground we meet with

[1] *Ossianic Soc. Trans.* iij. 221-9.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 31-2, 39, 40; Guest, iij. 110-1, 123-4.

[3] D. ab Gwilym, poem cxxxviij. (London, 1789, p. 276).

its like as the cauldron of the Dagda, which was one of the treasures of the Tuatha Dé Danaan: it was called the Undry,[1] as it was never empty, and it was so discreet that each one had out of it what was in proportion to his merit. No company ever rose from it unsatisfied, and the legend concerning it is that the Tuatha Dé Danaan had brought it from a mythical place called *Murias*,[2] in which we have a reference doubtless to some locality beneath the sea (in Irish *muir*), like Caer Sidi in Taliessin's poems: it was probably one of the objects of their seven years' sojourn in the country called *Dobar* and *Iardobar*,[3] or 'Water' and 'Behind Water.'

The Welsh poem already cited is not the only one in the Book of Taliessin which refers to the harrying of Hades by Gwydion: I would now refer to another, in which Gwydion is mentioned by that name. The poem is entitled Kat Godeu, or the Battle of Goðeu, which, interpreted, appears to mean the Battle of Trees; and accordingly various trees and shrubs are described as taking part in the fighting; and the whole idea challenges comparison with that of the Battle of the Birds in the popular tales of the West Highlands.[4] Taliessin pretends, after his wont, to have been present in the fray, and to

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[1] Irish *Caire Ainsic*, 'the Undry Cauldron:' see the Stokes-O'Donovan ed. of *Cormac*, p. 45; also O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath* (Dublin, 1842), pp. 50-3, where, besides the Dagda's, other cauldrons are mentioned of similar virtues.

[2] Keating's *History of Ireland* (Dublin, 1880), p. 117.

[3] Ibid. p. 112; O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, i. 12.

[4] Campbell, i. 25, *et seq.*

have taken no mean part in it: he boasts to the following effect:[1]

"I am not a man not to sing:
I have sung since I was little;
I sang in the battle of Gođeu of the foliage,
In front of Britain's gwledig.
I pierced in their midst the chargers
Of the fleets of . . . .
I pierced the beast of the great gem,
Which had a hundred heads,
And a formidable batallion
Under the root of its tongue.
Another batallion there is
In the back of its head.
A gaping black toad
There is with a hundred claws.
A crested snake of many colours—
A hundred souls by reason of sin
Are tormented in its flesh.
I have been in the fort of Nevenhyr
Where hurried grass and trees;
There men of arts made music,
There men of battle made haste.
A resurrection for the Brythons
Was made by Gwydion:
They had called on Neivon,
On Christ from . . . .
To the end He might rescue them,
The Supreme who had made them.
To them the Lord responded
Both in words and in the elements:
'Fashion kingly trees
Into hosts under his lead,
And frustrate Peblic
Of the ignoble fight hand to hand.'"

The reference to a person called Peblic is obscure to me; but besides the expedient of converting a forest, with

[1] Skene, ij. 138, and i. 277-8.

its various kinds of trees, shrubs and grasses, into an army by enchantment, we have a reference, probably in the resurrection effected for the Brythons by Gwydion, to his having secured the Head of Hades' Cauldron of Regeneration, and to its use by Gwydion to resuscitate his fallen friends. Before the poet makes the trees begin to fight, with the alder foremost in the fray, he indulges in some score of lines which are too obscure for me to offer you a translation: this is the more unfortunate as he introduces a woman into his narrative, and her intervention, as I learn from other sources, was probably of the essence of the story. But a more transparent reference to her will be found in the Irish poem which is now to be introduced for comparison with the Welsh one. St. Patrick, trying to convert Loegaire mac Néill, king of Ireland, was told by the latter that he would not believe unless he called up Cúchulainn from the dead: this was done, but the unwilling convert cherished doubts as to his identity, and said that he must speak to him; so Cúchulainn was called up again, and he improved the opportunity to bid the king believe in God and St. Patrick; but, said that curious king, if it be Cúchulainn, let him discourse of his great deeds. I should premise that Cúchulainn was the most celebrated of the heroes known to Irish story, but that he does not correspond exactly to Gwydion, as he combines, roughly speaking, the rôle in Irish story which should answer to that both of Gwydion and of his son Llew in Welsh. But more of this elsewhere: for the present let it suffice to say that Cúchulainn complied with the king's wish, and the poem put into his mouth describes, among other things, his expedition to the stronghold of Scáth, in the

land of Scáth: the term *Scáth* means shadow or shade, and is of the same origin as the English word. His story runs thus:[1]

"A journey I made, O Loegaire,
When I went to the land of Scath;
There was the fort of Scath with its lock of iron—
I laid hands upon it.
Seven walls there were around this city;
Hateful was its stronghold:
An iron palisade there was on each wall,
On which seven heads were biding;
Doors of iron there were on every side;
No serious defences against women.
I struck them with my foot,
So that they fell into fragments.
A pit there was in the fort,
That belonged to the king, as they say;
Ten serpents burst forth
Over its brim[2]—it was a deed!
Thereupon I ran at them,
Though the throng was huge,
And reduced them to bits
Between my two fists.
There was a house full of toads,
That were let loose upon us,
Sharp and beaked beasts
That clave to my snout.
Ugly dragon-like monsters
Were sent against us;

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[1] The text occupies folios 113—115 in the *Book of the Dun*, and it has been published, with a translation and notes, by Mr. O'Beirne Crow, in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Arch. Society for* 1870-1, pp. 371—448. Important corrections will be found in Stokes' *Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius' Greek Etymology*, &c. (Calcutta, 1875), pp. 55-7.

[2] Somewhat similar adventures are related of Connall Cernach in the story called *Táin Bó Fráich:* see the *Bk. of Leinster*, 252 *a*, and the whole story as published with a translation by O'Beirne Crow in the R. Ir. Academy's *Irish MS. Series*, i. 136—171.

Strong were their witcheries,
Though they . . . .
After this I ran at them,
When . . . .
I ground them in small pieces
Between my two palms.
There was a cauldron in that fort:
It was the calf of the three cows,
Thirty joints of meat in its gullet
Were not its charge.
. . . . .
Much gold and silver was there in it,
Splendid was the find:
That cauldron was given [to us]
By the daughter of the king.
The three cows we took them away,
They swam the sea:
There was of gold a load for two men,
To each of them on her neck.
When we went on the ocean
That was vast by the north,
The crew of my coracle was drowned
By the cruel tempest.
After this I brought,
Though it was a sharp danger,
Nine men on each of my hands
And thirty on my head;
Eight on my two sides
Clung to my body.
It is thus I swam the sea
Until I was in haven."

This curious poem tells us why so few of those who invaded Hades returned: they were overwhelmed by a cruel squall on the vast sea in the north. The previous Welsh poem reduces the survivors to seven, but Cúchulainn makes them sixty-four, while the sundry attempts of Irish history to give what appeared a more rational form to the story has reduced them to exactly thirty—

the crew, as they would say, of one boat that escaped. According to Keating,[1] who wrote his History of Ireland out of materials such as were accessible in that country in his time, certain of the Fomori called Morc and Conaing[2] held Ireland under a grievous tribute: they had built themselves a stronghold called Tor Conaing, 'Conaing's Tower,' in Torinis, or Tower Island, now better known as Tory Island, off the coast of Donegal; and that spot served them as a rendezvous for their predatory fleets. At length the children of Nemed, who were then the inhabitants of Ireland, mustered 30,000 armed men by sea, with as many by land, and succeeded in demolishing Conaing's Tower and slaying its owner; but Morc arriving with reinforcements, another battle ensued, in which the combatants, busied in the fray, allowed the sea to overwhelm them so completely that on the Fomorian side only Morc and a few followers escaped, while the surviving children of Nemed consisted of only thirty strong men, the crew of a single boat. One of the chief men of the thirty is mentioned as bearing the name Iobath son of Beothach, who should be the counterpart of Cúchulainn, or more likely of Gwydion; but nothing is known further about him, except that he is represented as being grandson of a *faith* or *vates* called Iarbhoinel.[3] The Four Masters undertook in their *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland* to date the event they call the Demolition of Conann's Tower, and to fix on the year

[1] Pp. 87—91.

[2] He is also called *Conann* or *Conand*, as in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 127 *a*.

[3] Also called (in the genitive) Iardonel, namely, in the *Bk. of the Dun*, fol. 16 *b*, where, however, the name of Iobath is not mentioned.

3066 A.M. But the most curious account of this mythic event occurs in the stories associated with the name of Nennius. The whole paragraph in point is worth citing, as it enumerates briefly the legendary colonizations of Erinn, beginning with the customary Bartholomew, whose name in this connection has always elicited more questions than answers. After him comes Nemed and his race, and then the three sons of the *Miles Hispaniae*, whence the so-called Milesian Irish; and it is by this race, and not by the children of Nemed that Conaing's Tower was destroyed, according to Nennius. His words are to the following effect:

"Latest of all came the Scotti from the coasts of Spain to Erinn; but the first to come was Partholomaeus, with a thousand followers, both men and women, and they increased to four thousand souls; and a mortality came upon them in which they all perished in one week, so that not even a single one of them remained. The second to come to Erinn was Nimeth, son of a certain Agnomen, who is said to have been on sea for a year and a half, and to have at last made land in Erinn, when his ships had been wrecked: he remained there for many years, but taking again to the sea with his men, he returned to Spain. Afterwards came the three sons of a certain soldier from Spain, having with them thirty keels and their thirty consorts in each keel, and they abode there for the space of one year. Afterwards they beheld a glass tower in the middle of the sea, and they used to see men on the tower, to whom they sought to speak, but they never used to be answered; so with one accord they hastened to attack the tower, with all their keels and all their women, except one keel which suffered

from shipwreck, and in which there were thirty men and as many women. Now the other vessels sailed to the attack on the tower, and whilst all were stepping on the shore around the tower, the sea overwhelmed them, so that they were drowned. Not one of them escaped; and it is from the family in the keel left behind on account of its having been wrecked, the whole of Erinn has been filled with people to this day."[1]

The more a tale of this kind is touched up by historians, the less it appears what is called 'a cock-and-bull story,' and there can be no doubt that, on the whole, the Cúchulainn verses come much nearer the original than the prose versions mentioned. Still that associated with the name of Nennius supplies two most important omissions in the former: it calls the stronghold a glass tower, which was doubtless the glass fort to which Taliessin extends Arthur's fame; and in the next place it states that the guardians of the glass tower would not answer the Milesians, which has also its counterpart in Taliessin's words, when he says:[2]

'Beyond the Glass Fort, Arthur's valour they had not seen;
Three score hundreds stood on the wall:
It was hard to converse with their watchman.'

What, it may be asked, is the meaning of stories like these about expeditions into a country in or beneath the sea to steal the cauldron of the king, to carry away the cows that supplied milk for it, and the other treasures to be found there? Let it suffice for the present that I should somewhat vaguely indicate their origin. The Celts,

[1] For the original, see San-Marte's *Nennius et Gildas*, § 13 (pp. 34-6).

[2] For the text, see Skene, ij. 182.

in common probably with all other peoples of Aryan race, regarded all their domestic comforts as derived by them from their ancestors in the forgotten past, that is to say, from the departed. They seem, therefore, to have reasoned that there must be a land of untold wealth and bliss somewhere in the nether world inhabited by their dead ancestors; and the further inference would be that the things which they most valued themselves in life had been procured from the rulers of that nether world through force or fraud by some great benefactor of the human race; for it seldom seems to have entered their thoughts that the powers below would give up anything for nothing. This is illustrated over and over again in the fairy tales of the Celts, when they represent persons who have lived on the most friendly terms with the fairies, trying, when returning to their friends in this world, to smuggle into it some of the wealth of the country visited by them under-ground: they always fail in their object, and only succeed in rousing the indignation of the fairies. The same thing might be illustrated from the beliefs of other nations at considerable length; but I will only adduce as instance a Maori tale, which represents a woman who visited her dead relatives trying to bring back with her some sweet potatoes, a most important article of food to the aborigines of New Zealand. The story is told by Dr. Tylor,[1] to the effect that the narrator of it had a servant named Te Wharewera, who related to him that "an aunt of this man [Te Wharewera] died in a solitary hut near the banks of Lake Rotorua. Being a lady of rank she was left in her hut, the door

[1] In his *Primitive Culture*, ij. 50-2, from the second ed. of Shortland's *Traditions of New Zealand*, p. 150.

and windows were made fast, and the dwelling was abandoned, as her death had made it tapu. But a day or two after, Te Wharewera with some others paddling in a canoe near the place at early morning saw a figure on the shore beckoning to them. It was the aunt come to life again, but weak and cold and famished. When sufficiently restored by their timely help, she told her story. Leaving her body, her spirit had taken flight toward the North Cape, and arrived at the entrance of Reigna. There, holding on by the stem of the creeping akeake-plant, she descended the precipice, and found herself on the sandy beach of a river. Looking round, she espied in the distance an enormous bird, taller than a man, coming towards her with rapid strides. This terrible object so frightened her, that her first thought was to try to return up the steep cliff; but seeing an old man paddling a small canoe towards her she ran to meet him, and so escaped the bird. When she had been safely ferried across, she asked the old Charon, mentioning the name of her family, where the spirits of her kindred dwelt. Following the path the old man pointed out, she was surprised to find it just such a path as she had been used to on earth; the aspect of the country, the trees, shrubs, and plants were all familiar to her. She reached the village, and among the crowd assembled there she found her father and many near relations; they saluted her, and welcomed her with the wailing chant which Maoris always address to people met after long absence. But when her father had asked about his living relatives, and especially about her own child, he told her she must go back to earth, for no one was left to take care of his grandchild. By his orders she refused to touch

the food that the dead people offered her, and in spite of their efforts to detain her, her father got her safely into the canoe, crossed with her, and parting gave her from under his cloak two enormous sweet potatoes to plant at home for his grandchild's especial eating. But as she began to climb the precipice again, two pursuing infant spirits pulled her back, and she only escaped by flinging the roots at them, which they stopped to eat, while she scaled the rock by help of the akeake-stem, till she reached the earth and flew back to where she had left her body."

So much for the Maori story; but the jealousy of the powers below is sometimes got over, as in the case of a mortal who has been of service to a fairy, and has as a recompence some of his treasure given to him; and there are, as we need scarcely say, some important myths, Welsh and Irish, which represent the heroes of them conferring a benefit on one of the powers of Hades, and coming away with goodwill from that country, and in possession of some of its treasure and wealth. But they must be passed by, as I have not yet done with the cauldron stories, especially those which give it a spiritual or intellectual aspect. Welsh literature has preserved some references in point, such as one in a Taliessin poem[1] to the effect that three muses had emerged from Giant Ogyrven's cauldron. But Ogyrven seems to be one of the names of the terrene god, so that Ogyrven's cauldron should be no other probably than that which we have found ascribed to the Head of Hades. Further, by another kind of treatment, the elements of poetry and

[1] Skene, ij. 156, i. 260.

knowledge came to be themselves called *ogyrvens*, which applied, among other things, to the letters of the alphabet, as will be seen from the following extract from a manuscript supposed to date from the end of the fifteenth century: "The three elements of a letter are /|\, since it is of the presence of one or other of the three a letter consists; they are three beams of light, and it is of them are formed the sixteen ogyrvens, that is, the sixteen letters. There belong also to another art seven [score] and seven ogyrvens, which are no other than the symbols of the rank of the seven score and seven words in the parentage of the Welsh language, and it is from them all other words are derived."[1] As to the /|\, they form the component parts of such letters as those of the Ogam, the Welsh bardic letters, and the Runic alphabets, which were made up of straight lines fitted for cutting on slips of wood; but more obscurity surrounds the seven score and seven ogyrvens alluded to; they were probably not very definitely fixed in point of number, and they are doubtless to be identified with the exactly seven score ogyrvens said to be in *awen*, 'poesy or muse.' This statement, in a context connecting the ogyrvens with Hades, occurs in another Taliessin poem,[2] which, while obscure throughout and relating in part probably to alchemy, bears the curious title of *Angar Kyfyndawt*, or Steam of Combination, and contains a reference to cauldrons made to boil without the aid of fire. Treated as a personality, Ogyrven appears as the father of poetry: thus Kynđelw, a poet of the twelfth century, calls himself

[1] Ibid. ij. 324 (note by Mr. Silvan Evans); Rhys, *Lectures on Welsh Phil.* pp. 302—305.

[2] Skene, ij. 132.

'a bard of the bards of Ogyrven;'[1] and Cuhelyn, another Welsh poet, begins two of his poems, as they appear in a manuscript of the twelfth century called the Black Book of Carmarthen, with a formula which makes Kerridwen, the goddess still supposed to be invoked by Welsh bards in the undertakings of their art, to be the offspring of Ogyrven.[2] But it is not easy precisely to see how the name of Ogyrven came to mean any element of poetry, art or science; it is remarkable, however, that another Taliessin poem[3] makes the terrene god, under the name *Uthr Ben*, or Wonderful Head, say of himself, not only that he was bard, harper, piper and crowder, but 'seven score professionals' all in one, which is doubtless another account of the seven score ogyrvens. The difficulty of this mystery was disposed of by the euhemerist of the Mabinogi of Branwen by simply making Brân, whose marvellous head was the subject of some remarks in the first lecture (pp. 78, 97), carry on his own shoulders the musicians[4] of his court, when he waded through the waters to Ireland. Ogyrven has Kerridwen associated with him, not only by Cuhelyn, but also by Kyndelw, in a poem already mentioned; she is, however, best known in connection with her Cauldron of Sciences, from which, together with its owner herself, the wisdom and knowledge of Taliessin were supposed to be derived.

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[1] *Myv. Archaiology*, i. 230.

[2] Skene, ij. 5, 6.

[3] Ib. ij. 203-4.

[4] *R. B. Mab.* p. 35 : the original reads, *Ac yna ykerdóys ef ac aoed ogerd arôest ar y geuyn ehun.* This was too much for the translator in the Guest edition, who has extracted from it the statement, "Then he proceeded with what provisions he had on his own back :" see Guest's *Mab.* iij. 117.

Gwydion and other Names of the Culture Hero.

Even Taliessin, the most extravagant in his pretensions of all Celtic bards, acknowledged one who took precedence over him, and that was Gweir, whom we have found called also Geir, and whom Taliessin is made to describe as the first to go into Caer Sidi, where he underwent captivity which resulted in his being a bard for ever afterwards. The name Geir has been provisionally claimed as one of Gwydion's, and he is now to be considered under another and a third name. A line occurs in a Taliessin poem[1] where Gwydion is called *Gwydion Seon tewdor*, where *Seon tewdor* is probably to be taken as standing in grammatical apposition to *Gwydion*. To dispose of *tewdor*, suffice it to say that in the Welsh orthography of the present day it would be written *tewddor*, meaning literally thick-door, but used poetically here in the sense of stout defence or strong protection: that is to say, the poet regarded Seon as a strong protection or one that gave it, and the word is applied in another of these poems[2] to the *gwledig* Cuneđa. But our interest centres in the vocable Seon; it occurs also in another poem,[3] where mention is made of the planets in the following verses:

'Seith seren yssyd.
O seithnawn dofyd.
Seon sywedyd.
A wyr eu defnyd.'

'Seven stars are there
Of the seven gifts of the Lord;
Seon the philosopher,
He knows their nature.'

Here Seon is seen in the character of a philosopher or man of science, who knows the nature or substance, lite-

[1] Skein, ij. 199. [2] Ib. ij. 201. [3] Ib. ij. 162.

rally the timbering or material, of the planets. The next reference to be mentioned is to a Taliessin poem called the Ale Song,[1] where we have the following couplet:

'Ef kyrch kerdoryon. Se syberw Seon.' 'It they seek, the artists Of Se Seon the Stately.'

The bards have suffered enormously from thirst for ages unnumbered, and the pronoun here probably stands for the *cwrw* or ale they desired; but the passage is interesting as promiscuously describing poets and musicians of all descriptions as the artists of Se Seon, and as recording the simpler form of the name Seon: compare *Nav Neivion*, *March Meirchion* and the like, not forgetting an instance in the case of the very god in question, namely, that of *Gwyd Gwydion*,[2] to be mentioned presently.

There was a place in North Wales called Caer Seon or Seion, that is to say, Seon's Town or Fortress, and it was probably no other than that which the Romans called Segontium, the site of which is now occupied by the town of Carnarvon. This appears from a poem printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, i. 476, and supposed to date from the thirteenth century or the earlier part of the succeeding one. It alludes to Maelgwn and his court coming from 'Tir Mab Dôn Dued,' or the side of the Son of Dôn's Land, whereby Mona was meant, to Caer Seion; and the story goes that Maelgwn, who took a delight in fomenting the natural rivalry existing between the poets and the musicians of his court, ordered them all to swim across, which they did, with the result of rendering the strings on which the latter depended

[1] Skene, ij. 167.

[2] Compound forms also occur, namely, in *Cynwyd Cynwydion*.

for the effect of their art useless to them, to the great satisfaction of the poets, who could sing as well as ever when once they got on land. No other part of the Menai would suit the story so well as that near Carnarvon. Further, a dialogue[1] is given in the Black Book between Taliessin and the lord of the *Dinas* or stronghold, the remains of which give its name to a railway-station between Carnarvon and Dinas Dinlle, or the Fortress of Llew and Gwydion. Taliessin is asked the whence and whither of his journey; to which he is made to reply, as it stands in this manuscript of the twelfth century, that he was coming from Caer Seon from fighting with Jews, and that he was going to Llew and Gwydion's Town. The reference to the Jews is probably the result of somebody's mistaking Caer Seon for Sion or Jerusalem: the poem in its original form had probably no reference to the Jews, and Caer Seon doubtless meant Segontium. *Se*, *Seon* or *Seion*, point back to stems *Seg-* and *Segon-*, and there is little room for doubt that the name Segontium[2]

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[1] Skene, ij. 57.

[2] Besides the Welsh name *Caer Seon*, and the other which we know only in its Latin form of *Segontium*, this last was naturalized in Welsh, probably at an early date, as *Segeint*, whence Cair Segeint in the British Museum MS. *Harl.* 3859, fol. 195*a*: it is also mentioned by Nennius. *Segeint* is regularly formed from *Segontium*, and is also regularly reduced in later Welsh into *Seint* and *Sein*, which occurs as the name of the river washing the base of Edward's Castle at Carnarvon, its mouth being termed *Aber Sein*, and the town *Kaer Aber Sein*, in *Maxen's Dream* (*R. B. Mab.* pp. 87-8). In fact, this vocable in one of its forms is indispensable to the explanation of the name Carnarvon itself, which is in Welsh *Caer yn Arfon*, meaning literally, 'a castle in Arvon,' not even *the* castle in Arvon; but the key is not far to seek: the full name occurs in the *Mabinogi of Branwen* (*R. B. Mab.* p. 34) as *Kaer Seint yn Arvon*, or 'the Castle of Seint in Arvon.' *Seint* in

itself is formed from that of the god. Further, not only was there a people in the south of this island called Segontiaci, who were of those who sent ambassadors to Caesar;[1] but an inscription which has been taken to connect them with Silchester has been found there and discovered to have been a dedication *Deo · Her[culi ·] Saegon* . . . . It is not certain what the dative of the god's name was in full; but probably Saegono, or Saegoni, possibly a participial Saegonti. The stone is no longer to be found; but the way in which it has been described by those who saw it, makes it difficult to read *Segontiaco* or *Segontiacorum*, as though the god derived his name from that of the people called Segontiaci. This leaves the conjecture that would connect the Segontiaci of Caesar with the town of Silchester much as it was before, since it is natural to suppose, that the god in question would occupy a place of honour in the pantheon of a people calling itself or its chief city after him. The weakness of the assumption lies in the probable fact, that more than one town, more than one people, took its name from the god; and the more popular and general his cult is found to have been, the more clearly that weakness is seen. But it is a question of no immediate interest here, as the fact not to be lost sight of is rather the identification of *Saegon-*, or *Seon*, with Hercules.

Now there was a remarkable Gaulish god, and a thoroughly Celtic one, whom we have distinct evidence for

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modern Welsh becomes *Saint*, so that the river is now *Afon Saint*, while a late Kymricizing of the Latin *Segontium* has yielded a much less correct Welsh form *Seiont*, which, as far as I know, is only to be found in books or in the modern names of houses in the town.

[1] Caesar, v. 21.

identifying with Hercules, that is to say, so far as one may speak of identification at all in such a case. He was, you will remember, called Ogmios, and, according to Lucian's account of him, he was the personification of speech and all that conduced to make speech a powerful agency; but we found reasons for identifying him also with Hermes and Mercury, and moreover with the *deo, qui vias et semitas commentus est.* His counterpart in Irish was pointed out in that of Ogma (p. 17), the inventor of a kind of learned jargon and of a kind of writing, both of which were indifferently called *ogam.* On the other hand, the Welsh word corresponding etymologically to *Ogmios* and *Ogma*, is ovyd, which has remained an appellative, meaning a leader or teacher (p. 17); and the Welsh and Irish accounts of the origin of writing are accordingly not the same. They may, however, be regarded as supplementing one another. Thus the term *ogyrven* for a letter of the alphabet connects writing with the terrene god, but without telling us through whose instrumentality the knowledge of the art of writing was first brought from him to man. The Irish legend, on the other hand, makes the divine ovyd or Ogma the inventor of writing; but it does not let us into the secret of the origin of his knowledge, except indirectly by making him the son of Elatha king of the Fomori, or dwellers of the world beneath the sea; and to this placing of Gwydion over against Ogma as substantially the same person, the mythic pedigrees oppose no serious obstacle. For Gwydion is called son of Dôn, and her husband is inferred to have been Beli the Great, the god of death and darkness (pp. 90-1); so that here Beli fills the place ascribed in Irish to Elatha, and Dôn

that ascribed to Brigit, mother of Bres and goddess of poetry (p. 74), all things being supposed to derive their origin from the powers of the nether world, the arts and sciences included. The story about Elatha introducing himself to her who was to be Bres's mother is, that he came out of the sea, whither he returned, having left her a ring which he had on his hand; and Bres their son, when driven from his throne by Nuada on his return to power with a silver hand (p. 120), was provided with the ring, and enabled by means of it to make his way to the fairy land inhabited by the Fomori, where he found his father and his people holding a great assembly on Mag Mór, or the Great Plain, one of the names commonly associated with the geography of the nether world. Bres's business was to enlist the Fomori on his side against the Tuatha Dé Danann. This story[1] has been reduced to sober history by Prof. O'Curry and others; but I wish to point out before proceeding further, that as Ogyrven's name came in Welsh to mean a letter of the alphabet and other elements, so that of Elatha is found used as an appellative in the sense of science, art or artistic work, especially literary compositions.[2] Nor did this stand alone in Irish; for one finds that a certain kind of poetic composition was called *etan*, which is homophonous with the name of the poetess Etan,

[1] Given at length in the British Museum MS. *Harl.* 5280, fol. 53 *b*; for O'Curry's version of it, see the passages in his *MS. Mat.* pp. 248-9, already referred to at p. 253.

[2] For references, see Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 521, s.v. *elatha*; Stokes's *Calendar of Oengus*, p. cclvi; also d'A. de Jubainville's *Cycle Myth.* p. 306. The word seems to have been declined in two ways, *Elatha*, gen. *Elathan*, and *Elathan*, gen. *Elathain*.

to be identified, probably, with Brigit, goddess of poetry: Cairbre, the first satirist in Erinn, is distinguished as son of Etan. The name *Elatha* or *Elathan*, for both forms occur, may possibly have referred to eloquence and wisdom; and in that case the personage so called may be compared with the king of Hades under his Welsh name of Arawn, which likewise referred to speech and wisdom. The Welsh Arawn is styled one of the Three counselling Knights of Arthur's Court,[1] and is possibly to be recognized under the slightly different name Alawn, given to one of the three originators of bardism.[2]

Gwydion's name must next be considered: it can only be derived from a root of the form *vit*, *vot* or *vet;* and of these the only one found to satisfy all the conditions is *vet*, which in old Welsh must become [*g*]*wet*, liable to be reduced in the later stages of the language to [*g*]*wed*,[3] as

[1] *Triads*, i. 86 = iij. 116.

[2] *Triads*, iij. 58; *Iolo MSS.* pp. 48, 428. The other name, *Arawn*, is derived from the same source as the Welsh term *araith*, 'an oration or speech,' a word represented in Irish by *airecht* or *oirecht*, which bears the secondary signification of an assembly: Irish public meetings appear to have never lacked oratory and declamation. See, for instance, O'Curry's *Manners*, &c. ij. 20, 53, and *MS. Mat.* pp. 383-4, where references are made to a suit pleaded before the king of Ulster in such eloquent and unintelligible language that he deprived the poets of their right to be the expounders of the laws of the realm, as they had been till then.

[3] In a ninth century manuscript (Skene, ij. 2) we meet with a word of this origin written *guetid*, pronounced gwetiđ, which meant either 'a say' or 'a sayer,' and in South Wales a verb *gwe'yd* (for *gwedyd*), 'to say,' is much used: take, for instance, *gwed*, 'dic;' *gwedwch*, 'dicite;' *gwedais*, 'dixi.' But in North Wales and generally in Welsh literature the preference is given to the same verb with the prefix *dy*, for an older *do*, the Celtic equivalent of the English *to*. Thus *dywedyd*

in *gwedyd*, 'to say.' A modification of the same stem gives us the *gwyd* in *Gwydion*, and a third form is exem-

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(reduced also to *dywe'yd*, *d'we'yd*, and even *d'e'yd*) means 'to say, saying;' *dyweed*, 'dic;' *dywedaf*, 'dicam;' *dyfyd* (North Welsh for *dywyd*), 'dicet;' *dywawd*, also *dywod* and (now in North Wales) *dywad*, 'dixit.' The umlaut *y* in *dyfyd* (*dywyd*) is caused by the semi-vowel which once followed, as in *Gwyd* (Skene, ij. 135) or still follows as in *Gwydion* (with the *i* pronounced like English *y* in *yes*). The effects of the semi-vowel are perceptible in other words, especially verbs, such as *gwyl*, 'videbit,' from *gwel-ed*, 'to see,' or *saif*, 'stabit,' from *sef-yll*, 'to stand:' for some remarks on this subject see my *Lectures*, pp. 116-18. With regard to *Gwyd*, it is right to notice that Welsh has another word *gwyd*, 'vice,' which is, in fact, the Latin word *vitium* naturalized; but the line, 'Aches gvyd gwydion,' in the Taliessin line referred to, could only mean 'the land of Gwydion's vice,' which would be utterly at variance with Taliessin's usual tone with regard to Gwydion; so I have no doubt that it should be rendered 'the land of Gwyd Gwydion.' Unless the form *Gwyd* was called into existence to accompany the other, they may be treated as standing for an ancient nominative *Vetjo* and genitive *Vetjonos* respectively. In *dywawt* or *dywawd*, 'dixit,' we have an ablaut or by-vowel in the diphthong *aw*, representing an early *ā* which remains written *á* in Irish words. Similarly from Welsh *rhed*, 'run,' we have *gwa-red*, 'suc-currere,' Irish *fo-reth-* of the same meaning; but the old perfect was *gwa-rawt*, Irish *fo-ráith* for **vo-rāt-e*. This recourse to a different vowel in the perfect was formerly fully recognized in Celtic grammar, but it probably never had the importance which is attached to it in the economy of the Teutonic verb, as, for example, in the English, *give*, *gave*, *ride*, *rode*, *bear*, *bore*, and *see*, *saw*. Celtic verbs of the class in question had two stems, one with *ĕ* and the other with *ā;* and I wish to call attention to the fact that there were also nouns cognate with both the one and the other. Thus in the case of the Welsh *rhed-*, 'run,' we have not only *rhedeg*, 'the act of running,' but also *rhawd*, 'a course, path or orbit:' similarly from the other verb we have, beside *guetid* already instanced, a word *gwawt*, now *gwawd*, 'a poem or song,' and in modern Welsh more usually 'a satire or a sarcastic remark.' The Irish equivalent was *fuath* or *fáth*, 'a learning or study of the poet's art' (Cormac, s.v. *faath*), whence *fáitsine*, 'prophecy,' and probably *Fáthach*, the name of the poet of the Fir Bolg. But Irish had besides this a related word *fáith*,

plified by *gwawd*, a Welsh term for poetry, but now restricted to satire and sarcasm. Among the cognate words may be mentioned the Irish *fáith*, 'a prophet or poet,' Latin *vâtes*, Old Norse óðr, 'mind, soul, song;' also Óðenn or Óðinn, English Woden, and *wood*, 'mad,' German *wuth*, 'rage.'

The appearance in close connection of words relating to poetry and prophecy on the one hand, and to madness and possession on the other, is just what would be expected by the student of anthropology familiar with

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'a prophet or poet,' to which the Welsh has no etymological equivalent, since it would have sounded *gwawt*, *gwawd*, like the word meaning 'a satire;' but it existed in Gaulish and was probably *wātis* or *vātis*, as Strabo, iv. 4, 4, has placed on record the nominative plural in the form of οὐάτεις. Now Latin, though not possessing exact parallels in such verbal forms as *vĕnio*, *vēni*, or *ăgo*, *ēgi*, matches *fáith* and *wātis* exactly in vowel and declension with its noun *vātes*, 'a poet and prophet.' The following classification will render intelligible at a glance what I mean—the hypothetical forms have an asterisk prefixed to them: 1. Stems with ĕ, of the consonantal declension: Irish, **Fethiu*, **Fethenn*; Welsh, *Gwyd*, *Gwydion*; Latin, **Vetio*, **Vetionis*. 2. Stems with ā: (1) of the *O* declension: Ir. *fáth*, 'learning;' Welsh, *gwawd*, 'poem, satire;' Lat. **vātum* (= *vaticinum*); the German is *wuth*, 'rage,' together with the adjective, which was in Gothic *vód-s*, 'δαιμονιζόμενος, δαιμονισθείς.' Add to these the O. Norse óð-r, 'mad, frantic;' A.-Saxon *wód*, 'mad;' Mod. English *wood*; Broad Scotch *wud* or *wuth*, 'mad, distracted.' (2) Of the *I* declension: Ir. *fáith*, 'poet;' Gaulish *wātis*, 'poet;' Lat. *vātes*, 'poet;' O. Norse óð-r, genitive óðar, 'mind, wit, soul, sense, spirit, song, poetry.' (3) Derivatives of the *O* declension: Ir. *Elathan* (a form of the name of the Fomorian king, husband of the goddess of poetry), in case it be for *El-fáthan* (with *el* of the same origin as *eol* in *eolus*, 'knowledge,' the vowel variation being produced by the accent, as in *beothu*, 'life,' genitive *bethad*); Welsh **Gwodan*; Lat. **vātanus*; O. Norse, Óðen-n, genitive Óðen-s; A.-Sax. *Wóden*, gen. *Woden-es*, perpetuated in *Wednes*-day. The relation between *Gwydion* and *Woden* did not escape Grimm: see his *Deutsche Myth.*[4] pp. xxiij, 124, 296, 342.

the habits of nations who are wont to regard idiots and maniacs as inspired persons, a view which can also be studied now and then in our own country. In the case of the Celts we see this idea in the superstition as to the hardship which a man should undergo on Cader Idris or Snowdon in order to be inspired as a bard; but he might become a madman, that is to say, the inspiration might prove different from that of the bard. Perhaps the distinction is not old enough to be considered; at any rate, we have an instance of the idiot of the family playing the part of a prophet in the Irish story concerning the formation of Lough Neagh.[1] Moreover, the idea of inspired raving is familiar to the reader of the classics: take, for example, the Sibyl whom Vergil in the Æneid calls a *sanctissima vates*, and of whom he gives an unlovely picture, vi. 46—51:

'Cui talia fanti
Ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comtae mansere comae; sed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans; afflata est numine quando
Jam propiore dei.'

And a little later, vi. 77—80:

'At Phoebi nondum patiens, immanis in antro
Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
Excussisse deum; tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.'

To return to the words which I have begun to discuss, the idea underlying them all was that of saying or uttering, and secondarily perhaps of singing, chanting or muttering, whether as a poet or as a raving madman. So *Gwyd Gwydion* might be rendered Say of Saying, or Say

[1] *Book of the Dun*, 39 *b*; Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 100-1.

son of Saying, with which his name, Geir son of Geiryoed, (p. 250) is palpably identical, as it means Word son of Words; but if a name relating to his power of utterance and eloquence, and amounting to calling him *vates* or prophet, became Gwydion, it could surprise nobody if the same kind of name were found given to one of them who were reckoned pre-eminent in this respect, namely, the mythic beings of the nether world. Such a name we seem to have, in fact, in that of the king of the Fomori, called Elathan, which, according to the surmises already made, conveyed probably some such an idea as that of speaking, vaticinating or soothsaying, and might be compared to a certain extent with that of the much-saying connoted by the Greek name Πολύφημος. In fact, the Cyclops, so-called, may be regarded as a being here in point, since Gwydion and Woden bear a striking resemblance to Odysseus; and though the view here suggested of the character of Polyphemus had probably ceased to be familiar to the Greek mind before the Odyssey was composed, still that most charming of epics says enough about him and his country to leave one in no doubt that in Polyphemus we have, at least in point of origin, one of the potentates of the nether world. All about his wisdom and knowledge had been forgotten, and the only reminiscence of that aspect of his character is to be found in the retention of the name Polyphemus or the Much-saying. It is hardly necessary to remark that to a people in a low stage of culture such a name would mean very much more than it would to us; they would not be inclined quite so much to contrast words with things as to regard them as being themselves things; and the antithesis, so trite and sterile in such authors of

antiquity as Thucydides, between λόγος and ἔργον, word and deed, is one of the growths of an age beginning to devote itself to philosophy and conceited moralizings over the hollowness of human nature. Formulæ of words have always been the backbone of magic as well as the means, in most religious systems, of moving the gods to accede to the worshipper's prayer: in ancient Erinn the words of the satirist were believed to raise hideous blotches on the face of him who happened to be the object of them, and the Gaulish euhemerist who undertook to enlighten Lucian was content to believe Ogmios to have performed the labours of Heracles, without the grosser club and bow, by the irresistible force of his charms of speech.

The two names Gwydion and Geir point, as we have seen, distinctly to the character of their bearer as a personification of speech or eloquence, while it would appear that his other name of *Se* or *Seon* (for *Segon-*) must have referred directly and originally to him in respect of his strength or power, and recalled labours like those of Heracles. For these forms are doubtless of the same origin as the name of the war-god Segomo; but in the face of the German word *sieg*, 'victory,' and its cognates, we should perhaps treat them as meaning more exactly a god of victory, in a word the *Mercurius Victor* of an inscription in Gaul. The remarkable thing, however, is that under the name of *Se* or *Seon* here in question, Gwydion is only referred to as a philosopher or astronomer and patron of artists and professional men, which looks as though force and victory, in his case, were chiefly to be explained somewhat in the way the native guide of Lucian represented to him, that the labours of

Heracles were performed by the charm of speech rather than by the force of arms. But we seem to be again led back to the latter by the name *Gweir* which we found alternating with *Geir;* for it probably meant manly: at any rate, that is the natural inference from the fact that it is a derivative from an earlier form of *gwr*, the Welsh equivalent in sense and etymology of the old Irish *fer* and the Latin *vir*. Another of his names of this origin is probably to be detected in *Gwron*, which means a great man or hero, and is given as the name of the third of the three originators of bardism.[1]

Gwydion compared with Woden and Indra.

If it were asked why the foregoing names should be assumed to have referred to one and the same person or character, it might be answered that there is no a priori objection to construing them in the contrary sense, since, on the one hand, a mythical personage may under favourable circumstances attract tales originally said of

[1] See the *Triads*, iij. 58. Welsh *gwr* stands for an earlier *gwer*, which, with the Irish *fer*, points to an early nominative *vĕros*, genitive *veri*, represented in Irish Ogmic inscriptions by *viri*, later Irish *fir*. In Gaulish an adjective *veryos* was formed from *ver-*; but the semi-vowel caused it to assume the form *virios*, as in *Voreto-virius*, i.e. son of *Voretoverŏs* (= Welsh *Gwaredwr*, 'Salvator'): compare *Vintyos* (Welsh *gwynt*, 'wind') from *ventos*. Welsh could, however, have other forms, and *veryos* might either become *veiryos*, which would be our *Gweir*, or *viryos*, which would now be *Gwyr;* in one instance both forms happen to occur; I refer to a mythic personage mentioned in the *Triads* (i. 30 = ij. 56 = iij. 101) as Dalhwyr Dalhben and Dalhweir Dalhben, not to mention a third derivative Dalhwaran also applied to him: the former two names would in their early forms be *Dallo-veryos Dallopennos*, which would seem to mean Blind-head (son) of Blind-man.

another, while, on the other, the acquisition by him of several names would tend to split him up into as many individuals. Some reasons have already been given for looking at the Welsh names referred to from the latter point of view rather than from the former; but there is a more comprehensive one, and that is the argument to be derived from a comparison with the mythology of other branches of the Aryan family, that Gwydion, or whatever name you choose to give him, was a complete and complex character familiar to our remote ancestors, before they could as yet be called Celts, or before those of the English could be called Teutons, that is to say, at a time when the Aryans had not passed out of their pro-ethnic period. For our immediate purposes the question reduces itself to that of the identification of Gwydion with the Woden of Teutonic peoples. The name Woden is referred[1] to the same origin as the Latin word *vates* by Fick, Vigfusson and others; further, it is impossible to sever the Irish *fáith*, 'a prophet or poet,' from *vates* on the one hand, and from the Welsh *gwawd*, 'poetry, poem, satire,' on the other; and with all three the name of the Welsh Gwydion is probably closely connected. It remains, then, to be seen how far the legends about Gwydion and Woden coincide on particular points, such as the following:[2]

i. Their family relations.

1. Gwydion's mother was Dôn, of whom very little is

[1] By Fick in his *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*[3], iij. 308, and by Vigfusson in the *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, i. civ; see also *the Academy* for Jan. 1885, p. 46.

[2] Excursus i. § 2, in the *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, i. civ, ij. 458-63: the references are, where not specified, to that excursus.

known, and his father is inferred to have been Beli, of whom nearly as little can be said to be known.

Woden was the son of Bestla and Bor, still less known as to their origin.

2. Gwydion had a mistress called Arianrhod, whose name meant Silver-wheel: she dwelt in her castle in the sea. She remained a maiden and wished to pass for a virgin, whence her indignation at finding her son living.

Woden (as Gylfe) had a leman called Gefjon, a word which occurs as a name for the sea, and she had associated with her a 'diúp röđul,'[1] to be interpreted *altus rotulus* or deep-sinking wheel: she led a maiden's life like Arianrhod, and she changed into oxen the sons she bore Woden.

3. Gwydion had a son Llew, whose death was no less peculiar than that of Woden's son Balder; and the grief of Gwydion was very great, like Woden's: both fathers wandered far and wide until they discovered each his son, who was afterwards to be recalled to this life.

ij. Their character as warriors.

Gwydion was a successful general; he was Heracles, and he was Seon or Segon-, 'the victorious:' he fought a single combat with fatal effect to his adversary, who was, however, said to have been overcome by Gwydion's magic.

Woden was called sire or lord of hosts, lord of spears, father of victory or battle, and he was the wielder of the magic spear Gungnir.

iij. Their creative power.

Gwydion, with the aid of his uncle Mâth, made a beautiful woman out of flowers.

[1] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* ij. 8.

Woden and his fellow-gods made, among other creations, a man and a woman out of trees, and called them Ash and Embla respectively.

iv. Their wisdom.

1. Gwydion was the cleverest person ever heard of by Taliessin, who reckoned himself no poor judge in such a matter; and, as described by Lucian under the name of Ogmios, he was the god of eloquence and the wisdom thereto appertaining.

Woden is hymned in early Norse poems as the sage of the powers and the charmer of the gods.

2. Gwydion's Gaulish name Ogmios referred possibly to his association with ways and paths: he was probably the divinity attested by a monument in this country as the god *qui vias et semitas commentus est*, while in Gaul he as the Celtic Mercury was held to have been, according to Caesar, *viarum atque itinerum dux*.

Woden is called Way-wont or Traveller, and the like names.

3. Gwydion was a consummate magician, and he is found among those who consult the sorcerers of Arianrhod.[1]

Woden was taunted with acquiring his wisdom by magic, with sitting under waterfalls and conversing with the dead.

4. Gwydion (as Gweir) acquired his gifts of poetry and music from the nether world: he visited the submarine city of Caer Sidi, where he underwent vile treatment at the hands of the Head of Hades; but thenceforth he was for ever a bard, and poets and musicians are the artists of Gwydion under the name Seon.

Woden submitted himself to a course of prolonged

[1] *Bk. of Taliessin*, Skene, ij. 159.

privation and pain, of long fastings and strange penances, in order to get his wisdom: according to another account, he pledged one of his eyes to Sokk-mimi, the Giant of the Abyss, for a draught of the deep well of wisdom: poetry is 'the billows of Woden's breast' and 'the stream of the lip-beard of Woden.'

5. Gwydion eats and drinks with Arianrhod, and they converse of stories and histories in her castle, now ridden over by the billows of the Irish Sea.

Woden and Sága the seeress drink joyously out of golden cups at her abode of Sunk-bench, over which the cold waves ever murmur.[1]

6. Gwydion's favourite disguise was to take the form of a bard, for which he was fitted as being the best historian or story-teller in the world.

Woden figures in story as a cowled, one-eyed, long-bearded old sage, who tells king Olaf tales of days long gone by.

v. Their Promethean rôle.

1. Gwydion, with his brother Amaethon the farmer, procures from the powers terrene the animals useful to man, such as the dog, the pig, and others.

No corresponding myth about Woden seems to be extant.

2. Gwydion and his friends harry Hades in order to secure its king's cauldron, which was one of the mystic vessels out of which voices issued and the inspiration of wisdom and poetry.

One of Woden's most striking adventures was his journey in quest of the holy draught from giant Sup-

[1] Vigfusson and Powell, *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, i. 70.

tung's daughter: the draught was otherwise called the Dwarfs' Cup, the Dwarfs' Ship, and other curious names symbolic of thought, wisdom, and especially the inspiration of poetry.

3. Gwydion obtained the boons which he conferred on man mostly by force or by craft from the powers terreno, with whom he dealt in an utterly unscrupulous fashion.

Woden procured the precious draught which was to be a gift and joy for men by wiliness, Ulysses-like patience, and even perjury, as when he became the guileful lover of Gundfled, daughter of Suptung the giant, who owned the holy drink, in order to steal the latter, which he did successfully.[1]

From these and similar items of agreement between their stories, together with the close kinship of their names, one seems to be fully warranted in regarding Gwydion and Woden respectively as Celtic and Teutonic representatives of one and the same hero, belonging to a time anterior to the separation of the Celts and the Teutons. It has already been hinted how Gwydion as Ogmios was both Heracles and Hermes when translated into a classical form; while Vigfusson and Powell have suggested comparisons between Woden and both Ulysses and Prometheus,[2] and they are undoubtedly well warranted in so doing. Prometheus, on the one hand, gets fire for the comfort of man; while, on the other, Gwydion procures certain breeds of animals for his use, as well as the gift of poetry and wisdom for the benefit of his mind; and Woden undergoes indescribable danger and hardship

[1] *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, i. 23. [2] Ib. i. civ, ij. 460.

in order to secure a draught of the precious drink. Nor does the parallel end there, or with the fact that in all three cases the benefactor of man had to undergo dire punishment for what he had done. It extends to details; for Prometheus, like Woden and Gwydion, created human beings, and it was only with the friendly aid of Athene that he got access to heaven to steal the fire he conferred on them. And in spite of the highly respectable character usually ascribed to the grey-eyed goddess, the scandal found its way into Greek literature, that Prometheus[1] relations with her were somewhat like those of Woden with Gundfled, and that it was for his amours with the divine spinster that he was so terribly punished by her father Zeus.[1] Here, however, the similarity is somewhat more concentrated than between Gwydion, Woden and Ulysses, where it is found to extend to the general character of the chief figures in the stories and to some of the incidents associated with them, as, for example, the tale of Ulysses visiting the island of Polyphemus and his journey to the nether world. But in all probability the parallel appeared still more striking to the pagans of Italy and Greece in the first and second centuries; this, at any rate, is the inference I should draw from a passage in the third chapter of the Germania of Tacitus, in which he states that the Germans had traditions about a Hercules of their own, whom they hymned above all other mighty men of valour in the songs which they used to sing when about to engage in battle, and that it was the notion of some, that Ulysses, borne, in the course of the wanderings ascribed to him in story,

[1] See the Scholiast on Apollonius' *Arg.* ij. 1249; Servius, *Com. in Vergil.* Ecl. vi. 42.

to the sea that washed the shores of Germany, visited that country. They went on to specify that Asciburgium,[1] a town on the banks of the Rhine, which existed in the historian's time, had been established and named by Ulysses.

The evidence offered to Tacitus for these beliefs was, that an altar had formerly been found at Asciburgium consecrated to Ulysses, to whose name was added that of his father Laertes; and that monuments and tombs were still extant in Greek characters on the confines of Germany and of Raetia. Now Asciburgium should mean Ash-burgh or Ash-town; and the natural conclusion from the name is that the native legend represented Woden, here called Ulysses, placing the man Ash whom he created at Ash-burgh, and giving it that name. When Romans, acquainted with the religion and mythology of their own country and those of Greece, began to inquire about the gods of the Germans, it may be supposed that they found much the same difficulty with regard to Woden as they did in the case of Ogmios. The accounts they heard of him made some equate him with Hercules, while they reminded others of Ulysses beyond all question. In other words, the Hercules and Ulysses of the Germania represented one and the same Teutonic god or hero, who was no other than Woden. According to this interpretation of the historian's words, the ancient Germans had poems about him which constituted at once the story of the labours of the Teutonic Hercules and a rude sort of Odyssey: what a vista of lost literature this discloses to the gaze

[1] It is supposed to be represented by Asburg, or else to have stood near Essenberg.

of the student of the early history of a great race! With regard to the altar bearing the names of Ulysses and his father Laertes, which gives the story the air of the exactness that proves too much, it is to be observed that the words of Tacitus do not compel us to suppose that his informant mentioned the name Laertes or had ever heard it: this may be of the writer's own supplying. But even granting that Tacitus's informant asserted that he had with his own eyes read the names of both Ulysses and Laertes on an altar in the Rhine-land, such a statement would not in the least surprise any one who is familiar with the startling results obtained by untrained or careless readers from ancient but intelligible inscriptions of the most commonplace kind; and it would still be evidence to the occurrence there of altars dedicated to a god who resembled Ulysses. It is considerably more difficult to understand the mention of Greek inscriptions on the confines of Germany and Raetia, as it can hardly be supposed to refer to an occasional tombstone raised over a Greek serving in the legions of Rome; while epigraphy has nothing more nearly in point to show than the inscriptions in southern Gaul composed in the Gaulish language but written in Greek letters. So it would seem as though Tacitus or his informant had to a certain extent confounded Gaulish and Greek. With regard to Woden and his Celtic counterpart, it would probably have been somewhat hard to draw a sharp line between them, as they may have been worshipped under practically identical names in the districts where Germany and Gaul were conterminous: thus the Gaulish name prevailing there may have been the one corresponding to Welsh *Se* or *Seon*, the Silchester *Saegon-*,

to which the Teutonic languages would answer with a name beginning with Seg-, as in those of Arminius' family, such as *Segimundus*, *Segestis* and the like, his own name being possibly an early form of that which is now written in German *Siegfried*. In such a case the Segi- nomenclature of the ruling Cherusci may, perhaps, have had reference not so much to *sieg* or victory in the abstract, as to a god bearing a name derived from his attributes as a victor.[1]

It is needless to say that Heracles, Odysseus and Prometheus, by no means exhaust the list of Greek equivalents, so to say, to Gwydion-Woden; we have another in Orpheus, with his marvellous music—his visit to Hades and his all but successful attempt to recover his Eurydice are well known. Still more striking is the likeness between Jason and Woden, as any one may perceive who will take the trouble to study together the story of Jason with Medea, and that of Woden with Gundfled; also the way he disposed of the iron warriors that sprang from the ground in a formidable crop, as compared with the expedient adopted by Woden to get rid of the nine hay-mowing slaves of the giant Suptung,

[1] Solinus mentions Caledonia or the north of this island as a distant coast visited by the wandering figure of Ulysses. *Prima facie* there is nothing improbable in the notion implied, that Romans who had visited the north of Britain had found worshipped there a hero or god who reminded them of Ulysses; but the words of Solinus lose most of their weight from the fact that he regarded Ulysses' visit as demonstrated by the occurrence there of an altar dedicated to him in Greek writing. The passage looks like an inaccurate and confused reproduction of the words in the Germania; but, be that as it may, there is hardly room to doubt that strangers from the Mediterranean found in vogue in Celtic and Teutonic lands the cult of a god, in whom they sometimes recognized Hercules or Heracles, and sometimes Ulysses or Odysseus.

when he was plotting to get a draught of the precious mead of which the latter was the owner. Jason, at the bidding of Medea, threw a stone among the armed sons of the dragon's teeth, and they fought for it—nobody tells us why—until they all fell by one another's hands; while in the case of Woden the stone was a marvellous hone, with which he had sharpened the scythes of Suptung's men with such satisfactory results that each of them was anxious to possess such a treasure, and Woden, consenting to part with it, threw it up into the air, whereupon a scramble followed in which each of the mowers swung his scythe about his fellow's neck.[1] The Jason myth and those which mythologists are wont to connect with it bring us face to face with a most fascinating and difficult question of origin;[2] but we may pass it by for the present and proceed to inquire whether the religion and mythology of any other Aryan people afford any kind of parallel to Gwydion and Woden. Without much trouble we come across what we want in Sanskrit literature. The god to whom I wish to direct your special attention is Indra: it is needless here to trouble you with extracts from the Rig-Veda, speaking of him as a supreme divinity of the Indian pantheon; it is nevertheless noteworthy that Indra was not supposed to be one of the uncreated gods, but one who had been born, one who had obtained his position by sacrifice and prayer. Vedic scholars are wont to take for granted that Indra was, like most of the ancient gods of the Vedas, a personification of something in nature; they

[1] Vigfusson and Powell, i. 465.

[2] See Lang's chapter on *A far-travelled Tale* in his *Custom and Myth*, pp. 87 & seq.

are, however, obliged to admit that in his case the personification is more thorough, and that, while the other anthropomorphic divinities were ever and anon liable to be confounded with the elements of which they were personifications, Indra was subject to nothing analogous, his personality being, as they would say, far more fixed, far more profoundly modified and transformed by the anthropomorphism to which they assume it to have been subjected: in other words, Indra was far more human than the elemental gods, and, in fact, so much so that no one has been able to say with any great probability what he was originally a personification of. In a word, the evidence, such as I have been able to find adduced, leaves the personification resting on no solid foundation, it being, to say the least of it, just as probable that, in point of origin and history, Indra should be regarded as a deified man.

The following things concerning him are worth noticing by way of comparison with Gwydion and Woden:

1. As the Norsemen of the Wicking period fixed their gaze on the warlike side of Woden's character, so, according to one of the most recent expounders of Vedic religion, Indra was above all things the warrior-god of the Aryans of India.[1] His spoils are for men, and it is on their behalf that he fights.[2] He is metaphorically a wall

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[1] I refer to M. Bergaigne and his work entitled *La Religion Védique d'après les Hymnes du Rig-Veda* (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études:* Paris, 1878, 1883), i. p. xvi.

[2] Ibid. ij. 172, 178 (*Rig-Veda*, i. 55, 5, vij. 32, 14, vij. 32, 17, viij. 45, 13, viij. 45, 40-1, x. 120, 4).

of defence, and he is a castle,[1] just as Gwydion was a thick door of protection.

2. With regard to wisdom and poetry he is the most sagacious of the wise[2] and the most skilled in song;[3] he is called an old friend of the poets,[4] and he is not unfrequently associated with an ancient race of singers known by the name of Angiras;[5] he has assumed the inspiration of prophets,[6] and he can take all forms through his magic power;[7] lastly, he gives his friends faithful guidance,[8] like Ogmios or Mercury.

3. Daylight and rain are among the chief boons conferred on man by Indra; so he is described as recovering from the dark powers the dawns and the rains,[9] which in Sanskrit phraseology are called the cows:[10] in other terms, he is said to split open the sides of the mountain in order to bring forth the cows from their stone prison, to overthrow the mountain or to dissolve it for the same purpose.[11] It is right, however, to call attention to the

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[1] See *Rig-Veda*, viij. 69, 7; also p. 188 of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* for 1882-5, in which a long and elaborate paper has been published on *Indra in the Rig-Veda*, by Dr. E. D. Perry.

[2] Perry, p. 196 (*Rig-Veda*, x. 112, 9).

[3] Ib. (*Rig-Veda*, i. 100, 4).

[4] Ib. p. 188 (*Rig-Veda*, vi. 18, 5, vi. 21. 5, 8).

[5] Bergaigne, i. 150 (*Rig-Veda*, x. 108, 8), ij. 175, 183; Perry, pp. 140-1 (*Rig-Veda*, i. 62, 3, i. 83, 4, iv. 16, 8).

[6] Perry, p. 196 (*Rig-Veda*, iij. 36, 5).

[7] Ib. (*Rig-Veda*, iij. 53, 8, vi. 47, 18).

[8] Ib. p. 189 (*Rig-Veda*, v. 31, 8).

[9] Bergaigne, i. pp. xvi, xviii.

[10] Ib. ij. 179.

[11] Ib. ij. 180 (*Rig-Veda*, v. 30, 4, vi. 17, 5, vi. 43, 3, viij. 45, 30, x. 112, 8).

fact that Indra is not said to rain in the sense in which Parjanya, or Zeus and Jupiter, were said to rain;[1] and the etymology which was supposed to prove his name to have made him a pluvial divinity has been superseded by a better one which has nothing to do with rain.[2] But to return to Indra's gifts, it is not to be supposed that the cows he acquired for his worshippers were always of the nature here suggested; for he is celebrated in some of the hymns as the giver of cows, horses and women.[3] One of the chief differences between Indra and Gwydion-Woden is that Indra's other boons have to be constantly conquered afresh from the powers of darkness, who as often carry them away. In the case of light, for example, the conflict repeats itself every day, as it is Indra who brings the dawn back and makes the sun rise.[4] This necessary intervention of Indra to make the sun rise recalls the habit, which Europeans ascribe to the Pueblo Indians, of sending their sun-priest to salute the morning-star and the dawn, and to get the sun up, an event not expected to happen in case he be not duly invoked.[5] And it is a well-known fact that the Aztecs

[1] Bergaigne, ij. 184-5.

[2] See Bezzenberger in his *Beitræge*, i. 342, where he points out the correspondence between Sanskrit *indra*, Zend *añdra* (iñdra), and the Teutonic stem (*antra*-) from which he derives O. H. Ger. *antrisc*, *entrisc*, 'antiquus, vetustus;' M. H. Ger. *entrisch*, 'old;' Upper Ger. Dialects *enterisch*, *enzerisch*, 'ungeheuer, seltsam.' He would trace the stem suggested to a simpler one postulated by the A.-Saxon word *ent*, 'a giant,' and the O. H. Ger. adjective *entisc*, *andisc*, of the same meaning as *antrisc*.

[3] Bergaigne, ij. 177-9 (*Rig-Veda*, iv. 17, 16 & *saepe*).

[4] Ib. i. p. xvi, ij. 187-8.

[5] Dr. E. B. Tylor tells me that he has witnessed this ceremony at Zuñi; but he adds that until one has got an exact translation of the

thought that the rising of the sun at the end of the cycle which they called the Sheaf of Years was an open question; so they proceeded by means of human sacrifice to persuade him to do so as before.[1] Indra's principal weapon in all his conflicts with the dark powers is his thunderbolt,[2] but he is also very materially aided by his worshippers' prayers,[3] and in some of his most difficult undertakings he has associated with him Brahmaṇaspati, the lord of prayer,[4] and likewise the Angiras.[5] He breaks open the enemies' gates by the spell of song;[6] and the importance of the worshipper's prayers to the Hindu god in his conflicts with the dark powers is the Hindu equivalent to the λόγος, eloquence and wisdom, which enable the Gaulish Ogmios to accomplish the labours of Heracles.

4. Another of the things which Indra acquires by conquest from the dark powers is the soma,[7] the drink of the gods, which in Sanskrit literature holds a place similar to nectar and ambrosia in Greek mythology. It is a sort of water of life, which, among many other wonderful qualities belonging to it, makes the sick well and gives the blind his sight; it prolongs life[8] and is a means of rejuvenescence generally, which calls to mind the

prayer formulæ, it would be unsafe to say that the proceeding is exactly what strangers have supposed it to be.

[1] Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific States* (London, 1875), iij. 393-6.

[2] Perry, p. 138 (*Rig-Veda*, v. 31, 4, &c.).

[3] Bergaigne, ij. 235.

[4] Perry, pp. 165-6 (*Rig-Veda*, viij. 85, 15).

[5] Ib. pp. 141, 143 (*Rig-Veda*, iv. 16, 8).

[6] Bergaigne, ij. 312 (*Rig-Veda*, vi. 35, 5).

[7] Ib. ij. 195 (*Rig-Veda*, i. 32, 12, iij. 36, 8, iij. 44, 5, vi. 44, 23).

[8] Ib. i. 152 (*Rig-Veda*, viij. 61, 17, viij. 68, 2).

Welsh Cauldron of Regeneration. The rishis or the sages of Sanskrit tradition carry it in their hearts,[1] while Indra makes rishis, wise men or poets, of those who have drunk of it; and it is said to untie the poet's tongue.[2] The Hindu divinities in the highest heaven quaff soma with Yama, the god of the dead, under a tree with large leaves.[3] The soma is theirs, and they made it for themselves,[4] but it was brought to this world by an eagle,[5] which reminds one of Woden, after drinking the giant Suptung's mead, flying away as an eagle, whence poetry was called by the Norsemen the billows of Woden's breast and other names of the like nature; on the other hand, the soma from the sacrifices is said to be carried aloft to Indra by an eagle.[6] More usually the one of the dark powers, who conceals the soma coveted by Indra is Tvashṭar, a sort of Dis and Vulcan in one. Indra overpowers him in his own house and drinks his soma,[7] though Tvashṭar was sometimes reckoned Indra's own father:[8] this has a kind of parallel in Gwydion's con-

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[1] Bergaigne, i. 149 (*Rig-Veda*, x. 32, 9).

[2] Ib. i. 150 (*Rig-Veda*, i. 87, 5, iij. 43, 5).

[3] Ib. i. 86, 90 (*Rig-Veda*, x. 135. 1, 7).

[4] Ib. i. 149 (*Rig-Veda*, ix. 18, 3, ix. 78, 4, ix. 85, 2, ix. 109, 15).

[5] Ib. i. 199 (*Rig-Veda*, iv. 26, 6), i. 173 (*Rig-Veda*, viii. 84, 3, ix. 86, 24, ix. 87, 6, ix. 89, 2).

[6] Perry, p. 165 (*Rig-Veda*, i. 80, 2, i. 93, 6, iv. 26, 5, vi. 20, 6): the Sanskrit word is çyena, which Dr. Perry renders by 'falcon' and M. Bergaigne by 'aigle,' while the definition in the Petersburg Dictionary is 'der grösste und stärkste Raubvogel; Adler; auch Falke oder Habicht.'

[7] Bergaigne, i. 158 (*Rig-Veda*, i. 84, 15), iij. 58, 59 (*Rig-Veda*, iij. 48, 4, iv. 18, 3; see also iv. 18, 11); Perry, pp. 148, 149, 177.

[8] Ib. iij. 58-9 (*Rig-Veda*, ij. 17, 6, iij. 48, 4).

duct towards his uncle Mâth and his virgin footholder, in that the latter is outraged by one of Gwydion's brothers with Gwydion's active intervention.[1] Another account makes Indra's mother give him the soma to drink,[2] wherein one may perhaps see a faint correspondence between the story of Woden and Gundfled at the mead-giant's house. But a far closer parallel is to be detected in a story[3] in the Ramayana, relating how Indra assumed the garb of his tutor and seduced the latter's wife, for which he cursed Indra to undergo, not the agonies of Prometheus, but a nameless punishment to be compared rather with that inflicted on Gwydion by Mâth. It is right to say that the poet of the Ramayana simply makes Indra revoltingly lewd, and knows of no palliation for his crime such as that suggested by the motive of Woden in his conduct towards Gundfled; but, apart from this story, one may be said to find in all three cases of Gwydion, Woden and Indra, the same remarkable unscrupulousness with regard to the other powers, who are treated as the avaricious and jealous owners of boons which they wish to keep to themselves. In Norse poetry the stealing of the precious mead is spiritualized into a story of the origin of poetry and wisdom, and the Welsh tradition makes the cauldron of the Head of Hades a vessel whence the muses and their inspiration ascend; while Vedic literature clings rather to the more original idea of an intoxicating drink, in that it loves to dwell on Indra's excessive fondness of

[1] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 63-5; Guest, iij. 224-7.

[2] Bergaigne, ij. 165, iij. 58 (*Rig-Veda*, iij. 48, 2), 104.

[3] *Ramayana*, ed. A. von Schlegel (Bonn, 1829, 1838), Book i. chap. xlviij.

soma, and on its power to stimulate and strengthen him to fight the powers of darkness. He is accordingly entreated with prayerful vehemence to make himself tipsy on soma,[1] and, with the taste characteristic of the hymning sages of the Rig-Veda, he is even termed a cask of soma.[2]

5. Indra is the giver of women,[3] and he provides an aged friend of his with a young wife.[4] Moreover, he rejuvenates old maids,[5] and rescues from death the child of the maiden who had from shame done away with it, and which the ants were gnawing,[6] a curious parallel to Gwydion's providing his son Llew with a wife, and especially to his saving his life at his birth and rearing him to the intense disgust of his maiden mother, Arianrhod.

6. Indra is sometimes said to be the father of both the Sun and the Dawn,[7] while the Sun is also treated as the husband and lover of the Dawn.[8] But Indra is more than once described making war on the Dawn, who is then called a wicked woman; he chases her, and with his thunderbolt smashes her chariot, which remains wrecked near one of the rivers of Heaven, and she herself rushes headlong from the height of that realm.[9] The meaning of all this is not considered very

[1] Perry, p. 165. [2] Ib. p. 173 (*Rig-Veda*, vi. 69, 2).

[3] Ib. p. 187 (*Rig-Veda*, iv. 17, 16).

[4] Ib. p. 189 (*Rig-Veda*, i. 51, 13).

[5] Ib. p. 190 (*Rig-Veda*, iv. 19, 7).

[6] Ib. (*Rig-Veda*, ij. 15, 7, iv. 19, 9).

[7] Bergaigne, ij. 188, 191 (*Rig-Veda*, iij. 31, 15, iij. 32, 8).

[8] Ib. ij. 2 (*Rig-Veda*, i. 92, 11, i. 115, 2, vij. 76, 3), 14.

[9] Ib. ij. 192, 193 (*Rig-Veda*, iv. 30, 8—11; also ij. 15, 6, x. 73, 6, x. 138, 5).

clear, but a reference to the slowness of the Dawn[1] is supposed to supply the key to it: in other words, the Dawn was dallying too long with one of the powers of night, an interpretation which is favoured by the fact that the verses preceding one of the passages in question mention Indra taking the Sun from them in order that he might be seen of men.[2] If this view be approximately correct, we have in it a remarkable parallel to the story of Blodeued: Llew the sun-god was Gwydion's son, and Gwydion had created Blodeued, a personification of the Dawn and the Gloaming, to be his son's wife; but one day when Llew was away, his wife was visited in the evening by a stranger, who made love to her and with whom she compassed her husband's death. This was followed, as you will remember, by Gwydion bringing Llew back to this life to avenge his sufferings. The wicked woman fled in terror before Gwydion, until her maidens fell into a lake and she herself was converted by the touch of Gwydion's wand into an owl; but according to another story,[3] the one here in point, it was across the heavens that Gwydion chased her, when he left the landmarks of the Milky Way to indicate the course of his march when he was engaged in the pursuit.

Such are some of the points of similarity between Indra and Gwydion-Woden; and some of the differences between their stories have also been indicated: the recurrence of Indra's help to man is, as already suggested, not emphasized in the case of his European counterpart; and the prayers of his worshippers stand in his case in

[1] Bergaigne, ij. 193 (*Rig-Veda*, ij. 15, 6, v. 79, 9).

[2] Ib. ij. 192 (*Rig-Veda*, iv. 30, 3—6).

[3] Morris' *Celtic Remains*, p. 231, s.v. *Gwydion*.

the place of the λόγος of Ogmios. It is probable, however, that he owes certain of his attributes to his having assumed some of those of an ancient storm-god Trita,[1] or perhaps of Dyaus; and among them may be reckoned the thunderbolt. Above all, one has to bear in mind the distortion which the Hindu side of the picture has undergone in consequence of the removal of the abode of the dead from the nether world to the most distant heaven. But when it is considered what a far cry it is from the shores of the Baltic to the land of the Five Rivers, how long it must have taken our kindred to reach it, and how largely their blood had by that time been mixed with that of other races, it is a matter of surprise that Sanskrit literature yields so many points of contact between Indra and Gwydion-Woden. Some of them are brought into prominence in the following verses[2] from the Rig-Veda, with which these remarks may be closed (i. 53. 2, 5, 6):

'Thou art the giver of horses, Indra, thou art the giver of cows, the giver of corn, the strong lord of wealth: the old guide of man, disappointing no desires, a friend to friends. . . .'

'Let us rejoice, Indra, in treasure and food, in wealth of manifold delight and splendour. Let us rejoice in the blessing of the gods, which gives us the strength of offspring, gives us cows first and horses.'

'Du, Indra, schenkest Rosse, schenkest Rinder auch,
du schenkest Korn und bist des Gutes starker Herr,
Beschenkst die Männer, schmälerst ihre Wünsche nie,
ein Freund den Freunden. . . .'

'Lass Reichthum, Indra, lass erlangen Labung uns,
sehr glänzende Genüsse, himmelstrebende,
Und Huld der Götter, die den Männern Kraft verleiht
und reich zuerst an Rindern und an Rossen ist.'

[1] Perry, pp. 142-6.

[2] The English translation is from Max Müller's *Chips*, i. 31-2, and the German one from Grassmann's *Rig-Veda Uebersetzt*, ij. pp. 57-8.

'These draughts inspired thee, O lord of the brave! these were vigour, these libations, in battles, when for the sake of the poet, the sacrificer, thou struckest down irresistibly ten thousands of enemies.'

'Dich haben diese Tränke, diese Kräftiger,
die Soma's dich berauscht, o Fürst, im Vritrakampf,
Als du dem Sänger, der die Streu bereitete,
zehntausend Feinde schlugest ohne Widerstand.'

The inference to be drawn from the foregoing comparisons is, that the Aryan nations before their separation cherished a belief in a hero or god to whom they owed all their comforts in life: it was he that made the Sun shine and the Dawn keep her time; and it was to him they looked for the weather they wanted. The first breeds of animals useful to man, whether domestic or wild, were believed to have been obtained by him through craft or violence from the jealous powers who wished to keep them from the human race. They traced probably to the same origin the fire that served to cook their food, and the intoxicating drink which they knew as a stimulant and a source of inspiration. But their benefactor was believed to have undergone unspeakable hardship in his quest of the boons he conferred on their kin, and that for a time the jealous powers were able to wreak their wrath on him for his goodwill to man. It was probably this goodwill that constituted the gravamen of his crime, and not the crafty and unscrupulous way in which he had gone to work; for that was calculated in certain stages of civilization to call forth admiration rather than the contrary, while the habit of imagining both gods and demons to be jealous of the human race is familiar to all in the literatures of various ancient nations. Among others, that of the Greeks has already been alluded to in this connection more than once; but

nowhere, perhaps, is the criminality of human progress more ostentatiously recognized than in the Latin classics. Witness the quaint conservatism ascribed by Horace to the gods, Odes, i. 3, where it is hinted that he who first entrusted his frail bark to the waves committed a sin against their majesty, that they had meant the sea to keep men apart and not to be a highway of intercourse:

'Nequicquam deus abscidit
Prudens Oceano dissociabili
Terras, si tamen impiae
Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.'

But I may be charged with forgetting the most remarkable parallel of all, to wit, that in the Hebrew Scriptures, where, instead of the intoxicating soma, or the draught from the deep well of wisdom, or the cauldron of science and regeneration, we are told of a tree with a knowledge-giving crop of forbidden fruit, whereof it was a crime for man to taste, while he who induced him to commit it, is represented as a reptile, as a serpent to have his head bruised. This would, however, involve the discussion of Semitic questions, the settling of which is neither within my competence nor in any way essential to the understanding of the history of Aryan religion. Let it suffice that the course of that history is intelligible in itself; that it is, on the whole, a history of progress; and that, so far as we have been able to study it in these lectures, it may briefly be summed up thus: some of the Celts of antiquity, as also of the Teutons and the Hindus, avenged themselves in their own time on the narrowness of the divine creatures of their ancestors' imagination by

thrusting them aside to make room at the head of their respective pantheons for Ogmios and Gwydion, for Woden and Indra, as divinities more adequately representative of man and the aspirations of his being.

LECTURE IV.

THE CULTURE HERO.

(CONTINUED.)

THE whole ground, so far as concerns the Culture Hero of the Celts, has now been in a sense rapidly traversed, in order that you may see at a glance the view advocated; but in so doing, a great many data had, for fear of overloading the discourse, to be passed over in silence. Thus, for example, the story of the birth of Llew has been omitted; but it will be convenient, for the sake of comparison, to give it before proceeding any further.

GWYDION AND CAIRBRE.

The Laws of Wales speak of an officer of the court, who was called the *troediog*, or the foot-holder, one of whose duties, according to the Venedotian version, was to hold the king's feet in his lap from the time he took his seat at table to the moment when he retired to rest.[1] He had also to discharge the more delicate function of scratching his majesty's person whenever the royal skin happened to itch. Now Mâth ab Mathonwy used to have

[1] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (London, 1841), Vol. i. bk. i. chap. xxxiv. Conaire Mór (p. 135), monarch of Erinn, had also a foot-holder: see O'Curry, iij. 143.

a lady to act as his foot-holder, and she must be a virgin. This office was filled by a most lovely damsel whose name was Goewyn; but while Mâth was away in the war with the men of Dyved (p. 244), she was outraged by Gilvaethwy son of Dôn, with his brother Gwydion's connivance. Mâth, whose conduct is always represented as just and righteous, indemnified Goewyn by making her his queen, while he punished Gwydion and his brother by changing them into deer, wild boars and wolves, forms which they had for three successive years. When the term of their punishment was completed, Mâth changed them back into their own shapes, and admitted them again to his court. He next asked Gwydion to recommend him a duly qualified foot-holder, and Gwydion brought his own mistress to Mâth, namely, Arianrhod, daughter of Mâth's sister Dôn, whereupon Mâth addressed her as follows: 'Ha, damsel, art thou the maiden?' 'I know not, Lord, other than that I am,' was the reply; at which Mâth took up his magic wand and bent it, saying, 'Step over this, and I shall know if thou art the maiden.' That, I ought to state, is Lady Charlotte Guest's translation;[1] but to do justice to the sense of the original,[2] one has to substitute both times for the words 'the maiden,' the words 'a virgin.' To continue the story, Arianrhod complied with Mâth's request, and left behind her a fine chubby, yellow-haired boy, at whose screaming she made for the door, near which she left a smaller form; but before anybody caught a second sight of the latter, Gwydion had wrapped it in a sheet of satin, and concealed it in a chest at the foot of his bed. Mâth took

[1] Guest's *Mab.* iij. 231.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* p. 68.

the chubby boy and had him christened; but no sooner was he christened, the story goes on to say, than he made for the sea; and no sooner was he in the sea than he acquired the nature thereof, for he swam as well as the best fish in its waters, wherefore he was called Dylan son of the Wave: no wave ever broke under him. The rest of his story is compressed into the single statement that his death was caused by a blow dealt by his uncle the smith, Govannon son of Dôn. To return to Gwydion: he heard one morning as he lay awake in his bed a low sound issuing from the chest at the foot of it; getting up quickly, he opened the chest, and, as he did so, he there beheld a little boy swaying his arms about from the folds of the satin sheet and scattering it. He took the child in his arms, and made for a town where he knew of a nurse and engaged her. The boy was in her charge for a year, in the course of which he attained to such a size as would have been surprising even if he had been two years old; and in the second year he was a big lad able to come to the court by himself. Gwydion took notice of him, and the boy became fonder of him than of anybody else. He was afterwards brought up at the court[1] until he was four; and at that age it would have been a wonder, the story tells us, to find a boy of eight as big as he was. One day, when he was out walking with his father, the latter took him to Arianrhod's castle. What then happened, owing to her disgust at

[1] At first sight this looks as if it meant Mâth's court in the neighbourhood of the Conwy, but the drift of the story is best understood by supposing the court meant to have been Gwydion's own court, which was probably at Dinas Dinlle or at Caer Seon (p. 271). It was doubtless some place nearer to Caer Arianrhod than Mâth's court.

finding her child alive, has been told elsewhere (p. 236): but she is not represented as making any allusion to his brother, who had made the sea his habitat.

Such is the story of Llew's birth and early years, as given in the Mabinogi of Mâth ab Mathonwy, where alone it occurs; and it puts us in a position to do justice to the parallel between Gwydion and Cairbre Musc, together with the other Cairbres whose identity with him has been suggested. For Cairbre Musc, like Gwydion, had two sons by his sister. Her name was Duben, and theirs were Core and Cormac respectively. The children were twins, and the story of their birth is no less strange than that of Dylan and Llew, for one of them was found to have nipped off his brother's ears before his birth. The crime of their parents caused the crops to fail, which, according to the idea prevalent in ancient Ireland, was its natural result,[1] and Cairbre was obliged to confess his guilt to the nobles of his realm, who, when the children

[1] Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 64; but to the references there given may be added traces of the same belief among the Welsh. Take, for instance, the following couplet from a prophecy of evil days, in the 12th century MS. called the *Black Book of Carmarthen*:

'*An bit ni bluitinet a hir diev.*
Ariev enwir edwi fruytheu.'
'We shall have years and long days
With false kings (and) failing fruit-crops.'

The second 'and' rests on an emendation suggested by the metre, and if one omit it the rendering will be, 'With false kings (causes) of failing fruit-crops,' as the grammatical relation of the words might then be represented thus: 'With false kings of withering of fruits.' The original is given (with a serious misprint) by Skene, ij. 23, and translated, i. 485, as follows:

'To us there will be years and long days,
And iniquitous rulers, and the blasting of fruit.'

were born, ordered them to be burnt, that the incest might not remain in the land. 'Give me,' said Cairbre's druid, 'that *Corc*[1] there, that I may place him outside Erinn, so that the incest may not be within it.' Corc was given to the druid, and the latter, with his wife, whose name was Bói, took him to an island. They had a white cow with red ears, and an ablution was performed by them every morning on Corc, placed on the cow's back; so in a year's time to the day the cow sprang away from them into the sea, and she became a rock in it; to wit, the heathenism of the boy had entered into her. *Bó Búi*, or Bói's Cow, is the name of the rock, and *Inis Búi*, or Bói's Isle, that of the island. The boy was afterwards brought back into Erinn. Such is the story[2] how Corc was purged of the virulence of his original sin, and the scene is one of the three islets called the Bull, the Cow and the Calf, not far from Dursey Island, in the gulf called Kenmare River.

Now I have only to reproduce, word for word, as it occurs in the *Book of Leinster*, the account of another

[1] Corc means croppy or cropped: in this instance the name refers to the bearer's ears, and the verb used as to the action of his brother maiming him is *ro-chorc*. The correctness of this interpretation is borne out by a passage in the Bodley MS. *Laud* 610, fol. 98[a1], where we read of a boy called Corc or Conall Corc hidden under the hearth, where fire dropping on him burnt off one of his ears (? both), and caused him to be named or surnamed *Corc*. The original runs thus: 'Foluigi amac foantellug fontalam .... Bruinnith intene forsin mac conloisc ahó isde bacorc corc mac luigthig.'

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, 54*a*; see also O'Curry's *Magh Lena*, p. 28, note, where he calls the druid *Diniochi*. That is probably the word *dinech*, which I have ventured to render by 'ablution,' on the supposition that it is the same word as the Welsh *dineu*, 'the act of pouring or shedding a liquid.'

Cairbre, whom Irish historians treat as distinct from Cairbre Musc, in order to enable the reader to see that they are mistaken, and that the two Cairbres were originally one and the same character. There are several important reasons for giving the story as there related:[1] it is part of a longer tract concerning an Irish triad of men said to have spoken as soon as they were born. The one here in point was called Morann son of Cairbre Cinnchait. The following is the reason why he spoke: all the offspring of the privileged classes in Erinn were killed by the Cairbre alluded to; for he belonged to the Peasant Tribes, and he seized the sovereignty of Erinn by force. And his reign was bad; for the corn would have only one grain in each ear, the holly but one berry, and the oak but one acorn in his time. Three sons were born to this Cairbre, and they [or rather two of them] were drowned together by his orders; for it appeared that they were monsters, because they were born helmeted. The same thing was attempted in the case of the third son: two of the king's men were charged to go with him to throw him into the billow's mouths. But as soon as they cast the boy from them into the sea, the billow broke his helmet, so that they beheld his face on its ridge. It is then he spoke, saying, 'Rough is wave.' They hastened to him and lifted him up. 'Do not lift me,' said he: 'Cold is wind.' 'What shall we do with the boy?' said one of the men. 'We shall do thus,' said the other: 'we shall leave him in a box on the top of the stone of the smith's door—that is

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 126*b*; see also Prof. Atkinson's analysis of the tale in the Introduction, p. 31.

Móen's, the smith of the king—and we shall keep watch over the child to see whether the smith will take to it.' When the latter came forth from his house he saw the child in the box, and he proceeded to carry it into the house. 'Light a candle, wife,' said he, 'that this find I have made may be seen.' A candle was then brought him, and then Morann [speaking for the third time] said, 'Bright is candle.' The child was brought up by Móen as his own. The two men aforesaid, however, knew that it was not his. Once on a time afterwards, Cairbre went to drink beer in Móen's house, and just when they found the drinking most agreeable, the child went from lap to lap until he went on Cairbre's. 'The lad takes to me: whose is the boy?' said Cairbre, with a heavy sigh. The child's mother, that is, Cairbre's wife, heaved another sigh. 'What is the matter with you,' said Móen; 'is it envy that seizes you? Though the boy be dear to me, and though he be my son, I had rather he were yours, on account of the love you bear me, and because you have need of him.' 'That, however, does not help us,' said Cairbre. 'Good now,' said the two men afore-mentioned; 'the reward of one who would bring thee a child like that would be good.' 'That it would be,' said Cairbre; 'I should give him its weight in silver and one-third its weight in gold; but it is useless to talk, as you are but uttering idle words.' 'But as we are on this subject of the boy,' said the two men, 'let the bargain be made binding on thee.' The bargain is accordingly bound on him, and no sooner was that done than the two men went to him and placed the boy in his bosom; they proved to him that he was his. 'That is the boy,' said they, 'whom we took from thee

to be drowned, and we did so and so with him.' 'All that is true,' said the smith. It is therefore the boy was called the son of Móen; and these are the three first sentences that Morann spoke immediately after his birth, namely, Rough is wave, Cold is wind, and Bright is candle. Morann afterwards took the office of chief judge of Erinn, and his father Cairbre died. And he sent his son to Feradach Finn Fechtnach,[1] in the land of Alban, to invite him to the sovereignty of Erinn; for he had fled before Cairbre over the sea to escape death at his hands. He came at Morann's invitation and took the sovereignty of Erinn, while Morann occupied the office of chief brehon or judge.

Here the story abruptly ends, owing to the loss of a leaf in the manuscript. But elsewhere the Peasant Tribes are represented inviting all the nobles of Erinn to a great banquet, at which they murder them and make Cairbre their king: the scene is associated with Mag Cro, or the Field of Blood, near Knockmaa, in the county of Galway, and the whole is usually regarded as the echo of a great political revolution in Ireland during the first decades of the Christian era. Further, the attempt to convert the myth into history has long since been much aggravated by a notion that we have the Atecotti of the Roman history of Britain in the Peasant Tribes of Erinn, because the Irish which that term is meant to render was *Aithech Tuatha*.[2] But the story admits of a very different interpretation: Cairbre, as we take it, was originally one of

[1] Elsewhere described as one of the heroes of Ulster: see O'Curry's *Manners*, &c. iij. 95.

[2] See the *Four Masters*, A.D. 9, 10, also 14 and O'Donovan's notes; likewise the editor's Introduction to O'Curry's *Manners*, pp. xxiv—xxxi.

the names of the Culture Hero, whose attacks were directed against the avaricious powers of Hades; but the great burial-places of pagan Ireland, near the head-quarters of its princes, brought Hades very near to this world. So it comes about that Cairbre, instead of being made to take a long journey to the nether world, as one might have been led by the story of Gwydion to expect, finds his foes in Erinn itself. But in spite of this shifting of the scene to this upper world, the parallel between Cairbre and Gwydion is preserved, one might say, to a nicety. Gwydion gains his victory over the powers of Hades, a deified man over the gods; so Cairbre differs from those whom he vanquishes by a corresponding inferiority of race, he being of ignoble descent, while they are described as of the noble and princely lineage of Mile.[1]

We must not leave this story without noticing the addition to Cairbre's name of the term *Cinnchait*, consisting of the genitive of *Cenncait*, meaning Cat's Head, which also occurs as *Caitchenn*, 'Cat-headed.'[2] As a rule,

[1] According, however, to another account, Cairbre was the son of a king of Lochlann: see O'Curry, p. 264.

[2] The *Four Masters*, A.D. 10, have *Cairpre Cinncait*, while under A.D. 14 they speak of him as *Cairbre Caitcend*. *The Book of Fenagh* (ed. Hennessy) has *Cairpre Caitchenn* at p. 34, and *Cairpre cinn cait* (with *Cairpre* in the nom. case) at p. 56. Cairbre's name happens to occur mostly in the genitive, so that it might be supposed that the genitive *Cinnchait* was merely in apposition to it; but O'Curry, who was well read in such matters, treats it as Cairbré *Cinn-Cait* in his Lectures on the *MS. Materials;* and a passage in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 129*a*, has *Corpri Chindchaitt*, where *Corpri* is not itself genitive. The verse runs thus:

'Lánrí corp*ri ch*ind*ch*aitt *ch*rúaid.
osi*n* tem*r*aig tailc tondbúai*n*;
cóic bli*a*dan arat*h* asi*n*raind.
éc atbat*h* atha*ir* morai*n*d.'

however, it is the representatives of darkness that are pictured as deformed about the head and ears, as in the case of Corc and the drowned brothers of Morann, together with many others. There would be nothing surprising in making Cairbre the Culture Hero a son of dark parents, just as Gwydion is son of Dôn, the goddess of death (p. 91), and this would explain the use of the genitive in *Cairbre Cinnchait*, which would mean that Cairbre was the son of *Cenncait*, just as the son of Duben is briefly called *Corc Duibne*. This view derives some confirmation from the principal name in the following story: the original, of which it is an abstract, has the interest of being one written down in Tory Island in 1835, by the Irish scholar and antiquary O'Donovan, from the dictation of Shane O'Dugan, whose ancestors are said to have been living there in St. Columba's time:[1]

In days of yore there were three brothers called Gavida, Mac Samthainn and Mac Kineely, living on the coast of Donegal, opposite Tory Island, which was so called from its *tors* or prominent rocks. Gavida was a distinguished smith who had his forge at Drumnatinnè (Fire-ridge), while Mac Kineely was lord of the district around, comprising what is now the parishes of Rath-Finan and Tullaghobegly, and he possessed such a valuable grey cow that attempts were always being made to steal her from him. At the same time Tory Island was the headquarters of a notorious robber called Balor, who had one eye in the middle of his forehead and another in the back of his head; this latter, by its foul distorted looks and its venomous rays and glances, would strike one dead, so

[1] The *Four Masters*, A.M. 3330, editor's note (i. 18—21).

he used to cover it unless he wished to petrify his foes; and even to this day an evil or overlooking eye is called by the Irish Balor's eye. Once on a time his druid revealed to Balor that he should die by the hands of a grandson of his; and as he had only one child, a young daughter called Ethnea, he made sure against any future danger by having her shut up on a lofty and almost inaccessible height called Tor More, or the big tor, at the eastern extremity of the island. There she was guarded by twelve matrons, who were never to mention the other sex to her. Balor went on with his robberies, and he was clever enough at last to steal Mac Kineely's grey cow. He transformed himself for the purpose into a red-headed lad, and told Mac Samthainn, who happened to be holding the grey cow by a halter, that he had overheard his brothers at the forge agreeing to use his steel for their own swords, whereupon Mac Samthainn asked the foxy lad to take the halter, while he went to the forge in a towering passion. The next sight Mac Kineely had of his cow was to see her with Balor in the middle of the sound. Mac Kineely learnt from a druid that the cow could not be recovered till Balor had been killed, as he would, in order to keep her, never shut the basilisk eye; but Mac Kineely had a fairy friend who told him how Balor was to be brought to his fall. This lady, called Biroge of the Mountain, took Mac Kineely dressed as a woman through the air to the Tor More, and asked shelter for a lady she had just rescued from the hands of a cruel tyrant. The twelve matrons could not think of disobliging the banshee, and she in her turn put them all to sleep as fairies can; but when they woke they found that Biroge and her protegée

were gone. The matrons tried to persuade their ward that it was but a dream; but the fair Ethnea knew better, and in due time she gave birth to three boys together. Balor was furious on finding this out, and had the three boys wrapped in a sheet and sent out to be drowned in a certain whirlpool which he indicated; but before the boat had reached the spot, the pin fell out of the sheet, and the eldest-born baby tumbled into the sea. The two others were taken to the whirlpool, while the previous one was picked up by the banshee and taken to its father Mac Kineely, and he gave it to his brother Gavida to foster and bring up a smith, a great profession in those days. Balor, finding out that Mac Kineely was the father of his grandchildren, who, he was pleased to think, were all three at the bottom of the sea, crossed with a party of his followers to the mainland, and took Mac Kineely out to a large white stone, and thereon chopped his head off. The warm blood gushed forth and penetrated the white stone to its very centre; and there it remains to speak of the cruel deed and to give its name of *Cloch Chinnfhaolaidh*, 'Kineely's Stone,' to a district comprising two parishes. Balor pursued his life of depredation more boldly than before; but in the course of years, Lug, for that was the name of the son of Mac Kineely and Ethnea, grew up to be a most excellent smith and to learn his own history: he was observed to gaze frequently at the blood-red veins in the white stone, and to be subject to fits of sullenness and gloom. He bided his opportunity, for Balor was again in the habit of frequenting Gavida's forge; and one day, when Lug's uncle was absent, Balor came and was foolish enough to boast of his victory over Mac Kineely years before. Lug

worked for him and watched his movements: presently he took out of the fire a glowing rod of iron, which he adroitly thrust into Balor's evil eye, and out through his skull on the other side. This was at the forge at Drumnatinnè, though others will have it that the scene of Balor's death was at *Cnoc na fola*, or the Bloody Foreland.

Such is the modern version of a very ancient story, in which one cannot help seeing that Lug, saved from drowning with his anonymous brothers, and brought up by Gavida the smith, his father's brother, is the same person as Morann, rescued from drowning with his monster brothers, and brought up as the son of Móen the king's smith. The parallel between the two stories may be drawn still closer if one take into account that Cairbre may be inferred to have been the brother of Móen. It seems to be fairly established by the fact that Cairbre, in the person of the satirist of that name, who disturbs the reign of the Fomorian tyrant Bres, is called the son of Etan the poetess (p. 253); and that Móen the seer, in whom we doubtless have Móen the smith, as every great smith was chiefly famous for his spells and divination, is also called Móen son of Etan.[1] It occurs, be it noticed, in the legend showing how by cuming and craft Cairbre —there called Cairbre Muse—got the first lapdog from Britain (p. 246). The story ends with the statement that after the dog died, its bare skull was one day shown by a

[1] In *Cormac's Glossary* in the *Three Irish Glossaries*, ed. by Stokes, p. 30, and the Stokes-O'Donovan translation of *Cormac's Glossary*, p. 112, the genitive is *Edaine*, of *Edáin* or *Etáin;* but in the Bodleian fragment, *Laud* 610, also ed. by Stokes, it is *Etnæ*, the gen. probably of *Etan*, while the *Bk. of the Dun*, 38*b*, has *Etan*, gen. *Etaine*.

wag to a seer and poet, to see if the latter could find whose it was, and that, by a process of divination familiar to him, he discovered that it was the skull of the dog imported by Cairbre. That the seer should have been no other than Móen son of Etan, looks quite an accident. In reality it was probably nothing of the kind, and it just serves to show how the legends centring around Cairbre's name must have originally hanged together. This is not all; for the father's name in the one story was *Cairbre Cinnchait*, or C. (son) of Cat's Head, while in the other he was *Mac Kineely*,[1] or Son of Wolf's Head. This parallel between *Cenn-cait* and *Cenn-faelad* or *Kineely* can hardly be considered an accidental coincidence of no significance, but rather a result of the original identity of the two tales; and it may be surmised that in an older version of the Donegal one, Mac Kineely's full name was *Carpri mac Cinnfuelad*, or C. mac Kineely.

Looked at from another point of view, Mac Kineely and his brother Gavida just exactly match Gwydion and his brother Govannon. Gwydion was the principal character and father of Llew; so Mac Kineely was lord of the country round his home and father of Lug, who will be shown later to have been the counterpart of Llew[2] in

[1] In later Irish orthography, Mac Cinnfhaoladh, 'the Son of *Cennfhaoladh*,' or, as it was written in mediæval Irish, *Cennfaelad*, which meant *Fael's Head;* but *fael* is explained to signify a wolf, *Rev. Celt.* iv. 415. That *fáelad* was the genitive of *fáel* is proved by the occurrence of the accusative as *fáelaid* in Stokes & Windisch's *Ir. Texte*, i. pp. 45, 114. *Cenncait* occurs independently in Clochan *Chinnchait*, where the Gilla Dacker lands, Joyce, pp. 272, 417.

[2] Treating the Welsh Beli as the consort of Dôn (p. 90), and regarding Irish *Balor* as well as Irish *Bile* as etymologically related

more than one respect. Govannon, or Govynnion as he is also called, was the great smith of Welsh story, and we have his counterpart in Gavida, who would probably, had we got the myth in an ancient form, have appeared under the name Goibniu, genitive Goibnenn, the exact equivalent of the Welsh Govynion, and the name of the great smith of the Tuatha Dé Danann. But in fact it would be more accurate to say that his name does occur in the story; for though the cow is said to have been Mac Kineely's, its name, as given to O'Donovan, was *Glas Gaivlen*, which he rightly corrects into *Glas Gaivnen*, that is, in later Irish spelling, *Glas Gaibhnenn*, 'Goibniu's Grey or Brindled (Cow):' practically, then, the legend gives the smith two names—one the direct representative of the ancient *Goibniu*, and the other, *Gavida*, of a more obscure origin. Lastly, Amaethon, the Culture Hero of Welsh agriculture, might at first sight seem to be here duly represented by Mac Samthainn, who takes charge of Mac Kineely's cow while the latter steps into his brother's forge. But as we have no further information about Mac Samthainn, the parallel must be acknowledged

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to *Beli*, we may put the pedigrees of Llew and Lug side by side as follows:

Dôn (wife of Beli).	Ceithlenn (wife of Balor),
|	|
Arianrhod (mistress of Gwydion	Eithne (mistress of Mac Kineely
| brother of Govannon the smith).	| brother of Gavida the smith).
Llew (the Solar Hero).	Lug (the Solar Hero).

Ceithlenn, of which the nominative should be *Ceithliu* (for an older *Ceithniu*, gen. *Ceithnenn*), was possibly another name of Danu or Dona, Welsh Dôn; and it is probably after her that *Inis Ceithlenn*, or Ceithliu's Isle, that is, Enniskillen, a town on Lough Erne, has been called; but see M. d'A. de Jubainville's *Cycle*, p. 222.

to be, to say the least of it, very faintly drawn; and it is possible that we should rather recognize in Mac Samthainn the herdsman's dog; for the name seems to claim kinship with the Irish word *samthach*, 'a haft or hilt,' also 'an axe with a long handle;' so that one may probably translate it 'the Boy of the Haft,' and compare the name of the dog introduced to Erinn by Cairbre Musc's craft, which was *Mug-éime*, or 'the Slave of the Haft.' The story, as you will remember, explains how the dog came, in acquiring it, into Cairbre's possession (p. 247). The coincidence is so striking that I cannot help thinking that we have here traces of another version of the story of Cairbre Musc and the dog he imported into Erinn. The old one, somewhat perversely, makes the animal into a lapdog; while the modern story is probably more faithful to the original in that it suggests a dog useful to the herdsman.[1]

From the foregoing stories and those mentioned in

[1] The name Mac Samthainn explains how in time the story-tellers got into the way of interpreting it to mean a man, a brother in fact to Mac Kineely, as the somewhat indefinite signification of the word *mac* was favourable to the error. For though it is commonly rendered 'son' in pedigrees, it means no more than 'boy,' and the genitive following it need be no parent's name: thus a student was called *Mac Legind*, 'Boy of Reading;' and there was an old name, *Mac Nave*, which Adamnán (*Vita S. Columbae*, ed. Reeves, *Præf.* p. ij. 9) rendered *Filius Navis*, but it meant more nearly 'Boy of the Ship or Ship-boy.' Still more to the point is the name of Diarmait's favourite hound, *Mac an Chuill*, usually rendered 'Son of the Hazel,' but it would be more exactly 'Boy of the Hazel,' in spite of which the pronoun used for the name is *sí*, 'she' (*Pursuit*, ij. 43, § 41). The vocabulary of the Celtic languages will be searched in vain for a word for son or daughter as distinguished from boy or girl, a fact of no little negative importance when weighed along with Caesar's ugly account of the ménage of the ancient Britons (v. 14).

connection with Gwydion, it is evident that Cairbre was one of the principal names of the Mercury of the ancient Irish; but the epic, so to say, in which he played the leading part has only come down to us in fragments appropriated by different tribes, though they are hardly more disconnected and inconsistent than one would naturally expect in such a case. In the first place, Cairbre is, as it were, split up into a number of brothers, mostly to meet the exigencies of tribal genealogies. Foremost among them stands Cairbre Musc, from whose descendants at least six different districts in Munster were called *Muscraige*, Anglicized *Muscry* or *Muskerry*.[1] The next in importance was Cairbre Niafer, or C. the Champion of Men, and that significant designation[2] reminds one of the Culture Hero under his name Ogma, who was represented as the champion of the Tuatha Dé Danann. Cairbre Niafer was monarch of Erinn and dwelt at Tara of the Kings,[3] and he was father of Erc, who survived him at Tara[4] to figure in the story of Cúchulainn. This Cairbre is mentioned as one of the avengers of his father Conaire (p. 135), and it was in his reign that the Fir Bolg were

[1] See p. 255, above; also the *Bk. of Rights*, p. 42, note.

[2] The scribe of the story of the Déisi in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 54*a*, calls him *Corpri Niad*, which should mean Cairbre 'of Champions,' or 'of (the) Champion.'

[3] See a poem by a poet called O'Hartagan in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 161*a*, 161*b*; also O'Curry's edition of it in his *MS. Materials*, pp. 514-6. This clashes with other supposed facts, and it has been represented that Cairbre was only king of Leinster, and that he lived, not at Tara of the Kings, but at another Tara: see O'Curry, ibid. p. 507, and O'Donovan's note to his *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 138; but there is no mistaking O'Hartagan's meaning.

[4] Windisch, p. 212; O'Curry's *Manners*, &c. ij. 199.

driven westwards to the islands including Arann.[1] The third brother is called Cairbre Rigfota, who is described as assisting his brothers to avenge their father;[2] but he is chiefly known as the ancestor of the *Dál Riada*, 'the division or tribe of Riada,' better known as the Dalriad Scots of Antrim and Alban, *Riada* and *Rigfota* being the same name, which Bæda wrote *Reuda*.[3] These three Cairbres are usually mentioned together as the sons of Conaire;[4] but sometimes a fourth, Cairbre Baiscinn, is added to them; and from him were supposed to be derived the Corco Baiscinn, a people in the south-west of the present county of Clare.[5] Probably Cairbre, king of Kerry and father of the poetess Crede (p. 252), should be added to our Cairbres; and identification with the Culture Hero has been suggested in the case of the harpist Cairbre, who had the so-called chord of knowledge in his lyre (p. 255). The meaning also of the reign of the tyrant Bres the Fomorian being disturbed by the Cairbre who

[1] See a poem by Mac Liag in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 152*a*, 152*b*, and O'Curry's *Manners*, &c. ij. 122-3.

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, 54*a*.

[3] *Historia Ecclesiastica*, i. 1, where it is not quite evident whether Bæda left out the consonants *gf* as being both silent even in his time, or subsequent etymologists have thrust them into a word where they had no business. Cairbre Rigfota would mean Cairbre of the long elle or fore-arm, but this spelling does not appear to occur in connection with the name of the *Dalriad* Scots.

[4] But there were doubtless plenty of accounts inconsistent with this. For instance, Cairbre Niafer is made son of *Ros Ruad*, or R. the Red, and brother to Ailill the husband of Medb, and to Finn of Ailinn: see the passages cited in O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* pp. 483, 513, 515; also the pedigrees in the *Bk. of Leinster*, fol. 311*a*.

[5] O'Donovan's note to the *Bk. of Rights*, p. 48, and to the *Topographical Poems*, p. lxxi, note 616.

composed the first satire in Erinn has been indicated (p. 253). It now only remains to be said that the great Culture Hero who bore the name of Cairbre was doubtless placed on a level with the gods, and this seems to be the meaning of the fact that Cairbre occurs in a triad of the poets of the Tuatha Dé Danann.[1] This is brought into still greater relief in a poetic version of an oath in the epic story of the Táin (p. 140) as told in the *Book of Leinster*, where Medb is represented urging a famous champion called Fer-diad to undertake a duel against her mighty enemy Cúchulainn. Fer-diad, wishing to feel certain that Medb's promises would be faithfully kept to his race in case he fell in the contest, says that it is not enough for him to have the pledging by sun and moon, by earth and sea, which seems to have constituted the ordinary oath; he must have the fulfilment bound on six sureties and no less: the queen concedes it readily in the following order:[2]

Cid domnal na charpat.	Though it be Domnal in his chariot,
na niámán án airgne	Or Níamán of noble slaughter,
gidíat lucht na bairddne	Tho' they be the folk of the bardism,
rotfíatsu gid acht	Thou shalt have them notwithstanding.
fonasc latt ar morand.	Thine (shall be) a bond on Morann,
madaill latt a chomall	If thou would'st have its fulfilment,
naisc carpri mín manand.	Bind Cairbre the smooth of Man;
isnaisc ar damacc.	And bind our two sons.

Which of the sons of Medb the two were to whom allusion is made, it would perhaps be difficult to say, as she had many; but Cairbre and Morann come before them, and after the more dread divinities of the deep and of death, who, according to the Celtic notion, were

[1] Mac Firbis, quoted by O'Curry, pp. 217, 573.

[2] *Bk. of Leinster*, 81*b*; O'Curry, iij. 418-9.

the patrons of poetry and bardism. Why Cairbre should here be called smooth is not very clear, unless it be in reference to his manners and speech, supposing them to have been such as those of Gwydion would lead one to expect.[1] The obscurity of the allusions is a matter of no great importance; and what one has rather to notice is, that the names of Morann and Cairbre go together in the oath, just as those of Llew and Gwydion are inseparable in Welsh literature. Nay, one may go further and point, as will be done later, to distinct traces of the two corresponding divinities in the ancient inscriptions of Gaul and the Celtic portion of the Iberian peninsula.

Gwydion and Aitherne.

The next group of tales to be mentioned gives us, for comparison with Gwydion and others, a remarkable Ultonian poet called Aitherne, who belonged to Conchobar mac Nessa's court at a time when the Ultonians are represented enjoying such prosperity and power that they were occasionally much puzzled how to find an excuse for invading and plundering their neighbours; but, when no other means of fomenting a respectable quarrel could be found, the poets and bards might be safely entrusted to do the work; for "it was customary," to quote Prof. O'Curry's words,[2] "for distinguished poets and bards (who were also the philosophers, lawyers,

[1] The local reference is still more obscure, since, besides the Isle of Man and a district of Man in Scotland, which is partly represented by Clackmannan, there was a Dún Manann, or Fort of Man, somewhere in the territory of Fermoy in the county of Cork: see O'Donovan, *Topographical Poems*, pp. 102-3, notes 544-6; and the *Bk. of Rights*, p. 82, note.

[2] Lectures on the *MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 265.

and most educated men of their day) to pass from one province into another, at pleasure, on a circuit, as it may be called, of visits among the kings, chiefs, and nobles of the country; and, on these occasions, they used to receive rich gifts, in return for the learning they communicated, and the poems in which they sounded the praises of their patrons or the condemnation of their enemies. Sometimes the poet's visit bore also a diplomatic character; and he was often, with diplomatic astuteness, sent, by direction of his own provincial king, into another province, with which some cause of quarrel was sought at the moment. On such occasions he was instructed not to be satisfied with any gifts or presents that might be offered to him, and even to couch his refusals in language so insolent and sarcastic as to provoke expulsion if not personal chastisement. And, whenever matters proceeded so far, then he returned to his master, and to him transferred the indignities and injuries received by himself, and publicly called on him, as a matter of personal honour, to resent them. And thus, on occasions where no real cause of dispute or complaint had previously existed, an ambitious or contentious king or chief found means, in those days just as in our own, to pick what public opinion regarded as an honourable quarrel with his neighbour." To these words of O'Curry's I should add, that the rules of hospitality and honour with regard to the poets in ancient Erinn forbade the refusal to them of anything, whatsoever it might be, they chose to ask for; and this was now and then made the means of embarrassing an enemy. Thus, on the day of Cúchulainn's death, his cunning foes sent a poet to ask him for his spear[1] when

[1] *Rev. Celt.* iij. 177—180.

the owner had most need of it himself. Not daring to refuse, he presented it in a way that proved instantly fatal to the recipient; but even so, it hastened Cúchulainn's fall. Now Conchobar chose as his emissary to pick quarrels with his neighbours the poet Aitherne, who is represented as notoriously the most unreasonable and avaricious of men; but it is to be remembered that his story, treated, of course, as a narration of facts, comes to us from the *Book of Leinster*, written by the scribes of the hereditary foes of Ulster. So it has to be discounted very considerably in so far as regards the poet's private character; and I think you will, as we proceed, see that it does not belong to history, but that Conchobar and Aitherne are Irish reflexes of Mâth and Gwydion, when the latter (pp. 243-6) got possession by stealth or cunning of certain animals from Hades.

Having premised this much, one may proceed to make an abstract of Aitherne's story.[1] He first made for the northern part of Connaught, where nothing is recorded of him. He then proceeded to the court of a king called Echaid mac Luchtai, near the Shannon. This king was one-eyed; so the only gift that would satisfy Aitherne was the king's eye, and the latter, pulling it out at once, gave it him. His servant then led the king to the bank of the lake that was hard by, and therein he washed the blood from his face. Hence the lake, so goes the story, was named *Loch Dergdeirc*,[2] or Red-eye's Lake. In consideration of the value Echaid attached to his honour,

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 114*b*—117*a*; see the whole story, edited with a translation by Stokes, in the *Rev. Celt.* viij. 47—63.

[2] It is now more briefly called Loch Derg, and it is situated above Killaloe on the Shannon.

in that he gave his only eye to save it, Heaven is said to have given him thenceforth two eyes instead of the one he had parted with. He is, moreover, mentioned as one of the great judges of early Ireland; and if one is right in treating this tragic story as having been distorted by the quasi-historical treatment it met at the hands of the euhemerists of Leinster, there is no difficulty in seeing that we have in this Echaid some such a representative, for example, of the world of darkness and death as Balor of the Evil Eye, and one of his names may be inferred to have been *Dergderc*, or He of the Red Eye, whose abode was associated with the lake. Looking at it in this light, and presuming the sympathy of the Irish narrator to have been, for the reason already suggested, transferred to the wrong side, one may regard his story as a blurred version of the same original, which, in the ingenious hands of the poet of the Odyssey, speaks of Odysseus blinding the single eye of Polyphemus.

From the Shannon, Aitherne makes his way to the court of Tigerna, king of Munster, where he insists on a monstrous demand of a different nature. Thence he proceeds to South Leinster, where he was met by the king and the nobles of the country, who offered to give him the most handsome presents, provided only he abstained from entering their territory; but he paid no heed to their request. When, in the course of his progress, he sat with the king and his nobles in an assembly at a place called Ard Brestine, near Tullow, in the county of Carlow, he said that the only thing that would satisfy him was to have the finest treasure there. They could not divine what it was, and their distress was exceedingly great; but an accident delivered them out of their straits,

for there chanced to be, on the outskirts of the multitude, a young man showing off his horse; and in wheeling round, the animal's hind hoofs cast a big sod into the air, which came down on the king's lap. Before anybody else could look at it, he espied in it a brooch, containing, as the story has it, no less than fourscore ounces of red gold. He bade Aitherne guess what he had in his lap, to which the poet promptly replied in rhyme, that he had the brooch that had served to fasten Maine mac Durthacht's cloak, adding that this was the very thing he wanted, as Maine was his mother's brother, and it was he that had buried the brooch there after the defeat and slaughter of the Ultonians by the men of Leinster in a battle on that spot. Now with regard to this story, it is to be observed, in the first place, that the name of the king of South Leinster was Fergus Fairge, that is to say, Fergus Ocean or of (the) Ocean, which sufficiently explains his non-historical character; for not only does the name *Fergus* take us back to Fergus Mac Róig (p. 139), but the world of waters and that of darkness are persistently associated with one another in Celtic mythology; and it looks natural to find that Lugaid[1] was his son, who, so far as concerns the Solar Hero, is the personification of darkness and evil. But we are not altogether left to rely on these indications as to the real scene of the story, namely Hades; for in Maine's brooch we have a counterpart of Woden's ring, *Draupnir* or Dropper, which, as will be mentioned when we come to speak more in detail of the story of the summer Sun-god, he placed on Balder's funeral pile, whereby it found its

[1] O'Curry, pp. 465, 472.

way with Balder to Hell. It was afterwards returned as a token by Balder to his father when the latter sent his son Hermoðr to Hell to ask for Balder's release: Balder was not allowed to go back with Hermoðr, but he gave his brother his father's gold ring to carry home again: it had the peculiarity, that every ninth night it dropped eight others like itself.[1] Thus it symbolized the ancient week, and its recovery by Woden its owner must mean the restoration of the regular vicissitude of day and night.

Aitherne, having got the brooch, went on to the court of the king of North Leinster, which was at Naas, on the Liffey. There he was not satisfied with the rich presents given him, but he insisted on sharing the queen's love, and in leading captive to Ulster 150 of the chief ladies of Leinster, with 700 red-eared white cows. The poet and the Leinster men did not, we are told, bless one another when they parted; and no sooner had the former crossed the boundary into his own country, than the latter, released from the obligations of hospitality, pursued him and rescued their wives and daughters. They further forced him and the Ultonian army that arrived to protect him to fortify themselves on Howth Head, near Dublin, where they underwent a siege for some days. Finally, the Ulster braves sallied forth and routed the men of Leinster, and their king, overtaken on the banks of the Liffey, was beheaded by Conall Cernach.[2] But it would be useless to attempt to interpret this story bit by bit; suffice it to say that *Conall Cernach*, or C. the Victorious,

[1] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 114.

[2] *Bk. of Leinster*, 116*b*, 117*a*: compare *Rev. Celt.* iij. 182-5.

is to be regarded as a sun-hero, and the Leinster king's name was Mesgegra mac Datho, that he was the owner of a fabulous pig, and his brother Mesroida of a kind of Cerberus, which cannot be discussed at this point. There is nothing historical about them, and if one wash out the colouring given to the story by the Leinster story-tellers, we have the outlines left us of a picture which was originally that of the conflicts of the Culture Hero and his friends with the powers of darkness; but it must be confessed it can only be recognized in the light reflected on it by the cognate pictures of Gwydion and Woden. It may seem strange that not only Connaught and the west should be made to stand for Hades, but also Leinster. This latter appears, however, to have been so treated in other stories, as may be seen from the relations between the Ultonian court at Emain Macha and the Leinster court at Naas on the Liffey; as, for example, in the story of Conchobar and Medb, in which Naas is made the head-quarters of Ailill, whose wife Medb became after deserting Conchobar, her former husband. Ailill is, so to say, divided between Connaught and Leinster after his marriage with Medb, who possessed Connaught as her inheritance from her mother.[1] It is from their capital in the west that Ailill and Medb set out on the Táin (p. 140); but the former's portion of the army on that occasion consisted of a force from Leinster called the *Gailióin*, whose superiority over the rest of the troops

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 53*b*; O'Curry, p. 282. Their capital in the west was Cruachan Ái, a place near Belanagare, in the county of Roscommon, where the remains of the earthen forts distinguishing the site go by the name of Rath Croghan: see the *Bk. of Rights*, O'Donovan's note, p. 20.

so excited his wife's jealousy that she wished to have them all massacred: instead of that she was, however, only allowed to have them dispersed among the other batallions.[1] The narrative permits it to be seen that the superiority of the Gailióin is merely an interpretation of the magic arts ascribed to them;[2] and this is in harmony with the fact that Irish legend makes the Gailióin a part of an early invasion of Erinn; to whose share Leinster fell, where they ranged themselves always against the Tuatha Dé Danann, or the race of the gods. Similarly, Leinster, no less than Connaught and the west, appears to represent Hades in the story of Aitherne.

This view of Aitherne's doings is not a little countenanced by a strange story told in the *Book of Leinster* about Aitherne's notorious churlishness. In that manuscript[3] it follows those of which an abstract has just been given, and it is so curious that I venture to give a literal translation of it as follows: "Aitherne the Importunate, son of Ferchertne, he is the most inhospitable man that dwelt in Erinn. He went to Mider of Bri Leith and took the cranes of denial and churlishness away from him surreptitiously; that is, with a view to refusal and churlishness, that no man of the men of Erinn should visit his house for hospitality or mendicancy. 'Do not come, not come,' says the first crane. 'Get away,' says her mate. '[Go] past the house, past the house,' says the third crane. Any man of the men of Erinn who should see them would not betake himself to

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[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 56*b*, 58*a*; see also O'Curry's remarks on them in his *Manners*, &c. ij. 259-61.

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, 57*a*.

[3] 117*a*, 117*b*.

his engagement to fight that day. He (Aitherne) never devoured his full meal in a place where one should see him. He proceeded, therefore, [one day] to take with him a cooked pig and a pot of mead, in order that he might eat his fill all alone. And he set in order before him the pig and the pot of mead, when he beheld a man coming towards him. 'Thou wouldst do [it] all alone,' said the stranger, whilst he took the pig and the pot away from him. 'What is thy name?' said Aitherne. 'Nothing very grand,' said he:

'*Sethor. ethor. othor. sele. dele. dreng gerce.*
mec gerlusce. ger ger. dír dír issed moainmse.'
Sethor, ethor, othor, sele, dele, dreng gerce,
Son of Gerlusce, sharp sharp, right right, that is my name.

Aitherne neither got the pig nor was he able to make rhymes to the satire. It is evident that it was one come from God to take away the pig; for Aitherne was not stingy from that hour forth."

From this little story one may gather, among other things, that Aitherne, unable to master on the spur of the moment metrical skill enough to manipulate the name of the angel in possession of the pig and the pot of mead, was powerless to curse him: it had to be done according to the rules of the poetic art, and the form of words was of course all-important. But let us come to the birds: Aitherne got them for the purposes of denial and stinginess, crimes treated in a version of the Vision of Adamnán as characteristic of a very bad class of men, who undergo punishment in Hell in the company of 'thieves and liars, and folk of treachery and blasphemy, and robbers, and raiders, and false-judging brehons, and folk of contention, and witches, and slanderers, men who mark themselves

to the devil, and readers who preach heresy.'[1] But what, you may ask, had the three cranes to do with denial and stinginess? Directly, perhaps, they had nothing to do with them; but it is suggested that they were stolen by Aitherne to keep people away from his house. They answered that purpose by reason of their association with Mider, who was one of the kings of the fairies and the other world, which nobody would willingly visit. In other words, they were birds of evil omen, and so much so that no warrior who chanced to see them would proceed on his way to battle that day in spite of his having bound himself to go. I should hesitate to extract any more meaning out of the story, especially as one does not read that Mider was reckoned notorious for his churlishness; and if it were asked why the crane should be associated with Mider, we should give the question rather the form, Why a triad of cranes? Even then I could not pretend to answer it; but one might, perhaps, venture to point out that they are not improbably of the same origin as the three cranes perched on the back of the bull on the Paris monument, to which attention was called in the first of these lectures (p. 86). In Welsh they would seem to be matched by the three living things stolen by Amaethon son of Dôn from Hades, a plover, a bitch and a roe, for which Gwydion and he fought with Arawn the king of that country, and beat him in one of the Three Frivolous Battles at the expense of 71,000 lives (p. 245). Here the Welsh story, with its three different kinds of creatures, is possibly less original than the Irish one, with its three cranes or herons; and,

[1] Stokes' *Fis Adamnáin* (Simla, 1870), pp. 14, 15; and Windisch, pp. 187-8; also s.v. *diultaim* (p. 485).

to be more exact, the Welsh version may have compressed into a triad the stories of several thefts from Hades, so that one would be left to compare the bird alone with the cranes of the Irish tale. One of the accounts of Arthur killing the infernal giant residing on Mont S. Michel (p. 91), represents three baleful birds turning his spits for the giant; but another makes them into three maidens forced to cook for him.[1] One is tempted to interpret the association of the three with the terrene powers as a reference to their supposed wisdom and knowledge extending over time in its three divisions of future, present and past; and the 'come,' 'go' and 'past' of the cranes' cries readily lend themselves to such an explanation. We might perhaps go so far as to bring the three maidens into comparison with the Norns or three weird sisters of Norse mythology, and even with other threes in our mythologies. Be that as it may, one may venture to hint that the story of Aitherne stealing Mider's cranes was the echo of a more ancient story with a far deeper meaning; one, in fact, which represented him procuring knowledge and wisdom from the powers of the nether world by stealth. But the Leinster euhemerist was bound, so to say, to construe everything relating to Aitherne *in pejorem partem.*

You might now be left to think the best of Aitherne in his reformed character; but one cannot dismiss him without giving the tale of his death. Irish story

[1] See Thornton's *Morte Arthure*, ed. by Perry for the E. Eng. Text Society (London, 1865), p. 31, line 1029: 'Thre balefulle birdez his brochez they turne;' and Wright's *Malory*, i. 176-7: 'Three damosels turning three broches whereon was broached twelve young children late borne, like young birds.'

represents Conchobar marrying several times (p. 139), and one of the ladies given to him as consort was called Derdriu, whose name Macpherson has made into Darthula. Her birth had been attended with prophecies that she would have a somewhat Helen-like history; so some of Conchobar's nobles advised that the ill-starred child should not be reared; but the king would have none of that advice, and he ordered rather that she should be brought up to be his own wife. So when she had grown up a young woman of unsurpassed beauty, the king took her to wife. But she fell in love with one of the sons of Usnech, and they, to avoid the wrath of Conchobar, took her out of his kingdom; but when they had been years in exile in different parts of Erinn, and lastly in Britain, they longed to return to their country, and Fergus mac Róig undertook on their behalf to conciliate the king, and he thought that he had succeeded (p. 137); but no sooner had the sons of Usnech reached Emain than they were cruelly murdered by Eogan mac Durthacht, which he did as the price of peace with Conchobar. Fergus himself left Ulster to go as an exile to Connaught, while Conchobar obtained possession of Derdriu for the second time, though he knew that she by that time hated him with all her heart. One day it entered his head to ask her whom she most hated to see. The answer was, 'Thee and Eogan mac Durthacht.' 'Good,' said the king, 'thou shalt be a year with Eogan.' Then he took her out in his chariot in order to hand her over to the latter; but on the way she put an end to herself in the most tragic manner.[1] Conchobar after that event was

[1] Windisch, pp. 81-2.

observed to be sad, and a search was accordingly made for a beautiful maiden to take the place of the unfortunate Derdriu. Such a one was found, and married by the king with due solemnity and state. Her name was Luain, and two sons of Aitherne, who, like their father, were poets, came to her to seek the rich presents it was usual to give to men of their profession; but on seeing her they fell in love with her, and as she would lend no ear to their passion, they, together with their father Aitherne, satirized her so virulently that her face became covered with blotches, as the result of their potent incantations. This drove her back distracted to her father's house, where she died of grief. The men of Ulster, at the instigation of the king, who was furious at what had been done by the poets, killed Aitherne with his whole family, and levelled his house with the ground. Such is the story of Aitherne's end;[1] and it comes very close to that of Gwydion and Goewyn (p. 305) in the Welsh Mabinogi of Mâth. Here Conchobar, though not portrayed so noble a character, takes the place of Mâth, and the former's young and beautiful wife that of Goewyn, Mâth's virgin foot-holder. But instead of Aitherne and his two sons, we have in the Welsh tale Gwydion and his brother Gilvaethwy, who had a passion for Goewyn, and was enabled by the scheming of Gwydion to execute his purpose. In the next place, Mâth marries the outraged Goewyn—Luain is married earlier in the Irish sequence—and he then proceeds to punish Gwydion and his brother, where one notices that the euhemerist has laid

[1] O'Curry's *Manners*, &c. iij. 373-4, where he bases his summary on the original in the *Bk. of Ballymote* and another Dublin manuscript which unfortunately I have not yet seen.

his hand more heavily on the Irish narrative than on the Welsh one. For, while Conchobar and his Ultonians annihilate Aitherne and his house, Mâth only punishes the two brothers by transforming them into beasts for three years, at the end of which he restores them to their previous form and position. Lastly, the two stories agree as to the motive or, more correctly speaking, the lack of adequate motive, attributed to Gwydion and Aitherne in their lawless conduct towards Goewyn and Luain respectively. In this particular, both stories, together with that of Cairbre with Finn's Luignian wife (p. 98), may justly be suspected of having undergone serious distortion or blurring: the original myth, I doubt not, supplied some such an intelligible motive as that attributed to Woden in his guileful treatment of Gundfled (p. 288) the mead-giant's daughter, or such a one as may be detected in the scandal whispered about Prometheus and Zeus's daughter Athene.

Pwyll and Others visiting Hades.

There remain to be noticed in this lecture certain tales which show a general similarity to that of Gwydion and those that are inseparable from it, namely, in that they turn mostly on the dealings, whether hostile or friendly, of their respective heroes with the powers of the other world. It is, however, to be premised, that owing to a blending, especially common on Irish ground, of the characteristics of the Culture Hero with those of the Sun Hero, and to another source of complication to be touched on later, some of the tales I refer to ought in strictness to find their places elsewhere in these lectures; but the arrangement about to be here followed has in its

favour the desirability of keeping them with those which they otherwise most closely resemble, and of facilitating reference to them later as occasion may arise. One may begin with the story of Pwyll Prince of Dyved, otherwise known as Pwyll Head of Hades, who has hitherto been treated exclusively in the latter capacity. He forms the subject of one of our Welsh stories,[1] but it is too long to be reproduced here word for word. The following extract will suffice for the present purpose. Pwyll set out one day from his court at Arberth, near the Teivi, to hunt in the valley of the Cûch, a tributary of the Teivi, which divides Pembrokeshire from Carmarthenshire. When the morning of the following day was still young, the horn was blown and the dogs were let loose under the wood which filled the Cûch valley, and Pwyll, following after them, soon found himself separated from his friends. Presently he heard a pack that was not his coming towards him, and just as his own dogs were reaching an open place in the forest, he beheld a stag before the strange pack, and they met him, and in passing threw him down. After he had got on his feet again and wondered for an instant at the colour of the hounds that had just gone past, he went after them, and came up with them just as they had killed the stag. He then proceeded to drive them away, and to lure his own dogs to the stag; but whilst he was thus engaged, the owner of the strange pack arrived on a big horse of a dismal grey colour: he had a huntsman's horn hanging from his neck, and he was clad in a hunting-dress of a kind of grey cloth. 'Ah, prince,' said he, 'I know who thou

[1] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 1—25; Guest, iij. 37—71.

art, and I will not salute thee.' 'In that case,' said Pwyll, 'perhaps thy dignity is such that thou shouldst not. 'By my faith,' said he, 'it is not the dignity of my rank that prevents me.' 'Ah, prince,' said Pwyll, 'what else?' 'By my faith,' said he, 'it is thy bad manners and ungentlemanly conduct.' 'What ungentlemanly conduct, prince,' said Pwyll, 'hast thou seen me guilty of?' 'I have never seen a man guilty of more ungentlemanly conduct than to drive away from the stag the dogs that had killed him, and to lure thy own dogs to him: that,' said he, 'I call ungentlemanly conduct; and though I avenge myself not on thee, by my faith I shall cause thee disgrace exceeding the value of a hundred stags.' 'Ah, prince,' said Pwyll, 'if I have done wrong I will purchase thy good-will.' 'In what way,' said he, 'wilt thou purchase it?' 'According to thy rank,' said Pwyll: 'I know not who thou art.' 'I am,' said he, 'a crowned king in the country from which I come.' 'Lord,' said Pwyll, 'good day to thee, and what country is it from which thou comest?' 'From Hades,' said he; 'I am Arawn king of Hades.' 'Lord,' said Pwyll, 'how can I obtain thy good-will?' 'This is how thou shalt,' said Arawn: 'one whose territory is over against mine is always making war on me, and that is Havgan, a king of Hades. In return for ridding me of that scourge, which thou canst easily do, shalt thou have my good-will.' 'That will I do gladly,' said Pwyll; 'and do thou tell me in what way I may succeed.' 'I will make a strong covenant,' said Arawn, 'with thee; and this is what I shall do: I shall set thee in my place in Hades, and give thee the most beautiful woman thou hast ever seen to sleep with thee every night. Thou shalt have

my form and shape, so that no valet, no officer, or anybody else who has ever been in my suite, should know that it is not I. That,' said he, 'is to last till this time to-morrow twelvemonth, when this spot is to be our meeting-place.' 'But,' said Pwyll, 'though I remain there a year, what certainty have I of engaging him thou speakest of?' 'This night twelvemonth,' said Arawn, 'I have an appointment to meet him in the ford; be thou there in my form, and from one blow thou shouldst give, he will not recover; and though he should ask thee to give him another blow, give it not, however much he may implore thee: no matter how many I should give him, he would be as well as ever the next morning.' After this arrangement between the two, Arawn showed Pwyll the way to his court in Hades, and then hastened in Pwyll's form to Arberth to rule over Dyved. Pwyll was successful in his doings: he gave Havgan his mortal wound, and annexed his kingdom to that of Arawn, whom he then hastened to meet in the glade in the valley of the Cûch. Pwyll returned to his kingdom to find that it had been governed better than usual that year. Arawn likewise was pleased with what Pwyll had done, and to find that not even the queen had discovered his absence, though she unintentionally let him know that she could not understand why he had slept every night during the year with his face turned away towards the outside of the bed. Arawn then told her all about his absence, and both wondered greatly at the exceeding fidelity[1] with which Pwyll had kept his cove-

[1] This is quaintly put in the original, but without the slightest impropriety of speech; and as the whole story turns on it, I cannot imitate Lady Charlotte Guest when she omits it *in toto* in her trans-

nant. In fact, this proved the means of stamping the friendship between Pwyll and Arawn with the seal of endurance; and afterwards, the one used to send the other presents of what he most thought would rejoice his friend's heart, such as horses, greyhounds and falcons; to which may be added from another tale that the same relation of friendliness continued between Arawn and Pwyll's son Pryderi, who got from Hades the swine that Gwydion coveted. Thus Pwyll and Pryderi were able to get by friendship from the powers below what Gwydion was only able to procure by craft and to retain by force of arms. But of the two ways of procuring boons from Hades, the one in Gwydion's story is probably the older, with this difference: Pwyll, whose name means sense, intelligence, deliberation, is in the one tale the counterpart of Gwydion in the other; so, likewise, is Pryderi that of Gwydion's son Llew. When, however, these heroes of parallel myths are brought into contact with one another, a complication arises, which the Mabinogi indicates in a sense when it states, that when Pwyll made it known that he had ruled Hades for a year and reduced the two kingdoms to one, his title of Pwyll Prince of Dyved came to be superseded by that of Pwyll Head of Hades. So when Pryderi meets Gwydion, we have to treat the former just as if he had always been one of the dark powers, and such is the rôle one has to assign him elsewhere; but it raises a question of considerable difficulty, which I cannot solve.

Let us now turn to some of the Irish stories that correspond in a manner to that of Pwyll's doings in Hades.

lation (Vol. iij. pp. 42 and 45), which makes the tale consequently unintelligible.

The first to claim our attention relates to Cúchulainn's relations with Labraid of the Swift Hand on the Sword, king of an Irish Hades or Elysium.[1] His wife's name is given as Liban, and she had a sister Fand, who had been deserted by her husband Manannán mac Lir. Fand fell in love with Cúchulainn on account of his fame, and she and her sister the queen tried to induce Cúchulainn to visit them in Labraid's Isle; but it was all in vain, until Labraid appealed to him to come on a certain day to his aid against his enemies, the chief of whom are called Senach the Demoniac, Echaid of Eol, and Eogan of Inber: at last Cúchulainn was induced to drive forth in his scythed chariot to the assistance of Labraid. Cúchulainn, when he arrived in Labraid's kingdom, would have made short work of the enemy, if Labraid himself had not intervened to put a stop to the slaughter, but for no more evident reason than that it was forbidden Pwyll to inflict more than one blow on Havgan. Just as Arawn promised Pwyll the handsomest woman he had ever seen as his consort, so the reward held out to Cúchulainn for descending to assist Labraid was the hand[2] of his sister-in-law Fand, who in consequence came away with Cúchulainn to Erinn. The next story to be mentioned relates also to Cúchulainn visiting Hades, but it differs from the foregoing in several important respects, besides introducing us to another set of names. It is to the effect[3] that

[1] The story is printed in Windisch's *Irische Texte*, pp. 205—227, from the *Bk. of the Dun*, pp. 43—50: for O'Curry's translation, see the *Atlantis* for 1858.

[2] Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, p. 209.

[3] It will be found, accompanied with a translation into German, in Stokes & Windisch's *Irische Texte* (Leipsic, 1884), pp. 173—209.

a prince of the Hy-Many in Connaught, having been triumphed over by Cúchulainn, left to the latter as a sort of a souvenir of himself a 'destiny' that he, Cúchulainn, should enjoy no rest or peace till he discovered what had taken the three Sons of Dóel Dermait out of their country. Cúchulainn could find no one at the court of Conchobar to answer this strange question, which made him utterly restless, and proved well-nigh fatal to the king of Alban's son. This prince was accidentally met by Cúchulainn as he was landing to proceed on business to the king of Ulster's court: a mistake made by him brought on him Cúchulainn's fury, but he craved for mercy, which he obtained with the question, whether he knew what had taken the Sons of Dóel Dermait out of their country. The prince replied that he could not tell, but that if Cúchulainn would step into his boat he would set it sailing towards a land where he should get the mystery cleared up. This was agreed to, and Cúchulainn took with him two friends, Lugaid and Loeg, while he gave the king of Alban's son his little spear, with an ogam on it which he cut for him at the time: he was to take it with him and to seat himself in Cúchulainn's seat at the court of Ulster, and we hear no more about him. The boat brought Cúchulainn to the neighbourhood of Hades, to a very beautiful island surrounded by a wall of silver and a palisade of bronze. Here Cúchulainn was heartily welcomed on account of his friends Lugaid and Loeg. In answer to his question about the Sons of Dóel Dermait, he was told he should presently find it all out, as he would be directed to the next island, which was inhabited by the daughter of Dóel Dermait and her husband: the name of the former was Aḟtlann, and of

the latter Condla Coel Corrbacc. When they reached this second island, they found Condla lying across it from east to west, and sending a mighty wave over the face of the deep every time he breathed. Achtlann accompanied Cúchulainn and his friends to a third island, where they were to find the Sons of Dóel Dermait. This at last was Hades, and it seems to have been ruled by two giants, called respectively Coirpre Cundail, brother to the Children of Dóel Dermait's father, and Echaid Glas or the Grey: these two were always at war with one another, like Arawn and Havgan in the Mabinogi of Pwyll. On his way to Coirpre's court, Cúchulainn was so irritated by the impertinence of one of his drudges that it drove him to commit an act of violence; and the news of it made Coirpre challenge Cúchulainn to fight, which they did the rest of the day. At last the giant was compelled to surrender, and he hospitably entertained Cúchulainn that night, lending him his daughter and relating the history of the Children of Dóel Dermait. On the morrow Coirpre was challenged to do battle with Echaid Glas, his hostile neighbour; so he and Cúchulainn proceeded to a place of torture called the Glenn, and it was not long ere Cúchulainn engaged Echaid. It was so difficult, however, to reach his person that Cúchulainn had to perch himself on the brim of his shield, whence Echaid repeatedly blew him off into the sea. At last Cúchulainn bethought him of an expedient whereby he was wounded from above and instantly killed. No sooner had this been done than the three Sons of Dóel Dermait, and the other wretched creatures kept in bondage by Echaid Glas, flocked together to bathe in his blood, whereupon they were healed of all their ailments and

enabled to return to their own land. In passing, it may be suggested that the Sons of Dóel Dermait, which means the Beetle of Forgetfulness,[1] were personifications of the divisions of the day, as will be seen from comparison with Welsh stories to be mentioned by and by, containing clear references to the twenty-four hours personified; and it is worth while to recall here the fact mentioned in another lecture, that the 'twenty-four,' as we term them, were divided by the Irish into day and night, and the former subdivided by Conchobar into three parts: these may be considered the three Sons of Dóel Dermait whom Cúchulainn fetches, while there was no question of doing so with their sister: she stands for the night. But to pursue Cúchulainn's story further: he was loaded with treasure, given him when he left, by Coirpre Cundail, who was now, like Arawn, rid of his rival; and when he reached the king of Ulster's court he found his rations of ale and food duly served as usual. I mention this, as it touches on a part of the story which had been blurred and forgotten, namely that relating to the owner of the boat used by Cúchulainn. He is represented as the son of the king of Alban or Albion; but we have found Alban in the story of Cairbre Musc and the dog, where the Welsh myth would lead one to expect Hades, and not Britain (p. 246); and if one assume the same substitution to have been made here, the boat that took Cúchulainn to his destination and brought him back would stand comparison with the little ship of bronze[2]

[1] The name may be compared with the Norse *óminnis hegri*, or the Heron of Forgetfulness, said to hover over banquets and to steal away the minds of men: see Vigfusson and Powell's *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 23.

[2] Windisch, *Irische Texte*, p. 210.

that ferried passengers across to Labraid's Isle. Further, the allusion to Cúchulainn's finding his rations served as usual at the court, seems to mean that his seat had been occupied during the days of his absence in quest of the Sons of Dóel Dermait; and the story of Pwyll suggests the explanation that it had been all the while filled by the son of the king of Alban as Cúchulainn's substitute, bearing the personal semblance of Cúchulainn so completely that the absence of the real Cúchulainn was not discovered by his comrades: this was probably the virtue of the ogam which Cúchulainn wrote on the little spear the prince was to carry with him to Conchobar's court at Emain. That the tale was at one time more explicit with regard to Cúchulainn's substitute, is rendered certain by the terms in which he ordered the prince from Alban to go to the court: they are to the effect that he was to go and occupy Cúchulainn's seat at Emain Macha till he returned.[1] Finally, as to the geography of Cúchulainn's voyage, the two first islands he reaches are not exactly Hades, but they are near it, especially the one occupied by C. C. Corrbacc and Achtlann his wife; for not only does this latter name betray itself by its likeness to Taliessin's Ochren and the Achren[2] with which the latter has

[1] Windisch gives them thus: *Erich co ro bi im shuidhi-se ind Emain Macha corris*, and translates, *Mach dich auf, bis dass es an meinem Sitze in Emain Macha ist, dass du ankommst* (pp. 178, 196). But I take them literally to mean, 'Arise, so that thou be in my seat at Emain Macha until I come.'

[2] This would require us to correct the spelling *Achtlann* to *Acclann;* possibly, however, the Irish name is to be treated as correct and as the equivalent of what appears in the story of Kulhwch and Olwen as *Aethlem* (for *Aethlen*?), said to have followed Twrch Trwyth into the sea to be never heard of afterwards: see the *R. B. Mab.* pp. 125, 141.

already been compared (p. 248), but Corrbacc is unmistakably to be identified with Welsh *Kyrvach*, the sons of Gwawrdur Kyrvach from the confines of Hell[1] being among the strange personages enumerated in the story of Kulhwch and Olwen.

All the visits of Cúchulainn to Hades were not of the same description as the one just mentioned. In the one previously detailed he proceeded more like Gwydion than Pwyll, and obtained the king's cauldron from the hand of the king's daughter. The same poem (p. 261) from which that was taken also relates how he invaded and conquered Lochlann, laying it under a heavy tribute of gold and silver. But all these tales agree in making the visitor to Hades obtain, whether by force or friendship, somewhat of the property of the powers of that country. There are, however, other tales which differ in their treatment of this matter, especially a Welsh one which makes the invader of Hades kill its king and marry his widow. I allude to the story of Owein son of Urien. This I must now introduce, in order partly to be able to refer to it later, and partly to compare it with the story of Diarmait's expedition to Tir fa Tonn, or the Land beneath the Billow, and also to show how it agrees in some respects with the story of Cúchulainn's quest of Dóel Dermait's three Sons. The following is an abstract of it:[2]

Kei son of Kynyr, Owein son of Urien, Kynon son of Klydno, and others of the knights of Arthur's court, were sitting together at Carleon, when it became Kynon's turn to entertain his comrades with a story. So he related

[1] *R. B. Mab.* p. 106; Guest, ij. 259.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 162-92; for Lady Charlotte Guest's translation, see her *Mab.* i. 39—84.

one about himself, showing how he, when young and curious, came across a fine valley with a stately castle in it, where he was hospitably received. When he had been refreshed with food and drink, his host made the usual inquiries; and he was told by Kynon that he was a knight travelling in quest of adventure, whereupon his host said he could tell him where he might find more than enough, but that he should be sorry to be the means of bringing him into trouble. This only made Kynon more curious and restless. At last his host was prevailed upon to give him proper directions how to find the place he had in view, which he did by telling him to go into the forest he had come through the previous day, and to proceed until he found a branch road on his right. "Follow that road," said he, "until thou comest to a large open field with a mound on it with a big black man, no smaller than two of the men of this world, sitting on the top of the mound. He has but one foot, and only one eye in the centre of his forehead; and he has an iron staff which, as thou wilt perceive, there is no couple of men in the world who would not find it a load. He is not unkind, though he is ugly; he is the keeper of that forest, and thou wilt see a thousand wild beasts grazing around him. Ask him the way thence .... and he will point out to thee the road to take so as to find what thou art in quest of." Early on the morrow Kynon set out on his journey, and he found the Black Man just as his host had told him, except that he seemed to be far bigger, and that the wild animals around him appeared to be three times as many as he had been told: he guessed also that the iron rod would be a load for four warriors, and not two as he had been given to understand.

Kynon asked the Black Fellow what his power over the animals might be. "I will show it thee, little man," said he; while he took the iron staff in his hand and struck a great blow with it at a stag, so that he gave a loud bell. At that bell there flocked together so many animals that they were as numerous as the stars in the sky, and that it was hard for Kynon to find room to stand on the plain with them, including as they did among them serpents and vipers and various kinds of beasts. The Black Man looked at them and told them to go to graze: they lowered their heads and made obeisance to him, like men doing homage to their liege lord. Then the Black Fellow said to Kynon, "Seest thou, little man, the power I have over the animals?" Then Kynon asked him the way, and was treated rudely by him; nevertheless, he inquired about his business, and when he had been answered he said to him, "Take the road at the end, and proceed uphill until thou reachest the top; from there thou wilt behold a strath resembling a large valley, and in the middle of the strath thou wilt see a large tree whose foliage is greener than the greenest fir-tree. Beneath that tree there is a fountain; close to the fountain there is a marble slab; and on the marble there is a silver tankard fastened by a silver chain, so that they cannot be separated. Take the tankard and throw its full of the water over the slab. Then thou wilt hear a great thunder, and it will seem to thee to make earth and sky tremble. After the thunder will come a cold shower, and with difficulty wilt thou live through the shower; it will be one of hail, and afterwards the weather will be fair again; but thou wilt not find a single leaf left on the tree by the shower. Then a flight of birds will come and light on the tree:

thou hast never heard in thy country such good music as they will make; but when the music is most entertaining, thou wilt hear a sighing and a wailing coming along the valley towards thee. Thereupon thou wilt behold on a jet-black charger a knight clad in jet-black satin, with a flag of jet-black silk on his spear, making for thee as fast as he can. In case thou fleest, he will overtake thee; and in case thou awaitest him, he will leave thee a pedestrian instead of a rider. Shouldst thou not find trouble there, thou needest not seek any as long as thou livest?" The story goes on to relate how all happened to Kynon just as the Black Woodward had told him, and how the knight overthrew him and took away his horse: he had to trudge back on foot as best he could past the Black Woodward, whose mockery made him all but melt with shame; and when he finished the story at Arthur's court, Kynon was willing to admit that no man ever confessed to a more shameful adventure; but it stirred up Owein son of Urien to seek the place, and to try a duel with the Black Knight of the Fountain. So it was not long ere he stole away from Arthur's court, and took the path described by Kynon: in due time he reached the fountain, and the Black Knight came forth in his anger and fought with Owein; but ere long he perceived that he had received a mortal wound from Owein, and he turned and fled towards his castle. Owein pursued so closely, that, while the owner was admitted, he found himself caught between two heavy doors, one of which was let down behind him, so that it cut his horse in two close to his spurs. While in this evil plight, he saw through a crevice an auburn-haired, curly-headed maiden, with a diadem of gold on

her head, coming towards the gate: she asked him to open it, which he said he should be only to glad to do if he could. The lady was a dear friend of the Black Knight's wife, and her name was Elunet, shortened always in this tale to Lunet, Tennyson's Lynette in his Idylls of the King. We are not told how she knew Owein, but in the conversation which ensued she expressed the highest opinion of his gallantry, and gave him a sort of Gyges' ring to make him invisible, and to enable him to get free when the Black Knight's men should come to fetch him for execution. He used it as he was directed, and Lunet kept him in concealment until the Black Knight had expired and his funeral was over. Now the holding of the Black Knight's dominions depended on successfully holding the Fountain, and no one could do that but one of Arthur's knights; so Lunet pretended to go to Arthur's court and in due time to return with one of them. The widow at once detected that neither Lunet nor Owein had travelled far that day, and she elicited the confession from her friend that Owein was the man who had killed the Black Knight of the Fountain. It was then urged that Owein was of all men the most fitted to hold the Fountain, and *nolens volens* she had to give him her hand. He stayed there with her three years. By that time, Arthur's longing for Owein had grown so grievous that he and his knights set out in quest of Owein. Suspecting that it was Kynon's story that had led him to leave the court, they came to the Fountain; and in time they found Owein out, and were feasted by him for three months at his castle. Then Arthur departed, and sent to ask the Lady of the Fountain, Owein's wife, if she would permit him

to take Owein with him in order to show him for three months to the nobles of Britain. Much against her will, she gave her permission; but Owein, finding himself once more among his fellows, forgot his wife, and remained there, not three months, but three years, until, in fact, a strange maiden, on a horse caparisoned with gold, rode one day into the hall of Arthur's court. She went right up to Owein and took away the ring that was on his hand, saying, 'Thus is done to a deceiver, a false traitor, for a disgrace to thy beard.' She then rode away, and his former adventure came back to Owein's mind. This made him sad, and he left the society of men to live with wild beasts; but it would take me too long to relate how he was restored to his former life, how he rescued a lion from a serpent, and how the former followed him ever after as his faithful ally. At last Lunet brought Owein back to his wife, the Lady of the Fountain; and when he came away he brought her with him to Arthur's court, and she was his wife as long as she lived. So ends the tale; but it recommences by telling us how Owein one day went to the castle of a robber knight called the *Du Traws*, or the Perverse Black One. The owner was at the time not in his castle; and Owein found there twenty-four of the finest women one had ever seen, but they were in rags and extreme wretchedness. They had come there, they said, each with her husband, and at first they were hospitably and kindly treated, but later they were made drunk and stripped of their clothing, of their gold, and of their silver; while their husbands were murdered and their horses taken away. They pointed out to him where the corpses of their husbands and many others were heaped together; and

they lamented his coming among them, as they had no doubt about his fate. Owein then went out and fell in with the Perverse Black Fellow himself; they fought, and Owein bound the robber with his hands behind him. The latter said that it was prophesied that Owein was to overcome him, and he asked for mercy, which was granted by Owein on condition that his castle was in future to be a hospice. But Owein took away with him to Arthur's court the twenty-four ladies, with their horses, their apparel, and all the treasure they had when they were robbed.

With regard to this episode, it is a matter of considerable doubt where it should stand in the story: as the lion has no part in it,[1] one should possibly regard it as connected with Owein's first stay with his wife in the Earldom of the Fountain, and not with his second visit to the same. But in any case the doubt seems to attach exclusively to the sequence of the story, while the description of the castle of the Perverse Black Fellow and Owein's triumph over him, together with the release of the twenty-four matrons, has the air of being genuinely ancient. For the Perverse Black Robber, whose castle may be inferred to have been not very far from the dominions of the Lady of the Fountain, corresponds in this tale to the giants against whom Labraid of the Swift Hand on the Sword was aided by Cúchulainn; but, above all, he forms the counterpart of Echaid Glas, whom Cúchulainn is made to kill in order to release the three Sons

[1] This is in contradiction to the sentences which introduce the Perverse Black One; but they form a clumsy anticipation of the account of Owein's contest with him, and they are practically contradicted by it: I refer to p. 191, and to Lady Charlotte's translation, i. 82.

of Dóel Dermait. The latter probably represent, as already suggested, the tripartite day of the ancient Goidels; in Welsh they are three brothers slain every day by the *Avanc* of the Lake,[1] and brought to life again during the night; while we recognize them in a later form in the imprisoned ladies released by Owein, whose number, twenty-four, can hardly be mistaken as relating to the hours of the day, viewed as always passing away into the world of oblivion and darkness. If one were to press the story of Pwyll and Arawn as a parallel throughout, one would have to set the Perverse Black Robber over against Havgan or Summer-white, which forms a difficulty. There is also another difference, namely, that Pwyll wins his title of Head of Hades in a friendly way, while Owein gets possession of the Black Knight of the Fountain's dominions by killing him and marrying his widow. The Black Knight was probably no other than Arawn; for we detect a reference to this transaction in the pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth, when he represents Arawn succeeded by Owein in the kingship of Alban or Scotland:[2] it is needless here to dwell on the ancient idea which made of the northern part of this island a sort of Hades and abode of the departed.

The meaning to be attached to Owein's releasing the twenty-four ladies, and Cúchulainn's bringing back to their country the three Sons of Dóel Dermait, together with the liberation and healing of a swarm of other captives at his coming to the dominions of Echaid Glas, has just been suggested. The same kind of liberation

[1] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 223-6; Guest, i. 342-6.

[2] xi. 1, where Arawn is called Auguselus; see also *Myv. Arch.* ij. 354.

of captives[1] will be found to figure also in the Arthurian romances in various forms, as, for example, in the account of Arthur's intervention between Gwyn and Gwythur; and it forms a feature of the story which begins with Diarmait's visit to the Land beneath the Billow, and which was brought under your notice in the first lecture (p. 187). That narrative ends with an account of both Finn (as Culture Hero) and Dermait (as Sun Hero) sailing towards the west to recover their friends that had been carried away by a fairy giant on the sharp-ridged back of his monster steed. The realms of Faery and the other world generally had a variety of names in Irish legend; but the isle in which Finn and Diarmait found their friends, is called the Land of Promise; and another of the names belonging to the same mythic geography was that of Lochlann, which, like the Welsh Llychlyn, before it came to mean the home of the Norsemen, denoted a mysterious country in the lochs or the sea. I mention this, because I wish to close this group of tales with another about Diarmait: it relates how he attacked a giant who was the guardian of the berries of a certain divine rowan or quicken-tree which grew in the midst of a wood, wherein no one durst hunt, called Dubhros, or Black Forest, in the country of the Hy Fiachrach, in the present county of Sligo; but though the scene is laid this time within Erinn itself, the giant was of Lochlann, and his name was Searbhan, which may be interpreted to mean the Bitter or Sour One. The story is to

[1] I hope to return to this in my treatment of the Arthurian Legend: for the present it will suffice to refer to M. Gaston Paris' allusion to the captives, in the *Romania*, xij. 476-7, 479.

the following effect:[1] Once on a time the Tuatha Dé Danann played a game of hurley against the Féni on the plain near the Lake of Lein of the Crooked Teeth, that is to say, the Lakes of Killarney. The game was continued three days and three nights without either side succeeding in winning a single goal from the other; and when the Tuatha Dé Danann saw that they could not prevail, they went away and journeyed northwards in a body. Their food during the contest and during their journey afterwards consisted of crimson nuts, arbutus apples and scarlet quicken-berries, which they had brought from the Land of Promise. These fruits were gifted with many secret virtues, and their owners were careful that neither apple nor nut should touch the soil of Erinn; but in passing through Dubhros they dropped a quicken-berry without observing it. From the berry there grew up a tree which had the virtues of the quicken-tree growing in fairy-land, for all the berries on it had many virtues: every one of them had in it the exhilaration of wine and the satisfying of old mead; and whoever should eat three of them, would, though he had completed his hundredth year, return to the age of thirty.

When the Tuatha Dé Danann heard of that tree in Dubhros and of its many virtues, they wished nobody but themselves to eat of the fruit; so they sent Searbhan of Lochlann to guard it, that no man might approach the tree. Searbhan was a giant of the race of the wicked Cain; he was burly and strong, with heavy bones, a large thick nose, crooked teeth, and a single broad fiery

[1] *Pursuit of Diarmuid*, &c. ij. §§ 11, 13—18: I have freely used in this abstract Dr. Joyce's wording in his *Old Celt. Rom.* pp. 313—322.

eye in the middle of his black forehead. He was armed with a great club, tied by a chain to an iron girdle round his body, and he was such a magician that he could not be killed by fire, by water, or by weapons of war: there was only one way of overcoming him, and that was by giving him three blows of his own club. By day he watched at the foot of the tree, and at night he slept in a hut he had made him aloft in its branches. He did not allow the Féni to hunt in the neighbourhood, so that it was a wilderness for many miles around the tree. Therefore Diarmait, when pursued by Finn, took refuge there; this he did with the giant's surly permission, provided only he did not eat of the berries of the quicken-tree. But Grainne, Diarmait's wife, hearing of the berries, was seized with a longing desire for them; knowing the danger, she concealed her desire as long as she could, until, in fact, she thought she must die unless she got some of the forbidden fruit. So Diarmait, fearing danger to her, went, much against his inclination, to ask for some of the berries. The giant's reply was a brutal negative. "I swear," quoth he, "were it [even] that thou shouldst have no children but that birth [now] in her womb, and were there but Grainne of the race of Cormac the son of Art, and were I sure that she should perish in bearing that child, that she should never taste one berry of those berries."[1] Diarmait replied, that, as he did not wish to deal treacherously by him, the giant must understand that he had no intention of going his way without them; a duel then began, which soon ended in Diarmait's killing the

[1] This is from the *Pursuit of Diarmuid*, &c., as translated by the Irish scholar, Mr. Standish H. O'Grady, ij. § 15.

giant with his own club, and taking a quantity of the forbidden berries to his wife and to certain others who had asked for some. Such is the story of the berries, in which the brief allusion to the crimson nuts forming part of the food of the Tuatha Dé Danann, seems to refer to the same mysterious fruit that used to fall from the nine hazels into the secret well and to be devoured by the Salmon of Knowledge, to be mentioned in a later lecture.

At this point we are not so much interested in the crimson nuts as in the scarlet berries of the fairy rowan: both kinds of fruit formed part of the sustenance of the gods, according to Goidelic notions; and the description which has been quoted of the berries makes them a sort of Celtic counterpart to the soma-plant of Hindu mythology. I said 'Celtic,' but it would perhaps be more accurate to say 'Celtic and Teutonic;' for not only the Celts, but some also of the Teutons, have been in the habit of attaching great importance to the rowan or roan tree, and regarding it as a preservative against the malignant influence of witches and all things uncanny. The English name[1] appears to be of Scandinavian origin, the Old Norse being *reynir*, Danish *rönne*, Swedish *rönn;* and the old Norsemen treated the tree as holy and sacred to Thor, to whom it was fabled to have been of great service when he clutched its branches once on a time in

[1] The rowan is also called mountain-ash, though it is no kind of ash; and as to its other name, there is a lack of evidence that the quicken or quick-beam of old English meant the rowan. The Welsh for rowan is in books *cerddin*, singular *cerddinen;* but the pronunciation familiar to me is *cerdin*, *cerdinen*, and even *cerdingen;* and the berries are called in Welsh *criafol*. The Irish name of the tree is *cuerthann*, which corresponds in its consonants to *cerdin*, not to *cerddin;* but the etymology of these words offers more than one difficulty.

crossing a stream. Moreover, the Swede of modern times believes the rowan a safeguard against witchcraft, and likes to have on board his ship something or other made of its wood, to protect him against tempests and the demons of the water world.[1] All this only renders more conspicuous the question of the origin of the importance and sacredness of the rowan: I mention it in the hope that somebody else may answer it, for I do not pretend to be able to do so, or to regard the Eddic explanation, to which allusion has been made, as giving us the real key. Possibly the inaccessible rocks on which the tree is not unfrequently found to grow, and the conspicuous colour of its berries, may have counted for something; but that something falls decidedly short of a solution of the question. One kind of answer that would meet the case, provided it be countenanced by facts, may be briefly indicated, namely, that the berries of the rowan were used in some early period in the brewing of an intoxicating drink, or, better still, of the first intoxicating drink ever known to the Teuto-Celtic Aryans. Such a use would render the belief intelligible, that they formed part of the sustenance of the gods, and that the latter kept them jealously for themselves until they were baffled in their purpose by some benefactor of man who placed them within the reach of his race. It is needless to repeat here the somewhat parallel conjectures (p. 296), that the many virtues ascribed to the soma in Hindu religion, and the Norse account of the acquisition for man of the gift of poetry by Woden, agree in postulating as their ultimate explanation some kind of food or drink

[1] See Grimm's *Deutsche Myth.*[4] ij. 1016; and Vigfusson's *Icelandic-Eng. Dic.* s. v. *reynir.*

calculated to intoxicate and exhilarate those who partook of it.

The Culture Hero and the Nine-night Week.

As allusion has more than once been made to an ancient reckoning of nine nights to a week, a word must now be said in explanation of that term. The Celts reckoned Dis the father of all, and regarded darkness and death as taking precedence over light and life; so in their computation of time they began with night and winter,[1] and not with daylight and summer. The Teutons reckoned similarly, and probably for the same mythological reason.[2] In ancient Italy we have a trace of the same idea in the Roman habit of considering the calends of every month sacred to Janus, one of the undoubted counterparts of the Celtic Dis; and especially was this the case with the winter month called after Janus, of which the calends and the ninth day, that is to say, the first day of the two first nine-night weeks of January, were sacred to that god. Further, we know that the Celts must have formerly reckoned not only the night with which the week or any period began, but also the night with which it ended. Witness such Celtic terms as the Welsh word *wythnos*, 'a week,' which literally means 'an eight-

[1] This is probably the key to reckoning years as winters, of which we have instances in Med. Welsh literature, as when Kulhwch's horse is described as 'four winters' old (*R. B. Mab.* p. 102). The habit appears to have been also English and Gothic, not to mention that it is Icelandic to this day.

[2] The words of Tacitus, in his *Germania*, chapter xi., are worth quoting: *Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant, sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere diem uidetur.*

night,' where an Englishman might use 'sennight;' similarly, a fortnight is in Welsh *pythewnos*, 'a fifteen-night,' and the Irish *cóicthiges* (genitive *cóicthigisi*), of the same meaning, is also derived from the name of the fifteenth numeral in its Irish form: compare the French *huitaine* and *quinzaine* respectively.[1] This way of counting, then, was the same as that usual in music, where a third is said to consist of two tones, or whatever the description of the intervals in any given case may happen to be; so a nine-night week would contain only eight days or eight portions of daylight, and that was, I believe, the ancient week of the Aryans, at least of the Aryans of Western Europe. In Italy we have traces of it in the Roman *nundinæ* or markets held every ninth day: the word is supposed to represent an older and longer form, *novendinæ*, from the ninth numeral; and it happens that *nundinæ*, in a manuscript of the eighth or ninth century,

[1] A curious instance of this way of reckoning occurs in the Isle of Man, where the oath administered to the deemster since the revestment in 1765, makes the six days of creation in the book of Genesis into six days and seven nights. It runs thus: 'By this book, and by the holy contents thereof, and by the wonderful works that God hath miraculously wrought in heaven above and in the earth beneath in six days and seven nights, I, A B, do swear that I will, without respect of favour or friendship, love or gain, consanguinity or affinity, envy or malice, execute the laws of this isle justly, betwixt our sovereign lady the Queen and her subjects within this isle, and betwixt party and party, as indifferently as the herring backbone doth lie in the midst of the fish.' So stands the oath in Harrison's *Records of the Tynwald*, &c. (Douglas, 1871), p. 37; but it has been the practice of late years to make 'the six days and seven nights' into 'six days and nights;' and I have heard it characterized as an unwarranted innovation. This curious oath otherwise reminds one of old Irish oaths, with their invocation of the sun, the moon, the earth and the elements.

is explained by means of the Brythonic word *nouitiou*,[1] which would, in modern Welsh, be *newidiau*, the plural of *newid*, 'change, exchange, barter.' This last is in its turn derived, like the Latin term just mentioned, from the ninth numeral, which is written in modern Breton and Welsh *naô* and *naw* respectively. It would thus seem that we have traces here of markets or fairs on the ninth day as an institution common to the Celts and the Italians of antiquity.

It might, however, be objected that the Brythons had merely adopted it from the Romans; but, over and above this, there is Irish evidence to which the objection will not apply, for the Irish term etymologically equivalent to *nundinæ* occurs in the form *noinden* or *noenden*,[2] explained to have meant an assembly,[3] and a compound *ard-noenden*, 'a great—literally 'a high'—assembly,' with which compare the term 'high festival' in English. Whether the assemblies to which this term would apply recurred regularly, and what the interval might be, I know not; but we have practically irrefragable evidence that the simple term *noinden* meant just half the duration of the nine-

[1] It occurs in the Bodley MS. *Auct. F.* iv. 32, fol 7 *b*, among the *Glosses on Eutychius*, which are now reckoned old Breton rather than old Welsh: see Stokes' edition of them in the *Trans. of the* (*London*) *Phil. Society* for 1860-1, p. 233; also the *Gram. Celtica*[2], p. 1054.

[2] See O'Davoren's Glossary in Stokes' *Three Irish Glossaries* (London, 1862), p. 108; also the *Berichte der K. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (*Phil.-Hist. Classe*), 1884, p. 336, where Windisch has rendered Celtic scholars the service of publishing (with a translation) two versions of the story accounting for the Ultonian *couvade*.

[3] Such is the meaning in a line in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 81 *b*, where *in nóindin* seems to mean the *óenach* or fair at which the men of Ulster used to meet.

night week, that is to say, five nights and four days, which is given as the length of the Ultonian *couvade*.[1] This was called *cess noinden Ulad*, which, if we call *noinden* a week, would mean '(the) Ulster men's sickness or indisposition of a week,' or, as one would put it in English, 'the Ulster men's week of sickness;' and it was more briefly termed either *cess noinden*, '(the) sickness of (the) week,' that is to say, '(the) week's sickness,' or *noinden Ulad*, 'the Ultonians' week'—a term, however, which did not necessarily refer to the *couvade*.[2] It is not clear to me what the original meaning of the word *noinden* was, whether a heterogeneous nine consisting of five nights and four days, or a uniform reckoning, say one of nine nights. In the latter case, one might be tempted to regard the word as the Latin *nundinæ* borrowed;[3] but in any case the Irish could not be said to have borrowed anything beyond the word, inasmuch as the reckoning by nines was clearly more in vogue in Ireland than in Italy as represented in the classics. In fact, the favourite expression for a small number of days in Irish

[1] Windisch, *ibid.* pp. 342, 344, 347, 339, where it is stated that the *noinden* lasted either five days and four nights, or four days and five nights. The narrator of the first version (*Bk. of Leinster*, 125 *b*) was in doubt; and that of the other (British Museum MS. *Harl.* 5280) omitted altogether the right reckoning, namely, four days and five nights. The old account was doubtless five nights and four days; but the later scribes, failing to see why the nights should be mentioned first, may readily be supposed to have introduced the alternative explanation.

[2] *Noinden Ulad* is applied, for instance, to the raiding into the other provinces, which was arranged at a feast given to Conchobar and his braves by one of their number called Bricriu: see Stokes and Windisch's *Irische Texte*, pp. 174, 188.

[3] Windisch, *ibid.* p. 336, is inclined to this view.

literature is exactly the length of the nine-night week, the term used being *nómad*, genitive feminine *nómaide*, '(the) ninth (night),' as in *co cend nomaide*, 'till the end of (a) ninth,' that is to say, to the end of the nine-night week. This is continued in Welsh with the incorrect substitution of day for night, for the favourite Welsh period is *naw diwrnod*, or nine days; as in fact it is in certain cases in English likewise, as when one speaks of 'the nine days' wonder.' From this point of view, the Germans are more correct with the space of *acht tage*, or eight days, to which they colloquially give a decided preference.

What, it may be asked in passing, should have led anybody to fix on a week of nine nights and eight days as a unit of time? It would be useless to demand an answer from the moon, and one should rather look at the fingers on one's hands: the half of a nine-night week would be the Irish *noinden* of five nights and four days; that is to say, a hand of nights, if you reckon the nights alone, as the ancient Celts must have done; and just as a third in music added to another third yields not a sixth but a fifth, so two hands of nights reduced to one sum make not ten nights but nine. But why the two hands should have been preferred as a unit to the single hand, I cannot say, though it may be guessed that the latter was too short a reckoning to be as useful as the longer one. The nine-night reckoning of eight days to the week could not, of course, be made in any way to coincide with the months as measured by the moon; but that cannot be urged as an objection. In fact, the more hopeless the discrepancy appeared, the more room it gave for the interference of the professional man, one of the

strongholds of whose influence was doubtless the ancient calendar. Thus we find among the Taliessin-like boasts of Amorgin, the seer and poet of the Milesian invaders of Erinn, the challenge who but he could tell them the age of the moon.[1] But to return to the practice of counting on the fingers, we have evidence of it elsewhere among the Aryans, and I need, for instance, only remind you of the Greek word πεμπάζω, 'I count, reckon or cast up,' or, still better, of an old Norse word connoting the application of finger-counting to time: I allude to *fimt*, a legal term derived from the fifth numeral, which was in old Norse *fimm*. The former meant a summoning to a court of law with five days' notice, all Norse notices of the kind being given for either five days or some small multiple of five days. At first this would seem as if five days had been an incorrect translation of an older habit of giving notices of five nights, that is to say of four days, which would yield a welcome equivalent to the Irish *noinden;* but that can hardly be, for the Norsemen gave five days' notice, exclusive of the day of serving the summons, so that in Christian times no summons would be served on a Tuesday, as no court sat on Sundays.[2] Thus the shortest notice intended by the law would, in term of nights, be either six or seven, and not five. There is, however, no lack of allusions in Norse mythology to the nine-night week. Among the most remarkable, Heimdal's nine maiden-mothers have been mentioned as symbolic of time under its weekly aspects (p. 85), and Woden's gold ring Draupnir, regarded as

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 12 *b*.

[2] For this and further details relating to the *fimt*, see Vigfusson's *Dictionary* under that word.

matched in the Irish legend of Aitherne by Maine's gold brooch. But that is not all; for Draupnir was said to drop eight rings like itself every ninth night, and this, interpreted in reference to the nine-night week, means that the ninth night was regarded as containing the other eight: it was the limit and boundary, so to say, of that space of time.

This idea is reflected in a remarkable way in Irish mythology, as will be seen from the following details. When Christian missionaries made the Irish familiar with the Eastern week of seven days, they taught them its Latin name *septimana;* and this word, treated by the Irish in their own way, became *sechtmain*, genitive *sechtmaine*—a word seemingly beginning with *secht*, the Irish for *septem* or seven, and suggesting, therefore, the question, 'seven of what?' The answer was *Secht Maini*, seven persons bearing the name *Maine* or *Mane*.[1] How they came to acquire the personal form will appear presently; but what the Maini were pictured to be in Irish mythology, we learn from the fact that the single one in the story of Aitherne is termed son of Durthacht,

[1] For the first idea of this treatment I am indebted to Mr. Plummer. I use Maine or Mane in the singular, and Maini or Mani in the plural. The former rhymes with *baili* in the *Tribes and Customs of the Hy-Many*, ed. O'Donovan (Dublin, 1843), p. 13; and in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 256 *a*, with the same word written *bali*, which now means 'a place,' but originally 'an enclosed place,' as in the *bally* of Anglo-Irish local names like Ballymote, Ballyadams, and many more. It is a loan-word not to be severed from the English *bailey*, as in the Old Bailey, or *Vetus Ballium*, of York as well as London. It was introduced (probably by the Normans) to South Wales, and is used to this day in Glamorgan in the form *beili* for the enclosure at the back of a farm-house. See Du Cange under *Ballium*, to which he gives three meanings: 'propugnaculi species, seu locus palis munitus et circumseptus;' also 'custodia, carcer, quia locus munitus.'

whose name we have already met with (p. 142), and that the group is usually treated as the offspring of Ailill and Medb. Accordingly, the brothers always fight against the sun-hero Cúchulainn on the Táin.[1] Similarly, in another story, that of the death of Conaire Mór (p. 135), they figure as the haughtiest of the exiles following the lead of the cyclops Ingcél on the occasion of his landing in Erinn in the night.[2] While the Latin word *septimana*, and the Irish *sechtmain* made out of it, seemed to fix the number of the Maini at seven, the early Christians of Ireland must have treated the new week after the analogy of the old; that is to say, they reckoned it, not as seven days, but as eight nights, as the Welsh have also done; and the discrepancy arising from the habit of speaking of seven Maini, when they reckoned them eight, has led to curious results; for instance, in the *Book of the Dun*. The scribe of that manuscript, at the beginning of the twelfth century or a little earlier, can have had no idea that the Maini had anything to do with the week; but he gives us, more or less faithfully, the stories of previous generations when that must have been no secret. The following are the Maini in the order and with the surnames given to them by him in the Táin: (1) *Maine Mathremail*, or M. like his Mother; (2) *Maine Athremail*, or M. like his Father; (3) *Maine Mórgor*, or M. very Dutiful; (4) *Maine Míngor*, or M. little Dutiful; (5) *Maine mó Epert*, or M. greater than Said;

[1] See the Táin, *passim*; but the list of the Maini occurs near the beginning, *Bk. of the Dun*, 56 *b*.

[2] The story is called *Togail Bruden Da Derga*, or the Destruction of the Hostel of Da Derga, where Conaire lodged on the night of his murder; the list of the Maini comes, *ibid.* 84 *b*.

(6) *Maine Milscothach*, or M. of Honey-bloom;[1] (7) *Maine Andóe*, the meaning of whose surname I cannot find; (8) *Maine cotageib Ule*, or M. that contains them All. This last name has called forth from the scribe of the Táin the explanation that the Maine bearing it partook of the form of his mother Medb and of his father Ailill, together with the nobility and dignity of both combined in his own person; but it fails to meet the words used, which are to the effect that the last Maine contained or comprehended all the others. One cannot help seeing in it a case corresponding to that of Woden's ring, which dropped eight others like itself: the last Maine contains all the others, as being the boundary and limit within which the week was comprised. The only other Maine calling for a remark is that called *Maine mó Epert*, which I interpret, with some diffidence, to have meant a Maine that was greater than was said, or greater than uttering the name would imply; this is favoured by its being set in the fifth place; for the fifth night would just mark the end of the first *noinden*, or half of the nine-night week; and in regarding the week as made up of two *noindens*, this fifth night would have to be reckoned twice over,[2] namely, as the end of the one *noinden* and the beginning of the other. That, I think, is the explanation of the description of this middle Maine.

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[1] The scribe identified Nos. 5 and 6; but the group remains eight in the *Bruden*, also in Stokes & Windisch's *Ir. Texte*, II. ij. 225, where *Milscothach* is *Milbel*, 'Honey-mouth.'

[2] This is the sort of reckoning, probably, which, applied by the Greeks to the last day of the month, gave rise to the term ἕνη καὶ νέα, 'old and new.' Compare the Irish 'full week between two *díge*,' or termini (?), in Stokes & Windisch's *Ir. Texte*, II. ij. 211, 219.

The importance of this conjecture consists in the fact that, in case it prove well founded, it would make the name of the fifth Maine such that it can have only belonged to the older week of nine nights, and not to the new one of eight. Later in the Táin we come across a second treatment of the Maini, for it makes them amount to seven after Cúchulainn had slain one of them.[1] They appear on another occasion on the western bank of a ford that had been running blood for a week; and on the day they show themselves there, Cúchulainn parades himself on the opposite bank in his *Oenach* clothes, that is to say, those in which he would go to the Oenach or Irish ἄγορα. His enemies crowd to the river-bank to behold him; and the women, including the queen, climb on the men's shoulders to catch a glimpse of him.[2] The appearance of the Maini together in this story probably means the end of the week, and the coming round of the day for the market or the fair and the meetings, political and other, which took place then: this is signalized in the Táin by Cúchulainn wearing his gala dress and pausing for a while from harassing the enemy's camp. In the story of Conaire the Maini are dealt with in a third way, differing from both treatments in the Táin; for here[3] *Maine mó Epert* is placed at the end, even after the Maine that contained all the others, as though the scribe meant

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 64 *b*.

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, 74 *b*; Rhys's *Celtic Britain*, p. 65.

[3] *Bk. of the Dun*, 84 *b*, where the passage giving their names runs thus: Bátár and iarsin fíallach bátár úallchu .i. uii. maic aillu /7 medba .7 mane for cach fir díb .7 forainm for cach mani /.i. mani athremail .7 m. máthremail .7 m. míngor .7 m. mórgor./ .m. andóe .7 m. milscotach .m. cotageib uli .7 m. as/mó epert.

the reader to construe *mó epert* to mean that this Maine was one over and above the proper reckoning of *secht* (or seven) *Maini*, with which he had begun the allusion to them. If that was his idea,[1] I should be inclined to think that he was mistaken, and that Maine mó Epert's name is to be explained by reference to the nine-night week, and the habit of reckoning it as two *noindens* or half-weeks of five nights each.[2]

The Welsh treatment of the new week closely resembled that already mentioned as Irish; but as the Welsh did not borrow the Latin term, they called it *wythnos*, that is to say, 'a (period of) eight nights.' This week of nominally eight nights and seven days might be said to consist of seven and a half days, in our sense of the word day of twenty-four hours; and in this form we have a most remarkable reference to it in one of the Welsh Triads, which I must now mention, as it incidentally discloses a trace of the older week. The triad in question, i. 93 = ij. 11, speaks of the Three Horse-loads of the Isle of Britain, one of which it describes as borne by Du Moro[3] or the Black of Moro, the horse of Elidyr Mwynvawr,

[1] This, however, could not be said of the scribe of the Táin in the *Bk. of Leinster*, who mentions, at 55*a*, *Maine Condamóepert* last, though his group consists, owing probably to his carelessness, of only six, no mention being made of M. Andóe or M. Milscothach.

[2] Possibly other nines in Irish myths are to be similarly explained by means of the ancient week, such as the nine chariots always required by Medb on the Táin (*Bk. of the Dun*, 56*b*), and the nine doors of the palace called Bruden Da Derga (ib. 91*b*), in which Conaire was slain. It may likewise be that the four winged kisses of Aengus, that haunted the youths of Erinn (p. 151), were but the four intervals of daylight in the Goidelic half-week.

[3] In the *Red Book* version (see *R. B. Mab.* p. 300), this horse is called Du y Moroed, 'the Black One of the Seas;' but the older and

said to have carried seven and a half persons on his back from Penllech in the North to Penllech in Mona: they were, to wit, Elidyr and his wife Eurgein; Gwyn da Gyueđ, or White the good Drink-mate, and Gwyn da Reimat,[1] a designation of doubtful interpretation; Mynach Nawmon, Elidyr's counsellor; Petrylew Vynestyr, his cup-bearer; Aranuagyl, his servant; and Albeinwyn, his cook, who swam with his hands on the horse's crupper: it was he that was reckoned the half-man in the load. It would take too much of our time to discuss all the questions which this curious passage suggests, and I shall only make a remark on one or two of the names. *Petrylew Vynestyr* means a minister or servant whose name was Petrylew, and this last might be interpreted to mean him of the four lights.[2] Petrylew was therefore the fifth night in the reckoning, that is to say, the last night of the first *noinden* or half-week, as that would be the one preceded by four intervals of daylight. The cook reckoned as the half-person was the night with which the week began, though the triad in its present form contemplates this as occupying the last place; originally,

less transparent name is *Du Moro*, as in the oldest copy of the Triads (*Hengwrt MS.* 54, p. 53), or *Du March Moro Oeruedawc*, 'Black, the Horse of Moro Oerveđawc,' in the story of Kulhwch (*R. B. Mab.* p. 124), where the rider of the beast is no other than Gwyn ab Nûđ. The Welsh *Moro*, *Moroed*, and the French *Morois*, are probably names of the same mythic place as the Irish *Murias*, whence the Tuatha Dé Danann brought the Undry Cauldron of the Dagda (p. 257); the name *Mureif*, borne by a district in the north, given to Urien, also belongs here, as I hope to show in my *Arthurian Legend*.

[1] I guess it to stand for an older reading *Keimat*: the name would then mean 'G. the good Comrade.'

[2] *Petrylew* is the reading of the *Red Book*; most of the other MSS. have *Prydelaw*, *Prydelw*, or the like, which I cannot explain.

however, that place must have been reserved for another. No less than three of the names seem to refer to the nights of the week as the time for eating and carousing; but one seems to reflect the idea that night cools the head and gives room for deliberation and good counsel: I allude to *Mynach Nawmon*, where *Mynach* is the Welsh for 'monk,' and *Nawmon* is a word partly derived from *naw*, the Welsh for 'nine;' while the remainder of the word *Nawmon* challenges comparison with the Irish *Maine*, so that Nawmon might be interpreted to mean a *Maine* who was in some way nine or possessed of some ninely attribute. This, it will be seen, takes us back beyond the seven and a half of the later week to the nineness, so to say, of the more ancient one. The Christian week as a period of eight nights is also represented in the Arthurian romances, namely, by the eight officers of Arthur's court who acted as his porters and watchmen: they are said to have divided the year between them, and seven of them served as the subordinates of one of their number, who bore a name which suggests comparison between him and the Maine that contained the others, for he was *Glewlwyd Gavaelvawr*, 'Brave Grey of the Great Grip.'[1]

So Celtic mythology probably indulged in a two-fold treatment of the ancient week: it was made either the basis of nine distinct personifications of a more or less uniform character, or else of a single personification with the attribute of nine in some way attaching to it. Of the former, one may give as an instance the nine porters at

[1] *R. B. Mab.* p. 245; Guest, ij. 6; but in two other passages (*R. B. Mab.* pp. 103, 138; Guest, ij. 254, 312) he and his make only five, representing the half-week.

the nine gates of the dark being described as Yspaðaden Pencawr, 'Hawthorn chief of Giants,' in the story of Kulhwch and Olwen;[1] also the Nine Witches of Gloucester, who, like the brothers Maini, were aided in their ravages by their father and mother: it was, however, all in vain, as they were vanquished by the hero Peredur, who afterwards completed his military education under the care of one of their number.[2] We have the same idea, with the malignity of the witches replaced by the teaching of the muses, incorporated in the nine maidens who feed with their breath the fire beneath the Cauldron of the Head of Hades (p. 256), which is matched in Irish by the nine sacred hazels growing over the Well of Wisdom. The other treatment is reserved for Maine mac Durthacht, who is not mentioned in company with any brothers of his: he was the owner of the brooch on which Aitherne set such value, and in that brooch some ninely characteristic like that of Woden's Draupnir may be supposed to have resided. Moreover, the manner in which Maine son of Ailill is mentioned by himself in the Táin epic,[3] would suggest that under that name the myth originally contemplated but one personage, who was only multiplied into seven or eight under the influence of the Christian week and its Latin name, the Maine of the older treatment being made into a Maine said to contain all the others. Irish literature makes mention of other Maini, one of whom was styled Maine the Great, and also Maine Muineamon, or M. of the Rich Neck, as O'Curry has suggested, the surname being explained by

[1] *R. B. Mab.* p. 118; Guest, ij. 277.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 210-1; Guest, i. 323; see also i. 369.

[3] See more especially pp. 66*b*, 67*a*, 69*a*, of the *Bk. of the Dun.*

a statement that he was the first king of Erinn to have torques of gold made for wearing round the neck, which is in Irish *muin*;[1] in this reference to the gold torques or collars, we have probably the echo of a myth like that of Maine mac Durthacht's brooch. Further, Maine Mór was the mythic ancestor of the Hy-Many,[2] whose prince was caught by Cúchulainn, on whom he avenged himself by adjuring him to find what had happened to the Sons of Dóel Dermait, a quest which involved the sun-hero in a visit to the other world. The name of Cúchulainn's captive was Echaid Rond, or E. of (the) Chains, so called from a seven-ounce chain or thread of gold which formed part of his head-gear.[3] This may be regarded as another of the treasures associated with the Maini: we have thus no less than three, a brooch, a torque, and a chain, all perhaps originally characterized by the number nine in the tales to which they belonged. One more Maine may be mentioned: he is called Maine son of Niall of the Nine Hostages.[4] Niall is fabled to have reigned over Ireland in the fifth century of our era, and to have conquered Britain, France and other lands; so his is a great name in Irish pedigrees, but it is probably altogether mythic, and to be equated with that of the Welsh *Neol*.[5]

[1] See O'Curry, iij. 84, 178, and the *Four Masters*, A.M. 3868, 3872.

[2] That is to say, the *Ui Maini*, or Descendants of Maine, whose territory may, roughly speaking, be said to have consisted of the counties of Galway and Roscommon.

[3] Stokes & Windisch's *Ir. Texte*, pp. 177, 192; O'Curry, iij. 106.

[4] O'Curry's *Manners*, &c. ij. 161.

[5] Fully described he is *Neol cyn Croc*, which seems to mean 'Neol before the Crucifixion;' the person so called is spoken of as the father of a lady, Ettylw, said to have lived for three generations. See the story of Kulhwch, *R. B. Mab.* p. 113; Guest, ij. 212.

At any rate his name looks like evidence of the two treatments of the nine-night week; for the nine hostages serving as Niall's distinction possibly referred to the nine nights of the ancient week, while they may be supposed also represented in the single person of Niall's son Maine.

Enough has now been said to suggest that the parallel here lies between Woden's ring and the gold brooch, torque or chain of Maine, and the question then arises, what Maine himself was as a mythological being. It has already been shown that his name was associated with darkness and night. Let us now see what fresh light can be thrown on his character by a further study of his name. To begin, the word *Maine*, *Mane* or *Mani*, is bodily identical with the *Menyw* of Welsh literature. The person so called belonged to Arthur's court, but his character is in no wise thereby defined, as it is one of the peculiarities of Arthur that he draws his men from all the Brythonic cycles of mythology; but Menyw even in Arthur's service preserved a character and rôle corresponding closely to that which might be ascribed to the Irish Maine as a personification of darkness and night. Thus we read that a party of Arthur's men starting on a dangerous quest were ordered by him to be accompanied by Menyw, in order that, in case they came to a heathen land, Menyw might cast glamour and magic over his companions, so that they might be seen of nobody while they saw everybody.[1] Menyw is called the son of Teirgwaedd, a feminine compound meaning Her of the Three Shouts, in which we have a reference to the triple division of the

[1] *R. B. Mab.* p. 114-5; Guest, ij. 271-2.

working portion of the day (p. 141), or else, perhaps, of time into present, past and future. This looks at first sight like a reversal of the Celtic habit of giving darkness precedence over light and day; but had we the myth in its original completeness, we should probably find that Teirgwaed had as her husband and father of Menyw a representative in some form or other of darkness, all reference to him being omitted in favour of the matronymic style of naming certain of the oldest Celtic divinities. All this is corroborated by the Triads[1] treating Menyw as one of the three chief magicians and glamourmen of the Isle of Britain.

It was suggested that the *mon* in the Welsh *Nawmon* was of the same origin as the Irish name Maine, and that is doubtless right, so that *Mynach Nawmon* may be rendered the Monk of the Nine Tricks;[2] for Irish proves the existence of a Celtic word *mon*, 'a trick,' from which was derived an Irish adjective *monach* or *manach*, 'tricky or dodgy.' This was applied to a notorious Fomorian called Forgall Monach, or Forgall the Tricky, who was an adept at magic and shape-shifting. In harmony with a very wide-spread kind of myth, he lost his life in trying to prevent Cúchulainn from carrying away his daughter to be his wife. The Welsh word *mynawg* corresponding to *monach*, however, means a courteous or polite person; the difference of meaning looks wide, but it is partly to be explained by the fact that the Welsh literature of the Middle Ages treats courteousness or good breeding as

[1] i. 31, 32, 33, ij. 20, iij. 90.

[2] Some of the Triad versions have *Nawmod*, which would mean, 'of nine modes or forms.' It is not impossible that the original was *Mynawg Nawmon*, with the *mynawg* explained below.

knowledge, a polite or courteous person being called *dyn da ei wybod*, or one who is good as to his knowledge, which is paralleled in English when a rude person is excused on the ground of his 'knowing' no better. The meanings of these names may, then, be said to centre around the ideas of knowledge and trickiness, and these admit of being traced in their turn back to the one idea of thought or mental activity, which may on the one hand result in praiseworthy skill, and on the other in ingenuity of the contrary nature. This appears illustrated probably by the Welsh word *mynawg* of a good signification, as compared with its derivative *mynogan*, which may be guessed to have had the reverse; for it is known as the name of the father of the death-god Beli the Great, the Irish Bile (p. 90). Similarly, Manawyđan, a good character in Welsh, is matched in Irish by Manannán, represented as a very tricky druid or magician.[1]

Maine or Menyw was a male personification, but Celtic mythology did not confine itself here to that sex, as it was in possession also of a female personification regarded as of cognate origin and endowed with nine forms; this

[1] Both names are of the same origin as those here in question, and the whole group is to be referred to the same source as the Irish *menma*, 'mind,' *do-muiniur*, 'I mean, think or believe,' and other compounds; while in English may be mentioned such words as *mind*, *meaning*, and probably *man* as the thinking being. Further may be added such instances as Latin *memini*, 'I remember;' *mens*, *mentis*, 'mind;' *commentum*, 'a lie;' *moneo*, 'I cause to think, I warn:' Greek, μένος, 'courage, sense;' μενεαίνω, 'I desire;' μέμονα, 'I wish for;' μάντις, 'a seer or prophet:' Sanskrit, *man*, 'think;' *manas*, 'courage, sense or mind;' *manman*, 'mind.' Among the proper names connected with this group of words may be mentioned such as *Minerva*, Μίνως, Μέντωρ, the Sanskrit *Manu*, and the old German *Mannus*, mentioned by Tacitus in the *Germania*.

served not only—perhaps not chiefly—to represent the nine nights of the week, or even the dawns or dusks of the same, so much as that which allowed of being measured by the limits of the week, that is to say, that metaphorical kind of space which we call time, and time for the most part contemplated as the bringer of boons and the teacher of wisdom. It was a sort of Athene with nine forms of beauty; so in the Ultonian cycle of Irish tales she is the daughter of king Conchobar, and known as Fedelm of the Nine Forms,[1] who will come under our notice later as she who sends her handmaid to comfort Cúchulainn at night and to give him his bath in concealment.[2] In Welsh, the nine forms of the mythic beauty have been effaced by the blanching hand of oblivion; but one recognizes her person in the Lady of the Fountain who becomes Owein's wife, after her handmaid Lunet had rescued him from death by giving him a Gygean ring to conceal him from his enemies. In the case of Fedelm, the reference to the nine nights of the week is involved in the nine forms of her beauty, and in that of Lunet they are symbolized by the ring which makes its possessor invisible whenever he pleases. The rest of the parallel is still more obvious, for Lunet is described not only giving Owein refuge and food, but also administering to him such services as that of washing his head and shaving his beard,[3] somewhat in the same way that Athene is represented weaving a peplos for her favourite Heracles, or causing springs of warm water to

[1] Some of the spellings suggest 'Nine Hearts' rather than 'Nine Forms.'

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, 57*a*; *Bk. of Leinster*, 58*a*.

[3] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 173-6; Guest, i. 55-9.

gush forth from the ground to supply him at the end of the day with a refreshing bath.[1] The ring associated with Lunet becomes in some stories a wheel, as, for instance, in that from which Gwydion's mistress was called Arianrhod, or She of the Silver Wheel; and the same conception probably entered into the story which made Cúchulainn's sister Dechtere the charioteer of her brother, king Conchobar; while in Norse literature we meet with it in the obscurely mentioned 'deep wheel' of Gefjon (p. 284).

In these goddesses and others like them, such as Duben the mother of Cairbre's children (p. 308), we seem to have a group of the mythic beings loosely called dawn-goddesses; but the location of some of the Celtic ones here in question, on an island or peninsula towards the west, would suggest that they at least would be as correctly designated dusk-goddesses. Neither dusk, however, nor dawn can help us so much to understand their nature as their connection with the ancient week and all it connoted. This gives, among other things, a very pregnant meaning to the intimate relations between them and the Culture Hero, whom the most important versions of the myth treat as the father by them of the Sun Hero, and sometimes of another birth representing darkness and night. It may perhaps seem at first sight somewhat daring to place Athene in the category of goddesses of the kind here discussed; but I would go further, and add that the name of Athene's Italian counterpart *Minerva* or, as it is less usually written, *Menerva*, brings us back again to the group of names which have been already

[1] Preller's *Gr. Mythologie*[3], ij. 161.

touched upon; for *Menerva* is supposed to represent an early *Menezva*, derived from the same stem, *menes*, which we have in the Greek μένος, genitive μένους, 'mind, spirit, courage,' Sanskrit *manas*, genitive *manasas*, of much the same meaning. But such a name as *Menezva* would have to became *Meneva* in the early history of the Celtic languages still living; and from that name would be formed an adjective *Menevjos*, *Menevja*, *Menevjon*, 'relating to *Meneva*,' or the Celtic Minerva; but in later Welsh all these would be cut down to *Menyw* or *Mynyw*. The one representing the masculine *Menevjos* is mostly written *Menyw* or *Menw*, and is the name which has been equated with the Irish name *Maine;* while the feminine would seem to have been preserved uncurtailed as *Menevia*, to pass for the Latin name of St. David's, whence also the adjective *Meneviensis*,[1] while in Welsh it has mostly been treated as *Mynyw* or *Menyw*.[2] This indirect evidence to a goddess of the name *Meneva*, corresponding to that of Minerva in Latin, would mean that the district around St. David's, the western position of which near the sea fits in with other instances, was called after this Celtic Minerva, and treated perhaps as in some sense or other peculiarly hers. This allusion to Minerva will have pro-

[1] *Meneviensium episcopo* in the Life of St. David, written by Rhygyvarch (Ricemarchus) in the twelfth century: see the *Lives of the Cambro-Brit. SS.* (Llandovery, 1853), p. 121.

[2] This is attested by the Welsh name of Old Mynyw (a church in the neighbourhood of Aberaeron, in Cardiganshire), which, called *Hen Fenyw*, just like the words *hen fenyw*, 'an old woman,' considerably exercises the popular-etymology man, especially when he takes it in conjunction with the name of a church on the other side of the Teivi, called Eglwys Wrw, which could not help striking him as meaning the 'Male Church.'

bably suggested to you the Greek goddess Athene; but I may say in passing that one of her Celtic equivalents is possibly to be detected in Tlachtga daughter of Mog Ruith, both of whom have already been mentioned (p. 211). Greek religion closely associated Athene with Hephæstus, but Mog Ruith's ability to fly forces us to compare him rather with Dædalus than with Hephæstus; for the lines of classification do not coincide in Greek and Celtic; and if we followed Dædalus further, we should find that the story of his jealousy and murder of a too promising nephew and pupil would lead one to compare him with another Goidelic character, namely, Dian Cecht, who made his silver hand for Nuada: this was improved upon by the son of Dian Cecht, who was so enraged at being excelled, that he slew him.[1] It is right, however, to say that ancient authors sometimes went so far as to identify Hephæstus with Dædalus;[2] and that Völundr, or the Wayland Smith of the Norse Edda, combines the characteristics of both in having lost the use of his feet and made himself efficient wings.[3] But to come back to Tlachtga, the comparison with Athene turns on the latter's ever-brandished spear, and the attribute of Tlachtga's attested by her name, which seems to refer to a *gái*, that is to say a *gæsum*, or spear. It was possibly the *gæsum* used in a solemn ceremony of kindling fire in the ancient way by friction.

The question of the original identity with one another of the goddesses here alluded to, is too large to be now

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[1] See O'Curry in the *Atlantis*, Vol. iv. p. 158; Joyce, p. 403.

[2] See Preller's *Gr. Myth.* i. 148, ij. 497.

[3] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 173-5.

discussed at length, and I will only add a word as to an apparent discrepancy between the Celtic and Norse myths about the week: the gold ring in the latter belongs to the Culture God Woden, and it is to him that it is brought back from the Hell-imprisoned Balder by Hermoðr, after he had travelled nine nights[1] in the dark to find his brother Balder's place of confinement; whereas in the Irish tale the gold brooch is treated as the property of a very different kind of being, Maine son of Durthacht. On the other hand, it is Aitherne, a likeness, however distorted, of the Culture Hero, that recovers possession of it in the Irish version of the myth, and brings it back to Ulster; so that the two accounts may be said to amount to the same thing, inasmuch as they both associate the week and the alternation of day and night with the action of the Culture Hero. In Hindu mythology, Indra is represented as daily engaged in bringing back the sun and the dawn so as to be seen of men: it is his regular work. But this very primitive notion is not conspicuous in Celtic or in Norse mythology; it is nevertheless there, but buried beneath the débris of sundry metaphors and symbolisms; and it is to be extricated only as a matter of inference or interpretation. Even so it is valuable, as it serves to strengthen at its weakest point the parallel to be drawn between Indra in the East and Gwydion-Woden in the West.

[1] Simrock's *Edda*, p. 318.

LECTURE V.

THE SUN HERO.

PART I.

LLEU AND LUG.

FREQUENT allusions have already been made to Llew Llawgyffes, and, in fact, most of his story has been reproduced: it has also been hinted that in him we have a nature myth about light. It is, however, of capital importance in dealing with the solar mythology of the Celts, and especially of the Welsh, to bear in mind that the nature myth did not prevent the Solar Hero from being regarded as partly of human descent; a different account is sometimes implied in Welsh stories, but this is far the most fertile, and it takes us back to a pre-Celtic and Aryan stage of culture, when it was possible for the magician and medicine-man of the tribe to claim the sun as his offspring. So we might here call him the Sun-man, were it not more in harmony with custom to speak of the Sun-god or Solar Hero. In order to establish these views, we have now to examine more closely the literature relating to Llew, and we may begin with the strange story of his birth (p. 306), which need not be repeated. One of the first things in it to strike one is young Llew's rapid growth; and the vigour with which he scattered

the sheet in which he had been wrapped, invites comparison with the description of the infant Apollo, whom the goddesses present bathed in a crystal stream of water as soon as he leaped to life. They next proceeded to wrap him in a white robe, fine and newly wrought, and to place a golden band round his body, while one of their number touched his lips with nectar and ambrosia. No sooner had he tasted of the food of the immortals, than he burst the bonds of his swaddling clothes and walked forth in the fulness of his divinity, while Delos rejoiced and bloomed at his birth.[1] The same sort of precocious growth as in the case of Llew is ascribed to other Celtic personifications of the Sun-god, but no less, be it noticed, to personifications of darkness.

One might probably regard the account (p. 240) of Llew's death on the side of his bath as referring originally to the sun setting in the sea; but there is no occasion to lay great stress on that, as we have what seems to be better evidence of the nature myth in the marriage of Blodeued to Llew. She was not of the race of men, but created from flowers by Gwydion, with the aid of the master magician Mâth: she was as distinguished for her beauty as her classical counterpart, rosy-fingered Eos. The dawn represents the transition from the darkness of night to the light of day, so that, pictured by the primitive mind as a lovely damsel, she would be regarded as dividing her love between the Sun-god and the princes of darkness in the mythological sense of the term. This is what we find in the story of Blodeued: Llew goes

[1] See the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (in Didot's *Homeri Carmina et Cycli Epici Reliquiæ*), lines 119—139.

forth on a journey; whether walking or riding we are not told, but probably the latter, for he had been taught to ride, as we read of him and his father once proceeding on horseback towards Arianrhod's castle (p. 238). Besides, he is known to have had a famous horse called[1] *Melyngan Gamre*, or the Steed of Yellow-white Footsteps —a most appropriate name for the horse of a Sun Hero. But to proceed with the story: during his absence from home, his wife is visited by another lover, who rests not till he has slain Llew and conquered his dominions. Gwydion brings Llew back to this life, that is, he fetches the sun back to illumine the world once more; and he chases the faithless wife across the heavens, and, according to one version, he overtakes her in the lengthening shades which the cliffs were spreading over a dark lake; that is, the Dawn has become the Dusk or the Gloaming, and he transforms her into an owl, accursed of all the birds that love the light of the sun. Here we have a pretty parallel to Indra's daily struggle to recover the sun from the powers of darkness, and to his remarkable chase of the Dawn when he smashed the wicked woman's chariot and routed her in the sky (p. 299). On the other hand, Llew, brought back, is enabled to vanquish and kill his rival with a cast of his spear, the only one which the story lets him make with his own hand, his father being in the

[1] *R. B. Mab.* p. 306; *Triads*, ij. 50; but i. 94 reads *Melyngan Mangre*, which seems less correct: it would mean 'the Yellow-white One of the Habitation,' which looks less probable. The triad describes the three horses as each a 'rhoddedig farch,' which can only mean a gift horse; but I know of no legend to throw any light on the term. Llew's horse is also mentioned in the Book of Taliessin, poem xxv. (Skene, ij. 176) as 'march ŧeu ŧetuegin,' where it is uncertain whether ŧetuegin applies to the horse or to his owner.

habit of doing most things for him. If it should here be objected, that while Indra brings the sun back every day, Gwydion is only made to bring Llew back once, our answer would be, that this has already been met, at least in part, and that now its force may be still further broken. For, to begin on Irish ground, we there find stories which mention several births of the Sun-god, that is to say, the Sun-god's father and the Sun-god's son may both be termed Sun-gods as well as he. This agrees well enough with an idea which seems to have once been prevalent in Ireland, that an ancestor might return in the person of one of his descendants. So far as I know, the ancient Brythons were less familiar with the idea of a series of Sun-gods than that of a group of them; not to mention that they are found to have less dwelt on the antagonism between day and night than that between the summer and the winter; but Welsh mythology is nevertheless not wholly without a sort of analogue to Indra's daily exploit in bringing back the sun; for Llew had a twin-brother who reached sudden maturity and rushed off into the sea. The nature of that element became his; he swam about in it like a fish, and never did a wave break beneath him, whence his name Dylan son of the Billow. He fell by the spear of the Culture Hero Govannon, Gwydion's brother the smith; and his deed came to be recorded in a triad[1] as one of the Three nefarious Blows of the Isle of Britain. A pathetic touch, associated with the muse of Taliessin,[2] introduces an Æschylean chorus of outraged spectators, consisting

[1] *R. B. Mab.* p. 68; Guest, iij. 201; but it is not to be found in the ordinary lists of triads.

[2] Poem xliij.: see Skene, ij. 199.

'Of the Wave of Erinn, of Man, and of the North,
And of Britain, of comely hosts, as the fourth.'[1]

Nay, according to another utterance of the same poet,[2] the wild waves when they dash against the shore are chafing to avenge the death of Dylan. Another view no less romantic is the one still known in the Vale of the Conwy, that the noise of the waves crowding into that river is nought but the dying groans of Dylan. Strange as it may seem, and in spite of the Mabinogi describing Dylan as a big yellow-haired boy, the study of Irish parallels leaves one in no doubt that Dylan represents darkness, the darkness that hies away to lurk in the sea, so that his name of Dylan has become a synonym for that of the Ocean. But how, it may be asked, came the sympathy of the poet to be enlisted on the wrong side, and Govannon's deed to be execrated? That is a question which is not easy to answer to one's own satisfaction, and the best thing to do is to point out the parallel story in Irish. It occurs in that of the war between the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Fomori:[3] when the battle of Mag Tured (p. 253) had been going on for some time, the Fomori wondered how the Tuatha Dé continued to be supplied with arms; in order, therefore, to find this out and to procure other information about the enemy, they sent one of their young heroes to visit him. The

[1] An Irish instance of the waves of 'the melancholy main' bewailing a death occurs in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 186*a*; see also the editor's Introd. p. 47*a*.

[2] Poem ix.: see Skene, ij. 145.

[3] The MS. I have consulted is in the British Museum, and is numbered *Harl.* 5280: the portion of the story here in point occurs at folio 68*a* (57*a* of an older paging).

one chosen belonged by race partly to the Fomori and partly to the Tuatha Dé; he was son of Bres the Fomorian and Bríg daughter of the Dagda, one of the leaders of the Tuatha Dé in the war. He was called Ruadán, and he readily got access to the camp of the Tuatha Dé and visited the forge, where he found their smith Goibniu, whose name makes in the genitive case *Goibnenn*, the etymologic and inflectional equivalent of the Welsh *Govannon;* he then gives the Fomori a full account of the celerity with which Goibniu and his fellow-artificers despatched their work. The Fomori send Ruadán back with orders to kill the smith; so Ruadán asks Goibniu to make him a spear, and the smith complies. Ruadán receives the spear duly finished; but just as he was starting to go away, he suddenly turned round and hurled his new spear at its maker; Goibniu was wounded, but not so as to prevent his throwing the spear back at Ruadán in such a way that it sped right through him; Ruadán was nevertheless able to reach his friends, when he fell dead at his father's feet in the assembly of the Fomori. His mother Bríg comes and makes for her son a loud lamentation, which is specially described as beginning with a scream and ending with a wail; for it was then, we are told, that wailing and screaming were heard in Erinn for the first time.[1] Such is the story of Ruadán; and the wail and scream, so emphasized in it, refer to the elaborate 'keening,' or peculiar and far-reaching cry which used to be raised on the occasion of a death in the family

[1] *Harl.* 5280, fol. 68*a*: Tic Bric 7 caines am*arbnad* (?) eg*h*is ar tós goilis fodeog C*o*nud and si*n* roclos gol 7 ege*m* artos anerin*n* Is si di*n* anprich sin roairic feit, &c.

by Irish women—and Welsh ones also[1]—in the Middle Ages. The statement that this was the first time the 'keen' was heard, together with the probable allusion in the name Ruadán to weeping and mourning,[2] admits of our supposing that the death of Ruadán came to be compared with that of Abel—a comparison, which, applied in like manner to that of Dylan, would serve to explain why the Welsh story took a turn unfavourable to the reputation of Govannon. In any case, the Irish version proves that the Welsh one is very incomplete, and makes it highly probable that Dylan was originally represented acting as a spy or assailant on behalf of the enemies of Govannon, when the latter slew him. He is never associated with Mâth, Gwydion, Llew or Arianrhod, after the day of his strange birth, and at the last his mourners are the Waves of the British waters, which might pass for a happy expression of the poet's own inspiration: in reality it is older and probably an integral part of the myth, as is proved by the fact that the Waves in the Welsh story take up the place occupied in the Irish one by Ruadán's friends, the Fomori or the mythic dwellers of the deep. One of the chief points of interest of the story consists for us in the ever-recurring conquest of darkness by the Culture Hero and friend of man, in

[1] See *R. B. Mab.* p. 174; Guest, i. 57.

[2] At first sight *Ruadán* might be thought derived from Ir. *ruad*, 'red,' a colour here not more out of place than the yellowness of Dylan's complexion; but the name is probably of the same origin as Sanskrit *rud*, 'jammern, heulen, weinen; bejammern, beweinen;' *rodana*, neut. 'the act of weeping, tears;' also the name of the god *Rudra*, together with *Rodasî*, sometimes given as the fem. of *Rudra*. The European cognates include among them Latin *rudo*, 'I roar,' Lith. *rúdmi*, O. Bulg. *rydaję*, 'I weep,' A.-Sax. *reótan*, 'to weep.'

the Indra-like repetition of Govannon's interference, which makes Dylan die every day and as often plunges the sympathizing billows in loud grief. But the defeat of darkness means the victory of the sun's light; so the story of Dylan, in its most modern echo, may be said to give the contest that iteration which Gwydion's action in bringing Llew back to life a second time fails to express.

This leads us round to where we were before setting out on this digression; we were then occupied with the story of Llew, and we must now say something of his Irish counterpart, whom it is impossible not to recognize in Lug Lám-fada, or L. of the Long-hand, though the stories about the two seldom coincide; but that is owing in a great measure to the important difference of treatment, which lets Lug act for himself instead of under the ægis of his father, as is mostly the case with Llew. The Donegal story of Lug's birth is perhaps the one that comes nearest to that of Llew: according to the former he was, as it will be remembered (p. 314), the son of Mac Kineely and Ethnea, a name more correctly written Ethne, with a genitive *Ethnenn*, also written *Ethlenn* (or *Ethlend*); so that Lug is not unfrequently called Lug mac Ethlenn, with the usual predilection for the mother's name. But there is another account of Lug's origin, which gives him for father one who would seem to have been himself a personification of the sun. His name was Cian, which appears to be no other word than the Irish adjective *cían*, 'far, distant, remote:' in that case the fitness of the name needs no remark, the Sun-god being not unfrequently represented as coming from afar. On the subject of Cian's identity there were different opinions, one of which makes him son of Dian Cecht, and says, contrary

to the modern version, that Balor betrothed his daughter to the latter during a truce between the Fomori and the Tuatha Dé Danann.[1] Another story makes Lug's father Cian the son of one Cainte,[2] a name which may be identified with that in stories which mention a Cian son of Ailill Aulom;[3] for *Cainte* meant a satirist, and Ailill was represented as a poet, there being, in fact, poems extant which are ascribed to him.[4] He was, however, more than a poet or satirist, being a form, as the name would indicate, of the Celtic Dis, or god of darkness and death. His epithet of Aulom or Ólom literally meant 'ear-bare,' which is explained by a story relating how on a November eve one of the Tuatha Dé Danann goddesses stripped the skin and the flesh completely off one of his ears, leaving him ever after under that blemish, which she is said to have inflicted on him in retaliation for injury and outrage.[5] On the other hand, he was possessed of a projecting tooth, the venom from which was irresistible, and he is said to have treacherously planted it in the cheek of a step-son of his, when he approached to bid him farewell:[6] Ailill knew it would kill him within nine days, which was his wish.

Ailill's wife was called Sadb, and she was a druidess

[1] Harl. MS. 5280, fol. 63*a*. In the same MS. 19*a*, and in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 124*b*, Lug is called son of Conn son of Ethne—Lug mc Cuind mic Ethlend—a pedigree otherwise unknown to me: possibly, however, *Cuind* came in as *Cuinn* and as a mistake for *Céin*, the gen. of *Cian*. Then Ethne would be mother of *Cian* and grandmother of Lug.

[2] *Atlantis*, iv. 169; Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances*, p. 43.

[3] O'Curry, ij. 139, 149; *Four Masters*, A.D. 241.

[4] O'Curry, ij. 57-8.

[5] *Bk. of Leinster*, 288*a*.

[6] Ib. 291*b*, 292*a*; the Bodley MS. *Laud.* 610, fol. 95*b* 2.

given to poetry and divination, that is to say, she was a lady of the same class as Arianrhod, who was also a sorceress.[1] As she was one day sitting by her husband in his chariot, they passed under a thorn which had a good crop of sloes on it: she wished to eat of them, and Ailill shook the branch into the chariot, so that she had as many as she liked. They returned home, and she gave birth to Cian, a smooth, fair, lusty son; but he had the peculiarity that a sort of ridge of skin or caul extended over his head from ear to ear, and as he grew, that excrescence also grew. So when he became a man, he did not suffer those who shaved him to live to divulge the secret. At length he had a barber who came to his work prepared for him, and told him so. He undid the covering of Cian's head, and perceived the reason why he had his barbers killed; then he ripped up the abnormal skin on his head, whereupon there leaped out a worm, which sprang quickly to the top of the house, and subsequently twisted itself about the point of his spear. The barber and Ailill wished to have it killed at once, but Sadb, fearing lest Cian was fated to have the same span of life as the worm, prevailed on her husband to have a place made for it, where it should be supplied with plenty to eat. The worm then, like Fenri's Wolf, grew apace, and its house had to be enlarged for it; by the end of the year it had a hundred heads, each of which would have swallowed a warrior with his arms and all. Such was its voracity and the ravages it began to commit, that it created consternation, and Ailill obtained Sadb's consent to kill the monster; so the whole place was set on fire, in the

[1] See the Taliessin poem, No. 16; Skene, ij. 159.

hope that it would perish in the flames. It was, however, all in vain, for it made its way out of the fire and flew westwards, till it reached the dark cave of Ferna, in the district of Corcaguiny, the most western part of Kerry. There it abode, making the country a desert, so that Finn and his men durst not hunt there.[1]

Now the meaning of this hideous tale is perfectly clear: Cian represents the light of the sun, and the worm born with him is a personification of darkness and winter. The ever-repeated sequence of light and darkness, of summer and winter, is here typified in even a more remarkable manner than by the birth of Llew and Dylan from the same mother; and it is curious to notice that the story locates the dark cave inhabited by the all-devouring worm, in the country with which the name of Diarmait is also associated. Had the story reached us in a complete and consistent form, we should perhaps have been told that Cian was killed by the worm; but, as it happens, we have only another account of his death, which brings that event into a sort of connection with the story of Cúchulainn. For one evening, as Cian was traversing the Plain of Murthemne, with which Cúchulainn is associated in other stories, he espied the three sons of Tuirenn, his determined foes, Brian, Iuchair and Iucharba. So he changed himself into the form of one of the swine that he saw not far off, and joined them in rooting the ground; but Brian suspecting this, immediately changed his brothers into two fleet hounds, who soon found out the druidic pig. Brian then wounded the beast: the latter asked to be spared, which was declined; but he

[1] *Pursuit of Diarmuid*, ij. §§ 3—8.

was permitted to change himself back into the human form, when he in vain repeated his previous request. Then he told his foes that he had outwitted them, as they would now have to pay the eric for killing a man and not a beast, adding that their arms would betray the deed to his son Lug. But Brian said that they would use no arms, so they began stoning Cian until they had reduced his body to a crushed mass. When they proceeded to bury it, the earth would not retain it; they tried it six times, and the earth cast it up each time; but when it was buried the seventh time, it was not cast up. Cian told Brian before he died that there never had been slain, and never would be slain, anybody for whom a greater eric would have to be paid than for him: it turned out so; for Lug discovered the murderers, and cunningly imposed on them, with the approval of the Tuatha Dé Danann, an eric which looked a trifle, but was soon found to involve the sons of Tuirenn in adventures of unheard-of toil and danger, at the close of which they died miserably of their wounds. The tale is one of the most famous in Irish literature;[1] but another account[2] makes Lug slay the three with his own hand in Man beyond the Sea. Brian and his brothers are sometimes called *tri dee dána*,[3] or the three gods of *dán*, that is to say of professional skill or talent, as the term *dán* is commonly

[1] It is known as the Death of the Children of Tuirenn, and will be found edited, with an English translation by O'Curry, in the *Atlantis*, Vol. iv. 159, &c.; see also an English version in Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 37—96.

[2] Only known to me from a verse quoted by Keating, p. 122.

[3] *Bk. of Leinster*, 10*a*; Keating, p. 122; compare *Cormac's Glossary*, the Stokes-O'Donovan ed. p. 145.

interpreted; but though Brian is represented as a valiant warrior and skilled as druid and poet, one fails to see why he and his brothers should be assigned a place of pre-eminence in this respect above many others of the Tuatha Dé Danann; and I should be inclined therefore to give the word *dán*, in connection with the former, its other meaning of destiny or fate,[1] and to regard the brothers, whose number three reminds one of Mider's three birds and their cognates (p. 332), as the messengers of fate and death. This would explain why they are also found mentioned as the three sons of Danu, the goddess of death, from whom the Tuatha Dé were collectively so called. They are sometimes further made to be *par excellence* the three gods of the Tuatha Dé, and to give that group its common name,[2] whereas the rôle ascribed them in the stories extant fail completely to justify such a distinction: this applies to Brian even when due account is taken of the wonderful feats attributed to him as a warrior, engaged in procuring the eric he had to pay Lug; and as to his brothers, they are associated with him mostly as dummies. Moreover, no trace of any such pre-eminence as that here suggested can be detected in the oldest story known to us to mention Brian, namely, that of Cúchulainn wooing Emer daughter of the Fomorian chief, Forgall Monach. There Brian is

[1] As, for instance, in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 39*a*: 'bói indan dóib orba do gabáil.' The Welsh form is *dawn*, 'talent, genius,' and commonly 'the *gift* of oratory.' The Welsh and Irish words are nearly related to the Latin *donum;* and it is needless to say that the name of the goddess *Danu*, genitive *Danann*, has nothing to do with them, though something approaching to a confusion of these words may be found evidenced in a conjecture repeated by Keating, p. 122.

[2] See this view quoted by Keating, p. 120.

coupled with Balor[1] as one of the stout henchmen of Forgall, and we have to regard him, like Balor, as a Fomorian; but as a messenger of fate and death, it was natural to associate him with Danu in her character of goddess of death, and it was also natural that there should be hostility between him and Lug, who punished him for the death of his father Cian.[2]

The eric imposed by Lug on the three brothers compelled them to procure for him certain fabulous weapons, which he should require in a great battle for which he was busily preparing. The story euhemerizes the conflict into an important historical struggle; but in reality the antagonistic parties were the powers of evil and darkness under the name of the Fomori, or the dwellers in the sea, and the Tuatha Dé Danann under the rule of Nuada of the Silver Hand, whose connections were of a very different kind. His subjects were under tribute to the Fomori, who oppressed them in various ways, until the hero Lug successfully led his host to their attack. But one day previous to that event, the Tuatha Dé Danann happened to be holding an assembly, when they beheld coming towards them Lug and his followers. This is the description given of them: "One young man came in the

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 123*a*, where they are called 'Brion 7 Bolor.'

[2] A different account from the foregoing of the death of Cian was known to the *Four Masters*, who say that he fell in the year 241 at the Battle of Samhain, which the learned editor O'Donovan would identify with a Cnoc-*Samhna* near Bruree in the county of Limerick; but this is quite consistent with the more usual meaning of Samhain as the Irish name for November-eve. A Samhain battle would point to a time notoriously inauspicious to Celtic solar heroes, and such a conflict might obviously rage at more than one spot and in more than one story.

front of that army, high in command over the rest; and like to the setting sun was the splendour of his countenance and his forehead; and they were not able to look in his face from the greatness of its splendour. And he was Lugh Lamh-fada, and [his army was] the Fairy Cavalcade from the Land of Promise, and his own foster-brothers, the sons of Manannan."[1] The story-teller was more correct than he knew in comparing Lug to the sun; and it was the setting of the same luminary that had given rise to the myth that Lug was brought up at the court of Manannán, one of the great chiefs of Fairy-land, here called the Land of Promise. It was thence he was sometimes represented coming in the morning, as in this instance, and as in the story of Cúchulainn when he comes to that hero's aid. But to return to Lug's march: on the occasion of his approaching the Fomori's camp later in the day, we read in the same story the following words: "Then arose Breas, the son of Balor, and he said: It is a wonder to me that the sun should rise in the west to-day, and in the east every other day. It were better that it were so, said the druids. What else is it? said he. The radiance of the face of Lugh of the Long Arms, said they."[2] In the protracted conflict which ensued, not only were the powers of darkness routed, but Balor of the Evil Eye, which it was death to behold, was despatched by Lug sending a stone from his sling into the evil eye, so that it came out right through his head. Lug was not only surnamed from his long hands, but he was famous for his mighty blows, and his spear became

[1] See O'Curry's *Fate of the Children of Tuireann* in the *Atlantis*, Vol. iv. pp. 160-3; also Joyce, p. 38.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 176-7.

one of the treasures of the Tuatha Dé Danann; nor is it necessary to point out the parallelism between his slaying of Balor and Llew's transfixing his rival by a cast of his spear, which an intervening rock was not enough to stop in its fatal course.

Before proceeding further, it will be well to say something about the names Llew and Lug. The former is in point of sound the same word as the Welsh for lion; but on looking closely into the passages where the name of the Sun-god occurs, it proves to have been originally not Llew but Lleu;[1] but as mediæval spelling did not always carefully distinguish the sounds of *u*, *w* and *v*, it is only the assonances and rhymes that can be thoroughly decisive in this matter. A couple of such instances occur in a poem in the Book of Taliessin;[2] on the other hand, the Mabinogi of Mâth has always *Llew*, except in one remarkable place.[3] It will be remembered that when Gwydion suspected that he had found Llew in the form of a wounded and wretched eagle on the top of an oak-tree, he sang three verses of poetry to him, at each of which the eagle descended a little, so that at last he let himself down on Gwydion's lap, to be changed by the

[1] The difference of sound amounts to this: the *ew* in *Llew* is sounded like Italian *eu* in *Europa*, and somewhat like Cockney *ow* in 'down town;' while the *eu* in *Lleu* consists approximately of German *e* followed by German *ü*.

[2] Skene, ij. 158, where the instances are *lleu*, *gynheu*, and *lleu*, *kadeu*. I have noted in the same volume an indecisive *llev* at p. 31, while passages at pp. 176, 190, 211, make for *Lleu* or *lleu*.

[3] But it is worthy of note that where the scribe first came across the name he began to write ſleu, though he ended by making it into ſle6, that is to say, *Llew*. So one may infer that the MS. before him read either *lleu* or *llev:* see *R. B. Mab.* p. 71, and ed.'s note, p. 312.

touch of his wand into his former shape. Now the scribe of the Mabinogi gives these verses in a very confused orthography, clearly leaving it to be seen, as he does also in other parts of the tale, that he was copying from an old manuscript which he did not always understand. When restored to what must have approximately been their original form, they require us to read not Llew but *Lleu*, and they would then run somewhat as follows:[1]

1.

Dar a dyf y rwng deulynn,	An oak grows between two lakes;
Gordufrych awyr a glynn:	Black and speckled are sky and glen:
Oni dywettaf i eu,	If my speech be not untrue,
Eulodeu Lleu pan yw hynn.	Here are the members of Lleu.

2.

Dar a dyf yn ardfaës	An oak grows in a ploughed field—
Nis gwlych gwlaw nis mwy	Rain wets it not nor heat melts it more:
tawd tes	Nine score pangs have been endured
Naw ugein angerd a borthes	In its top by Lleu Llawgyffes.
Yn y blaen Lleu Llawgyffes	

3.

Dar a dyf dan anwaeret	An oak grows below the slope;
Mirein medr i'm i welet	A fair hit that I should see him—
Oni dywettaf i eu	If my speech be not untrue,
Ef dydaw Lleu i'm harffet	Lleu will come to my lap.

[1] The manuscript reads: 'Dar a dyf y rǒng deu lenn. gorduwrych awyr a glen. ony dywetaf i eu oulodeu. lle6 pan y6 hynn.' 'Dar a dyf yn ard uaes. nys g6lych gla6. nys m6 y ta6d. na6 ugein angerd a borthes. yn y blaen lle6 lla6 gyffes.' 'Dar a dyf dan anwaeret. mirein medur ym ywet. ony dywedaf i ef. dyda6 lle6 ym harffet.' See the *R. B. Mab.* pp. 78-9. *Lenn* for *lynn*, and *glen* for *glynn*, show the same fashion of spelling as *Res* for *Rhys* on a highly ornamented cross at Llantwit, which can hardly be later than the 11th century: see Hübner's *Inscriptiones Brit. Christianæ*, No. 63, and Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 11, plate 5. The *ou* of *oulodeu*, for later *eulodeu*, more usually written *aelodeu*, 'limbs, members,' must date, if my translation be right, from the spelling of Old Welsh in the technical sense of the term, let us say of the 9th or 10th century.

The place referred to in these verses was beyond doubt hard by the *deu-lynn*, or two lakes near Bala Deulyn, in the valley of Nantlle in Carnarvonshire. The old pronunciation of the name Nantlle was Nantlleu, meaning Nant-Lleu, the Valley or Glenn of Lleu; but when it came to be pronounced as a single word accented on the first syllable, the *u* was liable to be dropped off, as in other words: compare *bore* for *boreu*, 'morning,' and *gele* for *geleu*, 'a leech;' but we need not rely on this alone, for there is evidence ready to hand in one of the Verses of the Graves, which, reduced to a consistent spelling, runs thus:[1]

Y bedd yngorthir Nantlleu	The grave in the upland of Nantlle,
Ni wyr neb i gynneddfeu	Nobody knows its properties:
Mabon fab Modron gleu	It is Mabon's, the swift son of Modron.

The scribe of the Mabinogi makes the valley called after Lleu into Nant y Llew, 'the Lion's Glen,' as he was led to do so by his habit of making Lleu's name into Llew, and confirmed in his error by misinterpreting the *Nantllev* or *Nantlleu* of the manuscript he had before him. This incidentally proves that he had no personal acquaintance with the neighbourhood of Snowdon; and the same want of familiarity with North Wales is suggested by his once making into *Cynwael* the Ffestiniog river Cynvael, now called the Kynval, in Merioneth.[2] From the same lack of acquaintance with the district, he wrote also Dinllef[3]

[1] Published in the *Myvyrian Arch. of Wales*, Vol. i. 78, where it is printed as follows:

'Y Bed yngorthir Nanllau
Ny uyr neb y gynneddfeu
Mabon vab Modron glau.'

[2] *R. B. Mab.* p. 74.

[3] *R. B. Mab.* p. 71.

for Dinllеu, of which more anon. All this is by no means to be wondered at, as the scribe was most likely a native of South Wales; at any rate, the Red Book was probably written at the monastery of Strata Florida, in north Cardiganshire, and one at least of the scribes had a native's acquaintance with Aberystwyth and its immediate neighbourhood.[1] It is not altogether improbable that the change of the name *Lleu* into *Llew*, which cannot be phonologically accounted for, was similarly originated by the mistake of some scribe or story-teller who was a stranger to the district where the hero's name was familiar. Once the example was set, the name Llew, as coinciding with llew, meaning a lion, might be expected to hold its own ground against the older name Lleu, which either conveyed no sense to the story-teller's mind, or no sense that struck him or his listeners as fitting the character of his hero, such as they would conceive it to have been.

But whatever the time and the cause of the change of Lleu's name to Llew may have been, it exercised some influence on one of the stories about the Sun-god, as it helped to give its form to a portion of the romance of Owein ab Urien, whom we have to mention later as playing a rôle corresponding in several respects to that of Cúchulainn. Owein, in the course of his wanderings near the utmost limits of the inhabited world, happened to pass near a wood, when he heard a loud howl proceeding from it. On hearing it repeated he drew near, and found a great knoll in the wood, and in the side of the

[1] I allude more especially to the entry under the year 1113 in *Brut y Tywysogion* (London, 1860), pp. 130-3.

knoll a grey rock with a cleft in it. In the cleft there was a serpent, and close by a pure white[1] lion that wished to pass, but the serpent would dart at him to bite him. Owein, judging the lion the nobler animal, approached, and quickly cut the reptile in two with his sword, whereupon the lion followed him, as it were a greyhound. At the approach of night the grateful beast went out to hunt for him, and brought back a fine roebuck, which Owein cooked and duly divided between him and the lion. Whenever Owein fought afterwards and was likely to be hard pressed, the lion would come to his rescue and kill his antagonists: nothing could prevent him. On one occasion he was shut up within the high walls of a castle, while Owein was to fight a duel outside with a brutal giant who devoured men and women; but it was not long ere the lion got on the battlements, and leaped down to deal Owein's antagonist a fatal wound. Another time the lion was confined in a stone prison, while Owein fought against two men who were likely to give him trouble, and the beast never rested till he forced his way out and killed both.[2] Some would say that the lion was a proper representative of the sun, and the serpent of darkness, which may do for countries where the lion is at home; but that the Welsh tale should have fixed on that particular brute form, is due partly, if not wholly, to the name *Llew* and its ordinary meaning of 'lion.'

[1] See the *R. B. Mab.* p. 186, where it will be seen that the MS. calls the lion *purdu*, 'purely black;' but the older MS., called Rhyderch's White Book (in the Hengwrt Collection), col. 234, calls the beast *purôyn*, or purely white, which is mythologically doubtless more correct.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 186—191; Guest, i. 75—81.

The story, shaped accordingly, reached the Continent, and was elaborated into a romance called the Chevalier au Lion, the oldest edition of which is ascribed to Chrestien de Troyes, who lived in the twelfth century: it became popular also in Germany, and reached Scandinavia.

Why a wild beast of any kind should have been introduced into the story of Owein, especially as it would seem to disturb the symmetry of the myth, is a question of some difficulty, reaching beyond the influence of the name Llew. For a little before Owein came across the white lion, he had been avoiding the haunts of men and living with wild beasts. He had in fact been like one of them, and his body had become covered with hair like theirs. Now this is an incident which has its parallel in the madness of Cúchulainn, and in the pretended dumbness of Peredur when he avoids the abodes of Christians; and it belongs to the hero as a form of the Sun-god, so that to introduce the Sun-god in the form of a wild beast as well would seem to be *de trop*. To this it might perhaps be answered, that it is useless to expect thorough consistency in such matters; and one might even quote as a kind of parallel the case, to be mentioned later, of a horse of the Irish Sun Hero, Conall Cernach, following him to fight with his teeth on behalf of his master. But possibly the story of Cian offers a better parallel, when it represents him taking advantage of some swine he saw not far off on the plain, to change himself to the form that was theirs; and the story of Owein seems to us to suggest that originally it made Owein himself become a beast, and not simply very like one. The strangeness of a story representing the same individual as a knight and as a wild beast successively, would be eliminated by

placing the beast by the side of the knight as his companion and ally. Add to these sundry points of contact between the stories mentioned, the verse cited as placing the grave of Mabon, the Welsh equivalent of the Apollo Maponos of the Celts of antiquity (pp. 21, 27-9) at Nantlle, where Lleu was at last discovered by Gwydion, and one will hardly be able to avoid concluding, that we here have related stories, handed down to us in a fragmentary form which leaves it impossible to ascertain in what exact way they were related to one another. At the point which we have reached, one of the chief things wanting is evidence that Owein was at any time called Llew or Lleu. We have evidence, on the other hand, that Lleu was represented as a wild beast; in fact, that is the only form with which he is invested by the folk-lore of modern Snowdonia. The following is the substance of what I have been able to learn about him:—

The road from Carnarvon to the romantic village of Bedgelert passes pretty close to a lake called *Llyn y Gadair*, the Lake of the Seat; and there is a story current in that part of the country that a long while ago a little knoll between the lake and the road was the seat of a strange beast called the *Aurwrychyn*, or the Gold-bristle: in fact, the name of the lake in full is explained to have been *Llyn Cadair yr Aurwrychyn*, 'the Lake of the Gold-bristle's Seat.' He is said to have been in form somewhat like an ox; but he was covered with gold bristles, and he appeared one mass of brilliant gold, so that when the sun shone on him nobody could look at him. One day, however, a hunter's hounds, chasing the red deer, came across Gold-bristle and pursued him across through the pass called Drws y Coed, which opens into the

Nantlle valley, and caught him near Bala Deulyn. As the dogs were killing him, he gave a cry which made the hills resound, and from this llef or cry the valley received its name of Nant-llef, that is to say, Nantlle.[1] On this I have two or three remarks to make: the bristles of the Aurwrychyn remind one of Cian in his brute form: and the mention of the dying llef or cry may be regarded as an addition to explain the place-name Nantlle, but the correct analysis of that word is into *Nant-Lleu*, that is to say, the Glen of Lleu. Phonologically, however, both explanations would fit alike, as Nant-llef, as well as Nant-lleu, would be curtailed to Nant-lle when the accent fixed itself on the first syllable. Lastly, the coincidence which makes the beast die in Nantlle, where also Gwydion discovered his son Lleu in the form of an eagle, makes it probable that the proper name of the beast in gold bristles was originally no other than that of Lleu.

As we have been brought to the Nantlle valley, let us follow the river which flows from the lakes in the direction contrary to that taken by Gwydion when searching for Lleu (p. 240): this stream is called the Llyvni, and it reaches the sea some distance west of the western mouth of the Menai; and between the latter and the

[1] The author is indebted for this to the *Brython* (published at Tremadoc) for the year 1861, p. 252, and to Mrs. Rhys' memory, for when she was a child she often heard talk of the *Aurwrychyn* as a grand extinct animal at which no man could gaze on account of his mass of gold bristles. The beast was so wild that nobody could get near him. He used to cross the mountains from Cwmglas (between Llanberis and the Pass) to Nantlle, where he was at last caught; but she has never heard anything said of his death.

mouth of the Llyvni is the huge artificial mound called Dinas Dinlle, which dates probably before the Roman occupation, the Romans being supposed to have made use of it. Its future seems to be gradual demolition by the waves of the Irish Sea, unless it is to experience the still worse misfortune of being desecrated by the builders of so-called watering-places. It was at Dinas Dinlle that Lleu spent a part of his boyhood; and in a poem in the Black Book of Carmarthen (p. 272) it is called *caer lev a gwidion*,[1] or the Fortress of Lleu and Gwydion. The present name, Dinas Dinlle, is tautological, and means literally 'the City of Lleu's Town;' the word *din*, 'a town or fortress,' having become obsolete, has here been explained by prefixing its synonymous derivative *dinas*, 'a town or city.'[2] The reasons for going into these details will appear presently; suffice it for the present to recall the statement that Dinlle stands for an older Dinlleu derived from Lleu's name, and meaning Lleu's town. This is proved by various facts; among others, it is indirectly proved by the Dinllef of the scribe of the Mabinogi of Mâth, as already hinted; also by one of the Stanzas of the Graves, which places the grave of Gwydion

[1] Skene, ij. 57.

[2] Other old names have occasionally been treated in the same way: thus the word *tref*, 'town,' is sometimes substituted for *din*, as in the case of *Dinmeirchion*, which has become Tre'meirchion, near St. Asaph in the Vale of Clwyd; and similarly the mythic town of Arianrhod is no longer spoken of in Arvon as *Caer Arianrhod*, but as *Tre' Ga'r 'Anthrod*. See the *Cymmrodor*, vi. 163, where other forms are also mentioned: *'Anthrod* stands for the latter part of *Arianrhod*, with a *th* inserted betwen *n—rh*, as in *penrhyn*, *cynrhon*, pronounced *penthryn* and *cynthron* in N. Wales, while in S. Wales they become *pendryn* and *cyndron*. For the case of Carmarthen, see p. 160.

in Morva Dinfleu,[1] or the Marsh of Dinfleu. But we have evidence that the shorter form Dinfle was also used, especially in the spoken languages, as early as the thirteenth century.[2] It is interesting to add that there was another Dinfle, called in the Red Book, where it is mentioned, Dinfle Ureconn,[3] which meant the Uriconian or Wrekin Dinfle, in the present county of Salop; the longer name served to distinguish it from the one in Arvon.

Such are some of the facts connected with the history of the name *Llew*, which has been traced to the older form *Lleu*. The next step is to ascertain how this latter stands with regard to the Irish *Lug*, genitive *Loga*. Enough is known of the laws of phonology obtaining in the Welsh and Irish languages respectively, to leave us practically in no doubt as to the identity of the two names.[4] Treating *Lleu* and *Lug* henceforth as one and

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[1] The lines in point will be found printed in the *Myvyrian Arch. of Wales*, i. 78; but, as they there stand they look exceedingly corrupt, Dinfleu having been printed Dinflen, which can only be explained as here suggested.

[2] For the name occurs with English *thl* for Welsh fl in the *Record of Carnarvon* (Record Office, 1838), where the *Villa de Dynthle* occurs more than once, pp. 20, 21, 22, 24.

[3] *Red Book*, col. 1047; Skene, ij. 288; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*[2], p. 314.

[4] There are other instances of Irish *ug* or *og* being represented by *eu* in mediæval Welsh, such as the case of the Welsh word *meu* (in *meu-dwy*, 'a hermit,' literally *servus Dei*) as compared with the Irish *mug*, genitive *moga*, 'a slave.' Compare also the Latin *pugillares*, 'writing tablets,' which yielded Old Welsh *poullor-awr*, glossing *pugillarem paginam* (Stokes' Capella Glosses in Kühn's *Beitræge*, vij. 393), together with *peullaór*, which occurs in a poem in the *Bk. of Taliessin* in the sense of 'books' (Skene, ij. 141). In Old Welsh, *og* seems to have occasionally been thus made into *ou* (later *eu* and *au*) much in

the same name, we have next to try to ascertain its original meaning. It is unfortunate that Irish literature is not known to shed any light on this point, excepting that one vocabulary[1] gives it as meaning a hero; that, however, looks too much like a mere guess based on the stories about Lug. So we have to fall back on Welsh, which supplies related forms in the words *lleu-ad*, 'a luminary, a moon;' *lleu-fer* (also *lleu-er*), 'a luminary, a light;' *llew-ych*, 'a light, or lighting;' *llewych-u*, 'to shine.' Nay, *lleu* itself occurs as an appellative meaning light, as, for example, in the Book of Aneurin,[2] a manuscript supposed to be of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, where we meet with the term *lleu babir*, used of rush-lights or the light derived from the rushes used for lighting, which are in modern Welsh called *pabwyr*.[3] The term *lleu babir* also occurs in a poem[4] ascribed to Kynđelw, a poet of the twelfth century; but the fact that we have to go so far back for instances of the word *lleu*, and then only to find it in the single combination *lleu babir*, only serves to show that it

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the same way that English has made 'sorrow,' 'tallow,' 'morrow,' out of older forms corresponding to the German *sorg*, *talg* and *morg-en*. For more about the phonology of the change in question, see my *Lect. on Welsh Phil.*[2] pp. 66, 67, 412.

[1] O'Davoren in Stokes' *Three Irish Glossaries*, p. 103. O'Reilly's Dictionary gives *Logh* the meanings of 'God, fire, ethereal spirits, a loosing, dissolving, untying.'

[2] Skene, ij. 66.

[3] The rush is peeled almost completely and then dipped in tallow, and this forms a common means of lighting rustic homes in Wales.

[4] See the *Red Book*, cols. 1165-9; the poem has been published by me in the *Montgomeryshire Collections* issued by the Powys-land Club, Vol. xi. p. 171-8: see more especially pp. 171, 177.

has long since become obsolete, or at any rate of very rare occurrence. The point of chief importance to us is the fact that *lleu* meant light, and that there is no reason to suppose the name *Lleu* to be of a different origin from the appellative; we are at liberty also to suppose that the Irish *Lug* meant light, and thus we arrive at a signification of the name, which exactly describes the Sun-god, whom we have identified under these appellations.

The widely spread Cult of Lug.

We now pass on from the names of the Sun-god to the widely spread cult of which he was the object in all Celtic lands. In Ireland there were great meetings, which constituted fairs and feasts, associated with Lug, and called Lugnassad after him. The chief day for these was Lammas-day, or the first of August, and the most celebrated of them used to be held at Tailltin[1] (p. 148), in Meath. The story of the institution of the fair is thus told by the Irish historian Keating: "Lugh Lámhfhada son of Cian .... took the kingship of Erinn for forty years. It is this Lugh that first instituted the fair of Tailltin, as an annual commemoration of Tailltiu, daughter of Maghmór, that is to say, the king of Spain; and she was wife to Eochaidh mac Eirc, last king of the Fir Bolg; she was afterwards wife to Eochaidh Gharbh, son of Duach Dall and chief of the Tuatha Dé Danann. It is by this woman that Lugh Lámhfhada was fostered and educated, until he was fit to bear arms. It is as a commemoration of honour to her that Lugh instituted the games of the

[1] The Irish name is *Tailltiu*, gen. *Taillten*, acc. and dative *Tailltin*. It is Anglicized Teltown, the name of a place where the remains of a ráth exist near the Boyne. Cancel an *n* in *Tailltinn*, p. 148.

fair of Tailltin, a fortnight before Lammas and a fortnight after, in imitation of the games called Olympic; and it is from this commemoration which Lugh made, that the name Lugnasadh is given to the first day or calends of August, that is to say, Lugh's *nasadh* or commemoration."[1] This is in harmony with what is briefly said in Cormac's Glossary: "Lúgnasad, i.e. a commemorating game or fair, thereto is the name *nasad*, i.e. a festival or game of Lugh mac Ethne or Ethlenn, which was celebrated by him in the beginning of autumn."[2]

These passages do not quite satisfactorily explain the meaning of the word *nassad;* but let that pass for the present, and let us add that O'Curry in mentioning this legend says that Lug buried his nurse in a plain in the present barony of Kells, in the county of Meath; that he raised over her a large artificial hill or sepulchral mound, which remains to this day; that he ordered there a commemorative festival, with games and sports after the fashion of other countries, to be held in her honour for ever, and that they were continued down to the ninth century.[3] The games alluded to consisted of a variety of manly sports and contests, but one of their chief characteristics was horse-racing, which reminds one of the racing near the tomb of Patroclus, for which Achilles provided rich prizes.[4] A fair which appears to have been of the same nature used to be held on the calends of August also at Cruachan, a place mentioned in connection with Ailill and Medb (p. 330); but little is known about the fair there. A

[1] Keating, pp. 126-9.

[2] Cormac's *Glossary* (Stokes-O'Donovan ed.), p. 99.

[3] *Manners*, &c. ij. 148; *MS. Mat.* p. 287.

[4] *Iliad*, xxiij. 255—270.

third fair was held triennially at Carman, now called Wexford; and its time was likewise the first day of August. The stories about its institution vary considerably, and offer some difficulty of interpretation in as far as regards their mythological meaning;[1] but, like the Tailltin fair, it is represented as commemorative of a deceased person, and as having been established after the demons of blight and blast had been overcome. It was considered an institution of great importance, and among the blessings promised to the men of Leinster from holding it and duly celebrating the established games, were plenty of corn, fruit and milk, abundance of fish in their lakes and rivers, domestic prosperity, and immunity from the yoke of any other province. On the other hand, the evils to follow from the neglect of this institution were to be failure and early greyness on them and their kings.

It is not very evident why the stories about the institution of these fairs should give them a funereal interpretation; but it is worth while mentioning that both Tailltin and Cruachan are mentioned as among the chief burial-places in pagan Erinn;[2] and Carman is also alluded to as a cemetery.[3] Moreover, Lug, as we have already seen (p. 397), was, when he came, supposed to arrive from the other world, and to be followed by a fairy train consisting of the sons of Manannán mac Lir. We come next to the association of Lug's name with the fair; for this there was a special reason: it has already been stated that the Lugnassad corresponded in the calendar to the English Lammas—a word which was in A.-Saxon *hláfmæsse*, that is, loaf-mass or bread-mass, so

[1] See O'Curry, ij. 38—47, iij. 527-47; also *Bk. of Leinster*, 215.

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, 38*b*, 39*a*, 51*a*. [3] *Bk. of Leinster*, 215*a*.

named as a mass or feast of thanksgiving for the first-fruits of the corn-harvest. That feast 'seems to have been observed with bread of new wheat, and therefore in some parts of England, and even in some near Oxford, the tenants are bound to bring in wheat of that year to their lord, on or before the first of August,' a day otherwise called the *Gule* of August.[1] In Germany, a loaf of bread had to be given to the shepherd who kept one's cattle.[2] The Church has assigned the day to St. Peter ad Vincula, which supplies no key to the choice of the day in Teutonic lands as a sort of feast of first-fruits; so we seem to be at liberty to regard the latter as having come down from pagan times, which enables us to understand the Irish account of the institution of the fairs and meetings held on that day. Thus if we go into the story of the fair of Carman, we are left in no doubt as to the character of the mythic beings whose power had been brought to an end at the time dedicated to that fair: they may be said to have represented the blighting chills and fogs that assert their baneful influence on the farmer's crops. To overcome these and other hurtful forces of the same kind, the prolonged presence of the Sun-god was essential, in order to bring the corn to maturity. Why Lug should have made the feast for Tailltiu does not at first sight appear; but let us see what can be made out of her. She is strangely described[3]

[1] This is the substance of a part of a note by Thos. Hearne in his edition of *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicles* (Oxford, 1724), p. 679.

[2] See Leo's *Angelsächsisches Glossar* (Halle, 1877), s. v. *hláfmæsse*, col. 543.

[3] In the *Book of Leinster*, 9*a*, 200*b*, which is followed in this matter by Keating.

as daughter of Mag Mór, king of Spain: now Mag Mór[1] means the Great Plain, one of the names for the other world, which is corroborated by the allusion to Spain, another of the Irish aliases for Hades (p. 90); and in the story that she was first the wife of the king of the Fir Bolg, and then of that of the Tuatha Dé, we have an indication that she belonged to the class of dawn and dusk goddesses; at one time she was the consort of a dark being, and at another of a bright one, while the Sun-god was her foster-child, which recalls the fostering of Lleu by a nurse at Dinas Dinlle or some adjacent spot near the sea. That this is the way to regard Tailltiu is proved by a story attributing to her the action of clearing a forest and of thickly covering it within the year with clover blossom.[2] This, at the same time that it helps us to understand the propriety of associating her with an agricultural feast, recalls the Welsh myth of Olwen and the white trefoils that sprang up wherever she set her foot.[3] Both Olwen and Tailltiu were of the number of the goddesses of dawn and dusk—a class of divinities, however, much less differentiated on Celtic than on classic ground. Thus in the present instance I should claim for comparison both Aphrodite and Athene; the former, because wherever she walked on landing in her favourite Cyprus, she likewise made roses bloom and

[1] It is called *Mag Mór an Aonaig*, 'the Great Plain of the Assembly or the Fair,' on which the Fomori are attacked by Lug, according to one of the stories about his doings: see the *Atlantis*, iv. 178-9. Similarly, Bres, when driven from the kingship and seeking the aid of his Fomorian kindred, found the latter with their king, his father, holding a great assembly on a *Mag Mór*: see the MS. *Harl.* 5280, fol. 64*b*.

[2] *Bk. of Leinster*, 9*a*: see also 200*b*.

[3] *R. B. Mab.* p. 117; Guest ij. 276.

green pastures grow, and the latter as occupying the foremost place at the Panathenæa, just as Tailltiu did at the Lugnassad, there being reasons, to be mentioned later, why one should identify the Celtic and the Greek feasts with one another. Such lines of difference as that drawn between Aphrodite and Athene, or between either and such a goddess, for example, as rosy-fingered Eos, is very rudimentary in Celtic; and in that respect Celtic mythology appears to have retained a more ancient and rudimentary form.

In the above-mentioned stories, the Lugnassad feasts and fairs are described as established in honour of the dead, one by Lug himself and the other by the Tuatha Dé Danann. But there is a different account in one of the manuscripts till recently in the possession of Lord Ashburnham, where one meets with an instance of those quaint explanations of place-names so characteristic of old Irish literature. It is to the following effect: "The Refuse of the Great Feast which I mentioned, that is Taillne. It is here that Lug Scimaig[1] proceeded to make the great feast for Lug mac Ethlenn for his entertainment after the battle of Mag Tured; for this was his wedding of the kingship, since the Tuatha Dé Danann made the aforesaid Lug king after the death of Nuada. As to the place where the refuse was thrown, a great

[1] *Scimaig* looks like the genitive of a word *scimach;* but in the MS. *Harl.* 5280, fol. 21 *b*, it is written *scimaig*, with a mark of undefined contraction over the *m*. Another form occurs in the *Bk. of Leinster*, which identifies this Lug with Lug mac Ethlenn: see 11 *b* and the top margin, which has the following verses:

Cermait *mac in* dagdæ de rageogai*n* lug sciemai*ñ*ge.
babara broi*n for* si*n* maig aflaith echac*h* ollathir.

'For sin maig' is glossed '. i. *for* brug m*aic* [in]doc.'

knoll was made of it: this was [thenceforth] its name, the Knoll of the Great Feast, or the Refuse of the Great Banquet, that is to say, Taillne, at the present day."[1] The way in which Lug's personality is doubled in this story is remarkable; and it is possible that in the vocable Taillne we have a name nearly related to that of Taillltin;[2] while the festivities of the Lugnassad are probably referred to in the allusion to the great feast made by Lug for Lug as a reward for his victory over the powers of darkness in the great mythical battle of Mag Tured. Further, the mention of his assumption of sovereignty as his act of wedding or marrying the kingdom is curious, and leads to a further examination of the term Lugnassad. It is probable that *nassad* did not mean either a commemoration or a festival, as might be gathered from Keating and Cormac, since it is a word of the same origin as the Latin *nexus*, 'a tying or binding together, a legal obligation.'[3] Moreover, a compound *ar-nass* is used more

[1] The manuscript is now in the library of the R. Irish Academy, classed D, iv. 2; and the passage here translated occurs on folio 82*b*, which has been kindly read for me by Prof. Atkinson: I have also consulted the British Museum Codex already referred to as *Harleian* 5280, and especially page 21*b*. The former reads *tall ni* and *taill ni*, the latter *tailne* and *taillne*, a name which looks like a derivative from *Tailltiu*, genitive *Taillten*, as it admits of being treated as a curtailed form of *Tailltne*.

[2] Besides the place called Taillne, and the Tailltin where, according to the *Bk. of Leinster*, 9*a*, Lug's foster-mother lived, the forest said to have been cleared by her was called *Caill Cúan*, the situation of which seems to be defined by 200*b*. There is a *Cuan Teilion*, or Teelin Harbour, in Donegal, and Strangford Lough is *Loch Cuan;* but see Stokes & Windisch, ij. pp. 242, 248.

[3] The Latin term was a most important one, and we have an Irish word of kindred origin in the noun *nassad*, used in the sense of a legal

than once in the Ashburnham manuscript just alluded to, in the sense of betrothing one's daughter, or giving her away by solemn contract to a husband;[1] and lastly, a participial form *nassa* occurs of a girl who has been promised or betrothed to a husband.[2] These facts, and the curious allusion to Lug's wedding the kingdom, go to prove that the term *Lug-nassad* originally meant Lug's wedding or marriage, and that this was one of the chief things the festivities on that day were meant to call to mind.

We have traces of this idea in a strange story[3] to which allusion has already been made (p. 205). Conn the Hundred-fighter and his druid were one day over-

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sanction, in a verse in the *Book of the Dun*, 118*b*, which treats the death of Loegaire Mac Néill as a punishment for his violating an oath he had sworn by the sun and the moon and the elements:

"Loegaire mac Néill died beside Casse—green is the land;
God's elements by him pledged brought the encounter of death on the king:
In the battle of Ath Dara the Swift was Loegaire taken, son of Niall;
The just sanction of God's elements, that is what killed Loegaire."

The tract in which it occurs has recently been published by the Rev. Charles Plummer in the *Rev. Celt.* vi. 163. A different version, in which the word in question does not occur, is to be found in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 43*a* (see also Atkinson's Introduction, p. 23). In these words the original meaning of a tying or binding is involved, but it has added to it the idea of what makes the obligation effective or avenges the violation of it.

[1] Fol. 83*b*: arnaisai *se*de uile do *f*eraib remibsium, 'he had betrothed all these to husbands before them;' and further on—arnais ia*r*um *F*orgall ann *ingin* don ri, 'Forgall then betrothed the girl to the king.'

[2] See the *Bk. of Leinster*, 92*a*: Ba nassa damsa *in*di*n*gen út uair *ch*éin, 'that girl has been betrothed to me long ago.'

[3] Edited with a translation in O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* pp. 618-22, from the British Museum MS. *Harl.* 5280.

taken by a thick mist, whence there issued a knight who took them to a beautiful plain, whereon they saw a royal ráth with a golden tree at its door. They entered a splendid house therein, where they beheld a youthful princess with a diadem of gold on her head, and a silver kieve with hoops of gold standing near her, full of red ale; and they saw seated before them on a royal seat a personage of the other sex, whose like had never been seen at Conn's court at Tara, either as to stature or beauty of face and figure. He explained to them that he was no phantom, but that he was Lug,[1] and that it was his pleasure to reveal to Conn the duration of his rule, and that of every prince who should reign at Tara after him. This revelation to Conn begins with the crowned lady giving him two huge bones, the ribs of a gigantic ox and of a boar respectively; she then proceeds to distribute the red ale, with the question, 'For whom is this bowl?' Lug answers, 'For Conn the Fighter of a Hundred;' and the same distribution of the contents of the great vat is repeated in respect of each of Conn's successors; but I should have said that the queen was described by Lug to Conn as the Sovereignty of Erinn till the day of doom. In this story we have Lug pictured to us as a dweller in the other world, where the Sun-god was supposed to spend half his time, and there with him lived as his consort the youthful beauty typifying the kingdom of Erinn. No better proof could perhaps be desired that

[1] He describes himself as *Lug mac Edlend, mic Tighernmais*, that is to say, Lug son of Edle (better Edne or Ethne), son of Tigernmas, which is noteworthy as virtually identifying Tigernmas with Balor; but the value of the suggestion is reduced by the display of ignorance in treating *Edle* as Lug's father and not his mother.

the interpretation here suggested of the term *Lugnassad* is in the main correct; and it agrees with the fact that after Lug's death—for euhemerized gods must die—the husband of Erinn is represented bearing the significant name of *Mac Greine*, or the Son of the Sun.[1] Nor is evidence of a more indirect nature altogether wanting, for if the Lugnassad recalled the marriage of Lug, it might also be expected to have been considered an auspicious time for their own marriages by his worshippers. This is borne out by tradition. Dr. O'Donovan, after briefly describing the position of Tailltin or Teltown, goes on to say that there were in his day vivid traditions of the Lugnassad extant in the country, and that Teltown was, till recently, resorted to by the men of Meath for hurling, wrestling, and other manly sports. This is not all, for 'to the left of the road, as you go from Kells to Donaghpatrick, there is,' he adds, 'a hollow called *Lag an Aonaigh*, i.e. the Hollow of the Fair, where, according to tradition, marriages were solemnized in pagan times.'[2]

To sum up these remarks: the Lammas fairs and meetings forming the Lugnassad in ancient Ireland, marked the victorious close of the sun's contest with the powers of darkness and death, when the warmth and light of that luminary's rays, after routing the colds and blights, were fast bringing the crops to maturity: this, more mythologically expressed, was represented as the final

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 10*a*; Keating, p. 130-1.

[2] The *Four Masters*, A.M. 3370, note. Perhaps the marriages at the Lugnassad followed a season of no marrying: in Scotland at least the month of May was a close time in this respect: see Thos. Stephens' *Godolin* (published by the Cymmrodorion), pp. 125-6, where he quotes Thomas de Quincey in Hogg's *Instructor* for July, 1852, p. 293.

crushing of Fomori and Fir Bolg, the death of their king and the nullifying of their malignant spells, and as the triumphant return of Lug with peace and plenty to marry the maiden Erinn and to enjoy a well-earned banquet, at which the fairy host of dead ancestors was probably not forgotten. Marriages were solemnized on the auspicious occasion; and no prince who failed to be present on the last day of the fair durst look forward to prosperity during the coming year.[1] The Lugnassad was the great event of the summer half of the year, which extended from the calends of May to the calends of Winter. The Celtic year was more thermometric than astronomical, and the Lugnassad was, so to say, its summer solstice, whereas the longest day was, so far as I have been able to discover, of no special account.

We have not yet done with the name of Lug and Lleu: the genitive of the former is Loga, so it is known from the analogy of other words that if Lug were put back into its Gaulish form, we should have a noun of the *u* declension making in the nominative singular *Lugus*, and in the genitive *Lugovos*, with a nominative plural *Lugoves*. It requires no great stretch of imagination to see also that we have the same word in the Gaulish name which has become in French *Lyons;* in Latin authors it is usually *Lugdunum;* but there is, however, evidence which places it beyond doubt that the older Gallo-Roman form was *Lugudunum*,[2] that is to say, in Gaulish Lugudûnon or Lugudounon, which would mean the town of Lug.

[1] O'Curry (quoting MS. *Harl.* 5280), pp. 618, 620.

[2] See also Dio Cassius, xlvi. 50: τὸ Λουγούδουνον μὲν ὀνομασθὲν νῦν δὲ Λούγδουνον καλούμενον: see also the Berlin *Corpus Inscr.* ij. 2912, 3235, iij. 5832, v. 875, 7213, vij. 1334, 1.

Moreover, the Gaulish compound is made up of the self-same elements which we have in Din-ŧleu; but this latter, not being a compound, would be literally represented in Gaulish by *Dūnon Lugovos*, or Lleu's Town. It is highly probable, however, that it was obtained by analysing the compound name,[1] which may be supposed to have been the original in this country as well as in Gaul. Now Lyons was not the only Lugdunum, for there was one in the Pyrenees, distinguished as *Lugdunum Convenarum*, now called Saint-Bertrand de Comminges, in the department of the Haute Garonne; moreover, Laon, the chief town of the department of the Aisne, bore this name;[2] and so, as is generally known, did Leyden on the Rhine in Holland, for Ptolemy in his Geography gives its old name as Λουγόδουνον.[3] Look at the positions of these places on the map, and take into account those of Dinŧleu in Arvon, and Dinŧle in the Wrekin district in Shropshire, also the places where the Lugnassad were celebrated in Ireland, and you will readily admit that the name Lugus, Lug or Lleu, was that of a divinity whose cult was practised by all probably of the Celts both on the Continent and in these islands. In fact, to go more into detail, it may be inferred that the Irish Lugnassad had its counterpart at one at least of the Lugduna of the Continent, namely, the southernmost city of that name, on the Rhone; for it

[1] A place-name into which Lug's name enters in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 82*a*, is (in the dative) *Modaib Loga*, which is there explained to be the same as the compound *Lugmod*.

[2] For this I am indebted to my learned colleague, the Regius Professor of History at Oxford, who has directed my attention to Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Francorum*, vi. 4.

[3] Traces of a fifth Lugdunum, in documents belonging to the church of Le Mans, are mentioned in the *Rev. Celt.* vij. 399.

is not improbable that the festival held there every first of August in honour of the deified Augustus simply superseded, in name mostly, an older feast held on that day in honour of Lug.[1]

What took place in the south of Gaul may have come to pass also in Britain: the echoes of a feast or fair on the first of August have not yet died out of Wales, where one still speaks of *Gwyl Awst*, which would now mean only the August festival, though, according to the analogy of other names,[2] it should be rendered the Feast of Augustus. *Gwyl Awst* is now a day for fairs in certain parts of North Wales, and it is remembered in central and southern Cardiganshire as one on which the shepherds used, till comparatively lately, to have a sort of picnic on the hills. One farmer's wife would lend a big kettle, and others would contribute the materials held requisite for making in it a plentiful supply of good soup or broth, while, according to another account, everybody present had to put his share of fuel on the fire with his own hands. But in Brecknockshire the first of August seems to have given way, some time before Catholicism had lost its sway in Wales, to the first holiday or feast in August,

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[1] M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, in an article in *La nouvelle Revue historique de Droit français et étranger* (see his offprint entitled *Études sur le Droit celtique* (Paris, 1881), p. 92), was the first to notice this interesting coincidence; and he suggests that the *ludi miscelli* and the tournaments of eloquence, which Caligula ordered to take place there in his presence (Suetonius' *Caligula*, 20: see also his *Claudius*, 2; Strabo, iv. 3, 2 [p. 261]), formed simply the Gallo-Roman continuation of a Celtic custom which had its beginning previous to the advent of the Roman.

[2] Such as *Gwyl Fair*, *Gwyl Iwan*, *Gwyl Fihangel*, the feasts respectively of SS. Mary, John, and Michael the Angel.

that is to say, the first Sunday in that month. For then crowds of people early in the morning made their way up the mountains called the Beacons, both from the side of Carmarthenshire and Glamorgan: their destination used to be the neighbourhood of the Little Van Lake, out of whose waters they expected in the course of the day to see the Lady of the Lake make her momentary appearance. A similar shifting from the first of August to the first Sunday in that month has, I imagine, taken place in the Isle of Man. For though the solstice used to be, in consequence probably of Scandinavian influence, the day of institutional significance in the Manx summer, enquiries I have made in different parts of the island go to show that middle-aged people now living remember, that when they were children their parents used to ascend the mountains very early on the first Sunday in August (Old Style), and that in some districts at least they were wont to bring home bottles full of water from wells noted for their healing virtues. In a word, the memory of living Manxmen retains enough to show that the day was once of great importance, though I have not been able to find anything to connect its associations with Lug and the Lugnassad except the name *Lhuanys* for the first day of August. The story of the Lady of the Little Van Lake, whom the Welsh pilgrims used till recently to go forth to see, is too long to be given here,[1] and also too modern, in the form we have it, to clear up the details of the myth of which it forms a part. Suffice it to say that she may be regarded as belonging to the numerous

[1] The whole is given as the first of my Welsh Fairy Tales in the *Cymmrodor*, iv. 163—179; but see also vi. 203-4.

class of dawn-goddesses, that she wedded a husband in the district, and that after a time she left both him and her children. Now and then, however, she returned to converse with the latter, especially the eldest of them, a youth named Rhiwallon, whom she carefully instructed as to the virtues of all kinds of herbs. He afterwards proved the founder of a famous family of physicians, whose descendants are widely spread in South Wales. The Physicians of Myḋvai, as they were called, were historical, and attached to the princely house of Dinevor; but their ancestor was of mythic descent, and his name enables one to identify him in the Welsh Triads, where he is called Rhiwallon of the Broom (-yellow) Hair, and invested with a solar character: among other things, he is classed with two other solar heroes as being, like them, famous for his intimate knowledge of the nature of all material things.[1] It is impossible to say how far the original myth agreed with that of Lug, but the one thing yearly looked for was the appearance of Rhiwallon's mother, the Lady of the Lake: she occupied on the Welsh holiday the position assigned to Tailltiu at the Lugnassad, and to Athene at the Panathenæa. Further, the great

[1] See *Triads*, i. 10 = ij. 21 *b* = iij. 70, and compare i. 22 = iij. 28, also i. 49 = ij. 43 = iij. 27, which go to prove that our Rhiwallon is to be identified with Rhiwallon son of Urien. Other passages in Welsh literature, such as *Triad* i. 52, suggest that the Lady of the Van Lake's name was Modron daughter of Avallach, and that among her children are to be reckoned not only Rhiwallon but also the solar heroes Mabon and Owein, with the latter's twin-sister Morvuḋ. Urien, the father, is decidedly to be classed among the dark divinities; and this explains why, after her lover had long wooed the Lady that was wont to row on the Little Van Lake in a golden boat, the marriage did not take place till New-year's-eve, that is to say, the middle of winter: see the *Cymmrodor*, iv. 178-9.

importance once attaching to Lammas among the Welsh, admits of another kind of proof, namely, the fact, for such it seems to be, that the Welsh term, in the modified form of *Gula Augusti*, passed into the Latinity of the Chronicles,[1] and even into a statute of Edward III.[2] The widely spread observance of the festival of Augustus would be satisfactorily accounted for on the supposition, that it was a great Celtic feast continued under a new name.

It must by no means be supposed that the worship of the Sun-god here in question rests on inferential evidence alone of the kind just indicated, for proof of a more direct nature is not altogether wanting. Witness the following Latin inscription from the ancient Spanish town of Uxama, a Celtic name now changed into Osma: *Lugovibus sacrum, L. L. Urcico Collegio Sutorum d. d.*[3] This seems to tell us that a man whose name was L. L. Urcico built a temple for the Lugoves and made a present of it to a college of cobblers, which at once raises several questions, such as, why *Lugovibus* and not *Lugovi*, and why a college of cobblers? why should they have had charge of the temple? It is a far cry from Spain to Snowdon, but I know of no means of answering these questions except those provided by the Mabinogi of Mâth,

[1] *Annales Cambriæ* (the Rolls edition, 1860), p. 109 (A.D. 1287).

[2] See Ducange, s. v. *gula*, where he refers to a statute of Edward III. a. 31, c. 14, and quotes therefrom: *Aueragium aestiuale fieri debet inter Hokedai et gulam Augusti.*

[3] The Berlin *Corpus Inscr. Lat. Hispaniarum*, ij. No. 2818. The writer in the *Rev. Celt.*, vij. 399, already referred to, cites Pliny's *Hist. Nat.* iii. 4, 11, as proving Uxama to have been a Celtic city belonging to the Arevaci. As to the name Uxama, see my *Celtic Britain*[2], p. 280.

already cited more than once. You will remember how it is there told that Gwydion and his son Lleu assumed the guise of shoemakers, when Gwydion wished to outwit Arianrhod so as to force her to give her disowned son a name. The stratagem proved a success; and the passage tells us that on account of that disguise Gwydion was known as one of the Three Golden Cordwainers of the Isle of Britain; but it does not include his son with him, though he took also an active part in the shoemaking. On the other hand, the triad in question, as it appears in the ordinary lists (i. 77 = ij. 58), excludes Gwydion, the three being Caswallon son of Beli, Manawyđan son of Llyr, and Lleu respectively. The story about Caswallon is lost, but that of Manawyđan is detailed in the Mabinogi that goes by his name. Probably nothing but the restricted nature of the triad is responsible for the fact that Gwydion and Lleu are not both included; and it is hard to avoid supposing that the father and the son were the Lugoves of the inscription at Osma, as that supposition would explain their association with the cobblers. This, however, raises the question how, in case the name Lug and Lleu have been rightly explained by us, the father and the son could have been called *Lugoves*, a word which should, according to the view expressed, have meant lights or luminaries. There was probably an inconsistency underlying this use of that term; but how small it practically was will be readily seen when it is considered that Gwydion as the benefactor of man stood in somewhat the same relation to the sun as did Indra in Hindu mythology, which represents the latter daily recovering the sun for mortals: the Norsemen made the relationship a still closer one, for in one of their stories they

regarded the sun, not as Woden's offspring, but as Woden's eye. That the plural *Lugoves* was not exceptional or peculiar to the inscription mentioned, is not to be supposed: there are two reasons for thinking the contrary. In the first place, there is another inscription which reads *Lugoves* in large bronze majuscules on an epistylium of white marble found at Avenches, in Switzerland,[1] and as the legend consists solely of this word, the name of the *Lugoves* must have been very familiar to Gaulish ears. In the next place, the inclusion of the two under one name looks like the beginning of a process of running the character and personality of the father and the son into one, with that of the latter on the whole prevailing; this is the case with nearly all the Irish stories about the Sun-god, while that of Gwydion and Lleu is the only one in Welsh which keeps them well apart. The distinction is a small one, but it is of great importance when Lleu is compared with the Irish sun-heroes. The former does next to nothing for himself, since nearly everything is done for him by Gwydion; and Balder is treated much in the same way by his parents. On the other hand, the wily shrewdness which the Welsh story ascribes to the father is passed on by the Irish one to his son Lug, while the father practically disappears; and altogether a view which made the sun a person with a father who took care of him, looks a very primitive one, and the existence of such a father must have at times been very precarious and liable to effacement by the transcendent character of his offspring, who absorbed his chief attributes. There would, moreover, be another tendency to bring the two

[1] Mommsen's *Inscrip. Helvet.* No. 161.

more closely together, arising from the wisdom and knowledge ascribed to the Sun-god, as the result presumably of his position and much travelling; so far as this would go, it would tend to invest him with the same cleverness as his father, the Hermes or Culture Hero of the race. Some Irish stories[1] illustrate this to a nicety in the case of Lug, whom they surname the *Ildánach*, or him of many gifts and of many professions. Thus when Lug, coming from a distance, offers the Tuatha Dé Danann his aid against the Fomori at the battle that was going to be fought on the Plain of Tured, he was asked, on presenting himself at the gates, who he was, whereupon Lug replied that he was a good carpenter. The porter answered that they had a good carpenter, so that they had no need of him. Then Lug said he was an excellent smith, to which the same reply was given. He then went through a large number of professions, including those of soldier, harpist, poet, historian and jurisconsult, magician, physician, cup-bearer, worker in bronze and the precious metals; but he always had the same kind of answer, until he told the porter to ask Nuada the king if he had a man who could exercise all these professions and trades with equal skill. The king was only too delighted to engage such a one, and Lug ere long proceeded to pass under review all the king's men of skill, and to ascertain what service each could render in the struggle that was to take place with the Fomori.[2] Had we no other account of Lug, we should have certainly had

[1] Such as that of the Children of Tuirenn already mentioned.

[2] O'Curry, ij. 248-50, iij. 42-3; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Études sur le Droit celtique*, pp. 85-6; also the same scholar's *Cycle Myth.* pp. 176-7.

to look at him as an Irish Mercury: we should be wrong, no doubt, as a wider view of his character serves to show, but this helps us to see how it was possible to call father and son by the one name of Lugoves.

Before leaving this part of the subject, a word more has to be said of the name Lugdunum, and the various ways in which it has been explained. (1) The pseudo-Plutarch *De Fluminibus* speaks of it in these words: "There lies close by it [namely, the river Arar] a mountain called Lugdunos, and it had its name changed from the following cause: Momaros and Atepomaros having been driven from the government by Seseronis, wished to found a city upon this hill according to the direction, and suddenly, while the foundations were being dug, there appeared ravens fluttering about, and they filled the trees all round. Now Momaros was skilled in augury, and named the city Lugdunon; for in their idiom they call a raven λοῦγος, and an eminence they call δοῦνον, as Klitopho narrates in the 13th book of his Foundations."[1] Mountain or hill may do as the translation of the sort of town or acropolis which the Gauls called *dūnon;* but that they had a word *lugos*, meaning a raven, is a statement which the vocabularies of the Celtic languages seem to leave open to doubt:[2] it was most likely a guess founded on the alleged appearance of the ravens during the found-

[1] *Plutarch*, ed. Dübner (Paris, 1855), Vol. v. p. 85 (*Pseudo-plutarchea de Fluviis*, vi. 4): see also Müller's (Didot) *Frag. Hist. Gr.* iv. p. 367.

[2] The nearest word known to the alleged *lugos*, 'a raven,' would be the Irish *luch*, 'a mouse;' *lugliath*, 'grey as a mouse,' *Bk. of Leinster*, 120*a*; *lochrúna*, 'dark secrets,' so rendered in the Stokes-O'Donovan *Cormac*, p. 100, where *lochdub* is also translated 'all black;' Welsh, *llyg*, 'a shrew or field-mouse;' *llygoden*, 'a mouse;' *llygliw*, 'of the colour of a mouse.'

ing of the city. (2) Some notes to the Bordeaux *Itinerary*[1] make Lugdunum mean *Mons Desideratus*, which was also probably a guess, like the other. (3) A ninth-century Life of St. Germanus by Hericus devotes to the name the following lines:[2]

> '*Lucduno* celebrant Gallorum famine nomen,
> Impositum quondam, quod sit *mons lucidus* idem.'

The motive for the spelling *Lucduno* is doubtless to be sought in *mons lucidus;* but it is possible that the latter represents, somewhat inaccurately doubtless, a tradition which had come down from a time when Gaulish had not become a dead language: at any rate it seems to approach the truth more nearly than the other etymologies, and it may be inferred that what underlay the passage in the pseudo-Plutarch was this: the Gauls regarded the raven as the bird of the Lugoves or of one of them; there was a tradition that ravens appeared while Lugdunum was being founded, and that therefore it was dedicated to Lugus, whence its name of Lugu-dûnon. This is of course a mere theory; but so far as regards the ravens, it does not stand alone; for Owein son of Urien, who must be regarded as a solar hero, had a mysterious army of ravens;[3] Cúchulainn, an avatar of Lug, had his two ravens of magic or druidism,[4] and from hearing them his

[1] Otherwise called *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, and cited by Diefenbach in his *Origines Europææ*, p. 325.

[2] Diefenbach, *loc. cit.*; but the Bollandists read *Lugduno*.

[3] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 153-9, 192; Guest, ij. 407-15, i. 84.

[4] Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 220; *Bk. of the Dun*, 48*b*; see also 57*a*, where the words *fíaich lúgbairt* are used, meaning, as it would seem, 'ravens that bring Lug or light:' compare the Welsh *lleu-fer*, 'light-bearing or light-giving, a luminary.'

enemies inferred his having himself come; and Greek mythology represents Apollo occasionally attended by a raven, as in the story of Coronis.[1]

From these parallel instances it would seem that the one of the Lugoves to whom the ravens strictly belonged was Lugus, and that fits in with the story of the founding of the Lyons *Lugdunum*. Another conjecture is possible as to the Lugoves, namely, that they were Lugus with one or more solar brothers like himself, and not his father. There would be no lack of parallel instances: witness the three comrades at Arthur's court, namely, Peredur, Owein and Gwalchmai; or the three Ultonians, one of whom, Conall Cernach, avenges Cúchulainn's death, while the third, Loegaire, has no very distinct rôle assigned him. Similarly, in Norse mythology, Balder had several brothers, one of whom visited him in Hell, and a third avenged his death; even in Greek we have something of the same kind in the presence together of Apollo and Heracles, whose disputes remind one of the rivalry between Cúchulainn, Conall and Loegaire, which was made the subject of an elaborate tale entitled Bricriu's Banquet. More weight attaches here, however, to the fact that neither Lleu nor Lug is associated with a brother of a nature similar to his own; the former had an elder brother Dylan, who hied away to the sea as soon as he was christened; and the latter had two brothers who were dropped into the sea, never more to be heard of, whence it may be inferred that they were more like Dylan than Lleu. On the whole, then, it seems more probable that

[1] Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ij. 542, where the raven's officiousness reminds one of the rôle played in the hamlets of Glamorgan by Blodeued as an owl: see p. 241, above.

the Lugoves of Gaulish religion consisted of Lugus and his father, whatever the name may have been which the latter bore in that connection.

Cúchulainn's Birth and Education.

Reference has more than once been made in this course to the Ultonian hero Cúchulainn; it is now time to speak of him more in detail. Irish literature preserves traces of a belief in the re-appearance of an ancestor in the person of a descendant: in other words, the same person or soul might be expected to appear successively in different bodies; and in no case could this seem more natural than in that of the Sun-god who constantly descends to the world of the dead and as often emerges from it. Now Lug seldom appears in the Ultonian sagas; but in one of them he places himself more than once on the way to be re-born, and more than once the mother is Dechtere sister to king Conchobar. It is hardly necessary to say that the accounts of Cúchulainn's birth are very confused and inconsistent. This is due partly to his being treated as the son of Lug in the ordinary way of nature, when he is called Lug's lad and his special nurseling;[1] and partly to his being regarded as Lug himself re-appearing in the flesh after several more or less unsuccessful and obscure incarnations.[2] One of these made the nobles of Ulster look with awkward suspicion at Conchobar, as the unmarried Dechtere acted as her brother's charioteer[3] and

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 119*a*, *gein Loga* (voc.); 123*b*, *sainaltram Loga*.

[2] Windisch, p. 139 (§ 5) and p. 138 (§ 3).

[3] She is called his *ara*, 'charioteer,' in the *Bk. of the Dun;* but the *Egerton* MS. says that she sat in his chariot *do raith*, that is to say, 'to drive or guide' the horses: the verb implied is *ráim*, which Win-

shared his ordinary sleeping accommodation: compare the fact that Greek mythology treated Here as sister to Zeus, and also the Greek legend which made Zeus the father of Heracles.

The oldest account we have of Cúchulainn's birth occurs in the eleventh-century manuscript called the *Book of the Dun*;[1] but a similar version is found in a later one,[2] which adds to the story of the hero's birth the mysterious remark that he was then, as it would seem, a boy of three,[3] which probably refers to his size and strength: compare the rapid growth of Lleu (p. 307). Neither story mentions his mother taking any part in bringing up the boy, but they speak of another of the king's sisters, who was called Finnchoem, setting her affection at once on little Setanta, for that was one of the boy's names: he was the same to her, she said, as her own son Conall Cernach, and the king remarked that there was little for her to choose between her own son and her own sister's son. It is not hinted that Dechtere disowned her child in this story, but it describes her, some time before his birth, trying to pass off for what she no more was than Arianrhod when she had the audacity to appear as candidate for the office of foot-holder to king Mâth (p. 306). The parallel between Dechtere and Arian-

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disch explains as 'ich befahre (das meer), rudere,' but the original signification must have been wider: see Windisch, pp. 136, 139.

[1] Folio 128: it is incomplete, and the fragment has been published in Windisch's *Irische Texte*, pp. 136—141.

[2] Namely, the British Museum MS. *Egerton*, 1782, fol. 152, which is assigned to the fifteenth century, and published with the other by Windisch.

[3] Windisch, p. 141.

rhod is, however, brought into much clearer light in another and a second version in the same manuscript, which materially differs from the other two, and retains very old features of the myth that are not reproduced in them. This is the substance of it:[1]—Fifty maidens from the Ultonian court, with Dechtere at their head, ran away from Emain, and their whereabouts could not be discovered for the space of three years; but in the mean time Emain was visited by wild birds which ate up the grass and every green herb. The Ultonians felt this to be a great scourge, and they resolved to give them chase; so one day the king and a few of his nobles with their charioteers set out to kill the birds, by which they were allured over the hills and far away to the neighbourhood of the Brugh of the Boyne, notorious for its fairy inhabitants (p. 171). Night overtook them, and, having lost sight of the birds, they unyoked their horses, while one of their number took a turn to see if he could discover a habitation where they might pass the night. Ere long he rejoined his friends with the news that he had found a small house occupied by a man and his wife, who would welcome them with such hospitality as their means admitted of. Thither they went to pass the night; but presently one of their number went outside, and was surprised to come across a fine mansion, at the door of which stood the owner of it bidding him welcome to his house: he entered, and was familiarly saluted by the owner's wife. He asked the meaning of this, and was told that she was Dechtere, and that the fifty maidens dwelt there with her: it was they, in fact, that had in

[1] Windisch, pp. 140-2 and 143-5, where it has been divided into two pieces.

the guise of birds devastated Emain, as they wished to bring Conchobar and his men to their habitation. Dechtere then gave the visitor a purple mantle, with which he returned to his friends; but he, being Bricriu the Ultonian genius of mischief and discord, only told them that he had found a fine house; nor did he fail to dwell on the superior appearance of its owner and especially the beauty of his consort. Conchobar, reasoning in the way natural to kings and princes, said: 'That fellow is one of my men; he is in my land; let his wife come to me to-night.' But no sooner had she been brought than she gave it to be understood that she had been overtaken by the throes of childbirth, whereupon she was allowed to depart. The king and his men in due time went to sleep, and when they woke in the morning, what was their surprise to find themselves alone under the clear sky of heaven! The fairy houses and their fairy inmates had all disappeared, and all they had left behind them was a fine baby-boy in the king's brogue. The baby is handed over, as in the other versions, to the care of the king's sister Finnchoem, who seems now to have been his charioteer; but when she expresses her affection for the baby, it is Bricriu, and not Conchobar, who is made to say that she had little to choose between her own son and her own sister's son. He then relates all that he had learnt the previous day about Dechtere's escapade, which should be compared with the story of Caer (p. 170). What had now become of Dechtere, however, we are not told; but her deserting her son in the manner described[1] is not the only parallel between

[1] It is right to say that the story of the Táin in the *Bk. of the Dun* makes his father and mother rear him during his first years at a place

her and Arianrhod; for, besides her wish to pass for a maiden as already mentioned, she had been her brother's charioteer, a circumstance in which we have the Irish equivalent of Arianrhod's name, which meant her of the Silver Wheel, and of Woden's leman Gefjon of the diúp röđul or deeply ploughing wheel, mentioned in a previous lecture (p. 284).

Lug re-born is best known as Cúchulainn, and the place the latter occupies in Irish legend justifies our devoting some of our space to him: he has the additional attraction that what is said of him may, in some instances, be regarded as said of Lug, who has already occupied our attention. Cúchulainn, then, is the sun, but the sun as a person, and as a person about whom a mass of stories have gathered, some of which probably never had any reference to the sun. So it is in vain to search for a solar key to all the literature about him: sometimes he is merely an exaggerated warrior and a distorted man; sometimes his solar nature beams forth unmistakably between the somewhat unwieldy attributes with which he has been invested with utter disregard to consistency or the general effect. There is probably nothing usually considered essential to a solar myth which could not be found in the various stories about Cúchulainn, as may be seen from the following things collected at random from among them.

After the curious accounts relative to his birth, the

in the Plain of Murthemne; but the passage in question, fol. 59*a*, gives the name of neither parent: 'Altaso*m* ém ol Fergus la math*air* 7 la ath*air* ocond dairggdig i*m*maig murth*e*mne.' 'Verily he was reared,' said Fergus, 'by his mother and his father at the Red-house (*t*) in the Plain of Murthemne.'

next thing to be noticed is his rapid growth and precocious manhood. When he is only five, he sets off to Emain and overcomes all the Ultonian youths at their games in the play-field.[1] When he is seven he longs for a warrior's arms; but at that age he could only get them by a trick, which he explained as a misunderstanding of the words of the druid who was his tutor.[2] This reminds one of Lleu, though the obstacle in Cúchulainn's way was not like that which Arianrhod had prepared for Lleu. Arms then he got, namely, from the king, who was induced even to lend him his own war-chariot: he next bade his comrades in the play-field adieu, and compelled the king's charioteer to drive him across the border into an enemy's land, where he performed wonders of valour. He at length returned with his foes' heads in his chariot, a swift-footed stag between its hind shafts, and a string of wild birds fluttering above his head, as the trophies of his achievements in war and his fleetness in the chase,[3] to which no deer's foot, no bird's wing, was equal: other exploits of his childhood might be added. As he rapidly grew to more than a man's strength, he died young, though not too young, perhaps, to have become bearded, but it was a subject of repeated remark that he remained beardless. Sometimes, when warriors would decline to fight with such a stripling, he would put on a beard, or pick up a handful of grass and sing a charm over it, which would convert it into a beard for him for the time.[4] Cúchulainn's beardlessness reminds one of the youthful Apollo, and stands in contrast to the conventional

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, p. 59.
[2] Ib. p. 61.
[3] Ib. 61*a*—63*a*.
[4] Ib. 69*b*, 72*b*, 74*b*.

solar hero with a beard representing the sun's rays. This deficiency was more than made up for in his case in the matter of hair; for though he is called at his birth 'he of little hair,'[1] he had plenty later, and it was remarkable for its three distinct colours—dark near the skin, blood-red in the middle, and yellow at the top, shining like a diadem of gold in front, and streaming behind over his shoulders like so many threads of the precious metal over the edge of an anvil under the hammer of a master goldsmith, or the irresistible brilliance of the sun on a summer's day in the middle of the month of May.[2] If this is to be explained in strict reference to the appearance of the sun, the Irish picture would have as much in its favour perhaps as any other; for it would refer the rays of that body not to its central part, but rather to the circumference of its disk. The three colours would seem to offer more difficulty, but not so much as the four dimples which were said to adorn both his cheeks, and to have been yellow, green, blue and red respectively.[3] Possibly the flashes[4] of his eyes, or the gems serving as pupils in the middle of them, which are described as seven or eight[5] in number,

[1] Windisch, p. 140.

[2] Ib. p. 221; *Bk. of the Dun*, 81*a*; and *Bk. of Leinster*, 120*a*. A different account is to be found in the story of the Phantom Chariot of Cúchulainn, published by O'Beirne Crowe in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Arch. Ass.* for 1870-1: pp. 376-7, and the *Bk. of the Dun*, 113*b*.

[3] Windisch, p. 221, from the *Bk. of the Dun*, 48*b*; but 81*a* gives a somewhat different description; see also 122*b*.

[4] Windisch, p. 221: '*fil secht suilse ar a rusc*.'

[5] 'Seven' is the stock number (*Bk. of the Dun*, 121*b*), but it is unnatural to give four pupils to one eye and only three to the other: it was a way of meeting the requirements of the Christian week, while 'eight,' which is the number in the story of *Bricriu's Banquet* (Win-

referred to the days of the week respectively, as the three colours of his hair possibly did to the three parts of the day. And a reference to the appearance of the sun shorn of his rays may have been originally involved in the fancy which made Cúchulainn's hair get absorbed into his body, leaving a blood-red drop marking the place of each individual hair, when he was engaged in any great physical effort.[1] This was, however, only a small part of the distortion which he underwent when he was hard pressed in battle: he prepared himself for action after sleep or illness by drawing his hand over his face, which had the effect of making him red all over, and of driving his lethargy from him;[2] but when he got thoroughly angry with his antagonists, the calves of his legs would twist round till they were where his shins should have been; his mouth became large enough to contain a man's head; his liver and his lungs could be seen swinging in his throat and mouth; every hair on his body became as sharp as a thorn, and a drop of blood or a spark of fire stood on each; one of his eyes became as small as a needle's, or else it sank back into his head further than a heron could have reached with its beak, while the other protruded itself to a corresponding length. These contortions won for him the nickname of the *Riastartha*, or the Distorted One; but it was given him by the men of

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disch, p. 279), was probably the original number, corresponding to the eight days of the pagan week. It would not, perhaps, be refining too much to regard the four dimples as referring to the four days of the *noinden* or half-week.

[1] Windisch, p. 265; also *Bk. of the Dun*, 59*a*, 72*a*.

[2] Windisch, pp. 212, 216; *Bk. of the Dun*, 78*b*.

Connaught in the west,[1] whereas the courtesans of Ulster, looking at it in a different light, inflicted on themselves, by way of love for him, one of the so-called Three Blemishes of the Women of Ulster, which were as follows. Every Ultonian lady who loved Cúchulainn made herself blind of one eye when conversing with him; every one who loved Conall Cernach, who was cross-eyed, appeared to squint; and every one who loved the stuttering Ultonian hero, Coscraid Menn Macha, laid her speech under an impediment[2]—all three instances of very earnest flattery, which one can, however, easily understand by studying cases of acute loyalty in this country. Now when Cúchulainn was distorted with anger and battle-fury, he became gigantic in size,[3] and made no distinction between friends and foes, but felled all before and behind equally; so it was highly dangerous to stop him from fighting till he felt that he had enough, and when he stopped it was requisite to have three baths ready for him of cold water: the first he plunged into would instantly boil over, and the second would be too hot for anybody else to bear, while the third alone would be of congenial temperature.[4] Whether this has any reference to solar heat or not, the same peculiarity of Cúchulainn's is described in another way: during hard weather he would sit down with the snow reaching to his girdle and

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[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 59*a*, 72*a*, and 79*b*, where a remarkable passage occurs about 'his lights' (*scoim*, Welsh *ysgyfaint*) and 'his heavies' (*tromma*, Welsh *afu*, 'liver'):—*Táncatár ascoim 7 a tromma combátár ar etelaig inabél 7 inabrágit.*

[2] Windisch, pp. 206-7; also Stokes, *Rev. Celt.* viij. 61.

[3] *Bk. of Leinster*, 86*b*; O'Curry, iij. 448-9.

[4] Windisch, p. 220; *Bk. of the Dun*, 63*a*, 72*a*.

cast off his clothes, including his under-clothing, whereupon the heat of his body would melt the snow for a man's cubit all round him.[1]

Cúchulainn was unrivalled in all feats of arms and skill, whether he handled his own weapons or performed tricks with the needles[2] of the astonished ladies of a king's court. It is difficult to understand the language in which the list of Cúchulainn's feats is couched, but such a name as the apple-feat would seem to suggest that some of them were of the nature of a juggler's tricks. Others, however, were doubtless of a more serious nature, as he often brought them into play in his duels with his foes. But perhaps the most remarkable thing about them is that when Cúchulainn went forth in his chariot, he used to practise them above the horses, above his head and that of his charioteer.[3] If a basis for this fancy is to be sought in nature, it must be the overpowering play of the sun's rays blinding one's attempts to gaze at its midday orb. Cúchulainn's agility and strength were such that hardly any kind of walls could confine him, however high they might be.[4] His most usual mode of fighting was to hurl his spear at his antagonist or a stone from his sling, which he did with fatal precision even at an incredible distance; but in

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 68*a*, 71*a*; but the *Bk. of Leinster*, 70*b*, makes the snow melt for thirty feet all round him, which is more like the extravagance to be expected.

[2] Windisch, p. 286; *Bk. of the Dun*, 108*b*.

[3] *Bk. of the Dun*, 73*a*, 122*b*; *Bk. of Leinster*, 120*a*; and the story published by Crowe in the *Kilkenny Journal* for 1870, p. 379; also the *Bk. of the Dun*, 113*b*, where the number of the feats rises to twenty-seven. For more references, see Windisch, s.v. *cless*, p. 426.

[4] Windisch, p. 299.

extreme cases he used with the same effect a barbed weapon called the *gái bolga*, which he brought to bear on his foe from below or from above.[1] He rode forth to battle in a scythed chariot,[2] and his charioteer was Loeg son of Riangabra, who with his wife and kindred lived in an island which Irish mythology places in the neighbourhood of Hades.[3] The chariot was drawn by two horses of no ordinary breed: they were called the Grey of Macha and the Black Sainglend; and they gave their names to two Irish lakes whence they emerged when Cúchulainn caught them respectively,[4] and whither they returned when his career was over.[5] They had the peculiarity, that, wherever they grazed, they ate the grass root and stem, licking bare the very soil.[6] They were swifter than the cold blasts of spring,[7] and the sods from their hoofs as they galloped over the plain looked like an army of ravens filling the sky above the chariot,[8] the iron wheels of which sank at times so deep into the soil as to make ruts ample for dykes and

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[1] O'Curry's *Manners*, &c. iij. 451; Stokes & Windisch, *Irische Texte*, pp. 184, 206.

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, 79*a*, 80*a*: see also 125*b*.

[3] Stokes & Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, pp. 178-80, 196—200.

[4] Windisch, p. 268.

[5] *Rev. Celtique*, iij. 180-1; *Bk. of Leinster*, 121*a*, 121*b*. The lake called after the *Liath* (or Grey) of Macha was *Linn Léith*, in *Sliab Fuait* or Fuad's Mountain, near Newtown Hamilton, in the county of Armagh; and the one called after the *Dub* (or Black) Sainglend was the *Loch Dub* or Black Lake, in *Muscraige-Thire*, a district consisting of the Baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, in the county of Tipperary.

[6] *Bk. of the Dun*, 57*b*.

[7] Windisch, p. 221.

[8] *Bk. of the Dun*, 113*a*.

ditches for a fortress. Thus Cúchulainn is on one occasion made to describe a heavy course of this kind round the camp of his enemies, and to extemporize a blockade in this way to delay their march until his friends should arrive on the scene.[1]

Lastly, Cúchulainn was distinguished for his good sense and wisdom, for the sweetness of his speech, and for many excellences or capacities in which he surpassed his contemporaries: among others are mentioned his superiority in the matter of intelligence, prophecy, chess-playing, and ability to tell at a glance the number of men in an enemy's camp.[2] In fact, two of the three cleverest countings of this kind which Irish memory handed down in the form of a triad, were ascribed to Lug and Cúchulainn respectively.[3] But the parallel extends much further than this instance would have led one to expect; for just as Lug excelled all the professional men of the Tuatha Dé Danann because he knew all their professions himself, so Cúchulainn, when he described[4] himself to the lady he wooed to be his wife, was made to say that he yielded superiority to the king alone, that he surpassed all the nobles of Ulster because he had learned all that each of them had to teach in his own profession. For besides what appertained to war and valour, he possessed wisdom in legal and tribal matters, and he revised the judgments of the Ulto[illegible] he could take a part in the administrative work [illegible] king's realm; he had acquired all that the chief [illegible] or

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 80*a*, 80*b*. [2] Ib. 121*b*. [3] Ib. 58*a*.

[4] The whole is to be found in the story of the Wooing of Emer, especially on folios 123*a*—124*b*; and some of the textual difficulties may be disposed of by comparing with it Windisch, pp. 141-2.

seer had to impart; and the chief druid had, for his mother's sake, made him a proficient scholar in the arts of the god of druidism (p. 224), so that he was fit to take part in the vision-feast.[1] This is borne out by other parts of the story of Cúchulainn: thus on one occasion he is made to deliver himself of an elaborate charge[2] to his friend Lugaid, who had been chosen king of Ireland, telling him how he was to conduct himself in that office; and if we turn to another field of his acquirements, we find him more than once writing ogams of potent magic, which thrown in the way of the advancing hosts of his enemies seriously embarrassed and delayed their march on the Táin.[3] The superiority which he claimed over the nobles of his country he ascribed to his having been educated by every one of them, whether captain or charioteer, whether king or ollave: so he held himself bound to them all by the ties of fosterage, and he avenged the wrongs of them all without distinction. 'Verily it is therefore,' he says in concluding his account of himself to Emer, 'I was called by Lug . . . . from the swift journey of Dechtere to the house of the great man of the Brugh.'[4] This in its way reminds one of the rôle which Apollo played in the politics and history of Greece, not to mention the parallel between Dechtere's flight with her fifty maidens to the Brugh of the Boyne

[1] The words in point are—*con*id a*n*fissid foc*h*mairc hi cerdaib dé druidec*h*ta *con*id ameolac*h* hi febaib fiss. (*Bk. of the Dun*, 124*b*). I take *fiss.* to stand for *fissi* (=fessi): compare the *tarbfes*, or bull-feast, in Windisch, pp. 212-3.

[2] Windisch, pp. 213-4. [3] *Bk. of the Dun*, 57*a*, 57*b*, 63*b*.

[4] It is so I venture to translate the words, 124*b*—Især ém do*m*rimgartsa ó lug*n*mac cuind maic et*h*lend diec*h*tra dían dectiri co tech mbuirr i*n* broga. See p. 391, above.

and the wanderings of Leto before giving birth to Apollo; but far the most instructive comparisons are to be made between Cúchulainn and Heracles, as will be seen later.

Some of Cúchulainn's Adventures.

Thus far the reader has had presented to him a number of miscellaneous particulars about Cúchulainn's person and attributes; let us now say something more about his actions and the foes he had to face. Of these last, those who claim the first place are Ailill and Medb, the king and queen of Connaught, who have been mentioned on previous occasions, as has also their famous expedition, called the Táin, to Ulster, and especially to the Plain of Murthemne, or the district which was in Cúchulainn's special charge. Ailill may briefly be treated as one of the representatives of darkness, while his queen, who had been Conchobar's wife, belongs to the ambiguous goddesses of dawn and dusk found allied at one time with light and at another with darkness. So Medb did not always show herself hostile to Cúchulainn; in fact, later instances are mentioned of her displaying considerable partiality for him; and when he happened to come on business to her court at Cruachan, she would treat him with more than hospitality in the sense given that word by the civilized nations of our day. It was on the Táin she first heard of him, when his wondrous deeds of valour were daily brought home to her by the fall of the great champions of the west, whom she sent forth one after another to duel with him. At length his prolonged attempt to keep the invaders from the west at bay proved too much for him; and one day, when he was worn out by fatigue and sleeplessness, his cha-

rioteer beheld a big man with yellow curly hair on his head coming from the north-east, and making his way towards them right across the camp of his enemies without noticing them or being noticed by any of them, as though he were not seen of them. The charioteer described the dress and equipment of this warrior to Cúchulainn, who observed that it must be some one of his friends from Faery. So it was; for the stranger announced himself to Cúchulainn as his father Lug from Faery, and undertook to occupy his place, at the same time that he sang a kind of fairy music which put Cúchulainn to sleep. There he lay sleeping for three days and three nights, in the course of which Lug cured all his wounds. When at length he woke, he drew his hand over his face as usual, and Lug departed,[1] while Cúchulainn, refreshed, began again to check the men of Erinn with varying success till his friends arrived, too late, however, to prevent the capture on which they were bent.

Cúchulainn was not more famous for his prowess in the field of battle than for his contests with beasts and fabulous creatures of all kinds, and the following story, which has an interest of its own, is told of him when he was as yet only six years of age. King Conchobar, happening one day to visit the field where the noble youths of his kingdom were at their games, was so struck by the feats performed by little Setanta, that he invited him to follow to a feast for which he and his courtiers were setting out. The boy said he would come when he had played enough. The feast was to be at

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 77*b*, 78*a*, 78*b*.

the house of a great smith called Culann, who lived not only by his art of working in metals, but also by the wealth which prophecy and divination brought in. When the king and his men had arrived, Culann asked them if their number was complete, and the king, forgetting the boy that was to follow, answered in the affirmative. Culann explained that he asked the question because when his gates were shut in the evening he used to let loose a terrible war-hound, which he had obtained from Spain to guard his chattels and flocks during the night. So it was done then; but presently the boy Setanta came along, amusing himself with his hurlbat and ball as was his wont.[1] He was hardly aware of the dog barking before it was at him; but he made short work of the brute, though not without rousing the Ultonians to horror at their oversight, for they had no doubt in their minds that the boy had been torn to pieces. The gates were thrown open, and the boy was found unharmed, with the dog lying dead at his feet. Like the rest, Culann welcomed him, for his mother's sake, as he said, but he could not help expressing his regret at the death of his hound; for he declared that his losing the guardian of his house and his chattels made his home a desolation. Little Setanta, who could not see why so much fuss should be made about the dog, bade the smith have no care, as he would himself guard all his property on the Plain of Murthemne till he had a grown-up dog of the same breed. This was the tract between Cuailgne or Cooley and the river Boyne, and he was subsequently identified with it; so that he is found called, for instance, the Rider of

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 60*a*—61*a*; *Bk. of Leinster*, 63*a*—64*b*.

Murthemne's Plain,[1] or the Warrior and the Prince of it; and he defended it more strenuously than any other district against the ravages of the Western hosts. When Setanta offered to watch Culann's cattle and other property, the druid present exclaimed that this should henceforth be his name, Cú-Chulainn, that is to say, Culann's Hound. Such is the old account of the way in which little Setanta obtained the name by which he is best known; but when this tale of the killing of Culann's dog comes to be compared with others in point, it is found that Culann must have originally been a form of the divinity of the other world, and that his terrible hound[2] may doubtless be compared with the Cerberus of Greek mythology. The sun as a person makes war on the powers representing darkness and the inclemency of nature; but with these last would naturally be associated evil of all description, including death, the greatest of all ills: these then are the demons and monsters, under their many names, with which Cúchulainn repeatedly fights. But none of them can withstand him, and his warfare with them is briefly described in the words:

'Proud is he and haughty, of valour sublime,
Woe to the demons he pursues!'[3]

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[1] Windisch, pp. 216, 221.

[2] The Irish is *ár-chú*, and *ár* means slaughter of any kind, including of course slaughter in war; and Cúchulainn himself is called *Árchu Emna*, or the Slaughter-hound of Emain, in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 87 *b*, printed by O'Curry, iij. 452. But while recalling the dogs trained for war which used to be imported by the Gauls from Britain (Strabo, iv. 5, 2), it is to be noticed that the story in the *Bk. of the Dun* makes the smith's dog an imported one from Spain, a name sometimes used instead of that of Hades (pp. 90-1).

[3] This I take to be the sense of a verse in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 48 *b*, which reads in the facsimile: uallach uabrech árd lagol mairg fri

The familiar sight of the sun rising and setting is the key to several things in the Cúchulainn legend. For instance, he is described going away from his post in the evening to visit one who prepares for him a bath before he quits her in the morning;[1] and another time one of his enemies finds him bathing in a river early at the break of day.[2] But the rising of the sun out of the sea in the morning does not appear to have had anything like the effect of sunset on the popular imagination, which is to be traced in the Cúchulainn legend in the stories of his visits to the other world, especially in quest of a wife.[3] The maiden's name was Emer daughter of Forgall Monach (p. 376), who lived in a place called Luglochta Loga,[4] explained to mean the Gardens of Lug, another name for the world whence Lug used to come, and the description of Emer's relatives quite bears this out, as she calls herself daughter of the Coal-faced King,[5]

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siabru se (Windisch, p. 221, prints *sé*). It should be restored thus—*Uallach uabrech ard a gal, mairg fri siabru sechethar.* The previous line—Bróenán fola fota flaṅd latoeb *crand* co*mardade*—is more difficult, but it should probably end with *crand* or *dechrand:* compare Windisch, p. 263, lines 14 and 16.

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 57*a*, 58*a*. [2] Ib. 63*b*.

[3] The story is known as the Wooing of Emer: it is to be found in a fragmentary state in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 121*a*—127*b*. For the portions of the narrative not to be found there, I have made use of the Ashburnham manuscript already referred to as numbered D. iv. 2, in the library of the R. Ir. Acad.

[4] The dative *Luglochtaib* is glossed in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 123*a*, by *gortaib*, 'gardens;' and the *Loga* added is perhaps redundant, as the name would seem to be complete either as *Luglochtaib* or *Lochtaib Loga*. It is not to be denied, however, that it is possible to give *Lug* a different explanation in this name.

[5] *Ingen rig richis garta*, with *garta* glossed *einech*, 'face,' ibid. 123*a*.

who is also stated to be the son of a sister of Tethra king of the Fomori. Now the dusky father discovers that his daughter has been wooed by the *Riastartha:* he is displeased and resolves on compassing the death of his would-be son-in-law. So he sets out in disguise on a visit to Conchobar's court, and he persuades the king to have Cúchulainn's military education perfected by sending him to be instructed by certain friends of his, from whom he expects him never to return alive. The first of these is represented living in Alban or Britain, but his country, though given that name, belonged to the geography of the other world. He was called Domnall, and was probably the same mythic being as Domnall[1] the terrible chariot-god, associated with the bards to whom allusion has already been made (p. 323). His name fits in with what is said of him in the story of Cúchulainn; for Domnall, the genitive of which is well known in the Anglicized form of *Donnell*, would seem to associate him with the deep; and in Welsh it is, letter for letter, *Dyvnwal*, a name borne by one of the mythic legislators mentioned in the Triads, one of which, iij. 58, associates his name with the beginning of bardism. He has usually the epithet *Moel*, 'bald,' or *Moel-mud*, 'bald and mute, or bald-mute,' in harmony with a common habit of representing the dark gods as bald, cropped of their ears, deprived of one eye, or in some way peculiar about the head, and occasionally lacking the power of speech. When Cúchulainn had learned all the feats that Domnall could teach him, he proceeded to leave

[1] In the Ashburnham MS., fol. 82*c*, he is called *Domnall mil de mal*, while *Harl.* 5280 gives the name as *Domnall milde mon.*

Alban for an island to the east of it, where a goddess lived who bore the name of Scáthach, which means Shadowy or Shady: she appears to have been the same who was named Buanann, and described as the nurse of the heroes of Irish mythology.[1] Cúchulainn had not gone far when his companions resolved to turn back; and he felt dejected and uncertain as to the direction to take, when a strange beast came and took him on its back. Thus he travelled for four days, at the end of which the kind beast put him down in an inhabited island, where he received food and drink from a maiden he had met before. He also fell in with a certain Echaid Bairche, who directed him on his way to Scáthach's court. Cúchulainn had to cross the plain, he said, which he saw before him, one-half of which was so cold that the traveller's feet would cleave to the ground, and the other half had the peculiarity that the ground cast him on the points of the spear-like grass which grew out of it; but the friendly stranger gave him a wheel and an apple, which he was to follow across the two dismal tracts respectively.[2] He was then to cross a perilous glen, which was a terrible gulf with no bridge but a slender cord stretched across it from one cliff to the opposite one; and this was not all, for at the end he was to encounter the demons and phantoms sent by Forgall Monach to

[1] See the Stokes-O'Donovan ed. of *Cormac*, p. 17, [illegible] the words—'ac scáthaig bhuadaig bhuanand' in the [illegible] 88*a*, quoted in O'Curry's *Manners*, &c. iij. 454-5, and [illegible] Scathach, the gifted Buanand.'

[2] The story occupies fol. 82*c*, and the following ones in the Ashburnham MS., and the curious passage about the wheel and the apple, will be found at 83*a*, while the *Harl.* MS. 5280 has it at 32*b*.

work his destruction. He crossed that 'bridge of dread,' however, in spite of them, and found himself in Scáthach's Isle; there were more obstacles to be overcome before reaching Scáthach's abode, but he surmounted them also, including a bridge that was low at both ends, high in the middle, and so constructed that, when a man stepped on the one end, the other end would rise aloft, and he would be thrown down. He was received with surprise by Scáthach, and with ardent love by her daughter Uathach, who instructed him how to force her mother to teach him. There is a general similarity between this journey and the voyage which Cúchulainn undertook in quest of the sons of Doel Dermait, a story now familiar to you; and the parallel extends even to the internal affairs of Scáthach's country. We read that Scáthach was challenged to battle by another queen of Hades named Aife, and sometimes called Scáthach's daughter. The fighting took place in part on the cord over the Perilous Glen,[1] and Cúchulainn duels on it with Aife, and succeeds in carrying her away to Scáthach's camp, where she is compelled to give hostages to Scáthach. Now Scáthach's abode was the land of death; and the accesses to it are variously described.

But before proceeding further, let us recur for a moment

[1] The Irish name is *glenn ngaibthech*, which appears also in the Vision of Adamnán (Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 185), as does also the Vicious Bridge (ib. p. 184), but placed across the Glen, and called *droichet analta*, or Cliff Bridge, which O'Curry (ij. 369), influenced probably by a slightly different reading, calls the Bridge of the Pupils. I mention these as instances of Irish mythology worked into the religious tales of the converted Irish. The idea of future punishment is introduced, and hell-fire liberally borrowed from Christian sources, but the pagan geography of Hades remains little changed.

to the dismal plain crossed by Cúchulainn following for a while a mysterious wheel, and for another while an equally mysterious apple. Why the story should have both a wheel and an apple does not appear, as the two would seem to suggest one and the same interpretation; but before coming to that, I wish to point out that the apple is replaced in other stories by the ball with which Cúchulainn, when he was a child, used to play a sort of solitary hurley or golf as he went his ways. It was thus, when only five years old, he left his home on the Plain of Murthemne and crossed the mountains to Emain,[1] and it was so he was proceeding towards Culann the Smith's stronghold, when he perceived the latter's Spanish hound making for him, and killed the monster. There is a more curious instance still:[2] young Cúchulainn's slumbers durst not be disturbed, so he was one day left sleeping in-doors at Emain, when a battle was raging between the heroes of Ulster and Eogan mac Durthacht, whose name has already been mentioned (pp. 142, 335): the victory fell to the share of the latter, and Conchobar and others of the Ultonians were left on the battle-field. When the wounded survivors reached Emain, it was night and already dark, but the lamentation and tumult elicited by their arrival made Cúchulainn wake: he asked at once where the king was, and, as nobody could tell, he rushed off to the scene of the slaughter; but no sooner had he reached it than he was assailed by one of the demons revelling there, and he would have succumbed had not the Bodb (p. 43), the Mórrígu, per-

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 59*a*, and *Bk. of Leinster*, 62*a*, where the ball is described as being of silver.

[2] Ib. 59*b*, 60*a*.

haps, under another name and in the form of a kind of hoodie, cried out in an upbraiding tone, 'Bad materials of a hero are those there under the feet of phantoms.' Cúchulainn, stung by that taunt, got up again, and struck off the head of his ghost-foe with his hurl-bat. Then he drove the ball before him over the field and shouted, 'Is my father Conchobar on this field of slaughter?' The latter answered that he was, and Cúchulainn came and found him all but wholly buried with earth over him on almost every side. He extricated him, and found that he would live if he could get him some food, which he hastened to procure: he then took Conchobar to Emain, whither he carried at the same time a wounded son of Conchobar's on his shoulders. How the latter had got into the position Cúchulainn found him in, we are not told, but it reminds one of the dismal plain to which the traveller's feet would cleave; further, Cúchulainn's coming was so late that the night was then dark, and it looks as though the narrator ought to have told us that the ball he sent over the field was luminous, and that it was by means of it, and not by calling out, that he found the king in the earth: as it stands, the narrative is not very intelligible. Whatever the reason for that may be, there can be little doubt that we have traces here of a primitive and forgotten myth which represented the sun as an apple or ball, after which an infant giant used to run daily across the sky; and the other form, that of a wheel, given to that heavenly body, is of even greater mythological interest, as it offers an Irish instance of a symbolism, the solar origin of which, as mentioned on another occasion (p. 55), has been lately discussed by M. Gaidoz.

Let us now come back to Cúchulainn's training in Scáthach's Island: he went there when he was only six years old,[1] and returned as soon as he had learned all that could be taught him there. But the details of his journey homewards are not given; we are, however, told that on his way he visited the court of Red, king of the Isles;[2] but there must have been a story or stories representing him coming to Erinn, on this or some other occasion, direct from Britain along a more southerly route, and I must now briefly explain why I think this deserving of mention. The Sun-god is a great traveller: thus Lug, for example, arrives from a distance to help the Tuatha Dé Danaan, and Conall Cernach has to be sought for in foreign lands.[3] Like them, Cúchulainn travels too. Moreover, there was a remarkable difference of race, to be noticed later, between him and the other heroes of the Ultonian cycle. On the other hand, he had the charge of a special district consisting of the Plain of Murthemne, which, roughly speaking, meant the level portion of the modern county of Louth. In case, then, he was at any time represented to come to his favourite haunts from another land, what land could more naturally have been regarded the one he journeyed from than the nearest part of Britain lying in the same latitude? This would be the coast from the Mersey to

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 58*b*.

[2] Ib. 126*a*: according to O'Curry, p. 280, he returned by way of Cantire and the island of Rathlin.

[3] See the *Bk. of Leinster*, 171*b*, where, besides Scythia, Dacia, Gothia, &c., we have the remarkable words: 'icrichaib léodús *in* insib cadd 7 *in* insib or.,' 'in the territories of Lewis, in the Islands of Cat and in the Islands of Orkney (*?*).'

Morecambe Bay, and it is worthy of remark that this tract once belonged to a people called the Setantii, a name which cannot be severed from that of the Seteia supposed to be the Dee, or from that of the Σεταντίων Λιμήν,[1] the Harbour of the Setantii, the position of which corresponds to the mouth of the Ribble.[2] Hence the name *Setanta.*

Shortly after his return from Scáthach's Isle, Cúchulainn set out for the Gardens of Lug to carry away Emer, according to a promise he had made to her; but for a whole year he was unable to communicate with her on account of the efficient watch kept over her by Forgall's henchmen; but at last he succeeded, and appeared all of a sudden in the middle of the stronghold, where he performed such marvels of valour that Forgall lost his life in leaping terror-stricken over his own walls. Cúchulainn then made his way out with Emer and her foster-

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[1] The readings of Ptolemy's manuscript are various, the river being either Σεγηία or Σεγγία, and the harbour Σεταντίων λ. (or Σετανίων λ.) and Σεγαντίων λ., besides less important ones: see Müller's edition (Paris, 1883), ij. 3 (Vol. i. pp. 84, 85). But if the hypothesis here suggested, for which I am indebted to Mr. Henry Bradley, prove well-founded, it will dispose of the alternative readings with γ. There is a difficulty in the retention of *nt* in the Irish *Setanta*, which it would be hard to account for except on the supposition that the name was not a native Irish word. The original may accordingly be regarded as *Setantios* or *Setantjos*, meaning a Setantian, or one of the people called the Setantii. It is worth noticing that a very obscure poem, in which Scáthach, who was, among other things, a poetess or prophetess, speaks of Cúchulainn when she prophesies for him, alludes to a Setantian stream: the words are—curoch fri sruth setinti, 'a coracle against the stream of Setanta:' see the *Bk. of the Dun*, 125 *b*.

[2] Bradley's *Remarks* (in the Archæologia, xlviij) *on Ptolemy* (Westminster, 1884), p. 15. For *Ribble*, p. 74 above, read *Mersey*.

sister.[1] In the pursuit which took place on the part of Forgall's men, he performed all the deeds of valour he had previously boasted himself capable of to Emer. Now she, though the child of a dusky king, was herself a perfect beauty, and endowed with all the accomplishments of a superior lady. The whole picture is drawn on the lines of the nature myth connecting the Sun with the Dawn: the latter, though the daughter of darkness, is beautiful, and she is the Sun-god's wife. The same idea is brought into relief also in an Icelandic story found in a manuscript of the fifteenth century, but evidently made up of old materials. It relates how one of king Olaf's men landed in the fairy realm of Goðmundr. His name was Thorsteinn, and he had met with other strange adventures, in one of which he had procured, among diverse articles of great virtue, a small stone which, when concealed in his hand, would make him invisible to others. Falling in with Goðmundr and two of his men one day, he was questioned as to who he was, and having duly answered, he in his turn inquired after Goðmundr's history, when Goðmundr told him that he was then on a dangerous journey to the court of a neighbouring king called Geirrœðr, who claimed him as his tributary, and who had caused the death of Goðmundr's father when he last went to Geirrœðr's court to pay him his tribute. Thorsteinn expressed a desire to accompany Goðmundr, but the latter, who was a giant, was amused at the small

[1] He brought with them their two *erre* of gold and silver, which would seem to have meant their two burdens, in allusion possibly to their personal ornaments: the words in the Ashburnham MS. 84*b*, appear to be—'conadib nerrib dior 7 arcat,' and they recall Elen Lüyðog's Silver Host (p. 173).

stature of Thorsteinn, though for a man he was a person of a very powerful frame. When, however, he said that he had a way of making himself invisible, Goðmundr consented to take him with him, and Thorsteinn proved the means of rendering Goðmundr and his men victors in all the contests in which Geirrœðr made them engage. Finally, Thorsteinn killed Geirrœðr and enabled Goðmundr to annex his kingdom; he also found himself a wife there called Goðrún, daughter of Agði, who is described as the most demon-like of Geirrœðr's earls: among other things he had claw-like hands and a dark complexion. The maid was, however, beautiful, and he brought her and her treasures to king Olaf's court, where she was wedded to Thorsteinn. Old Norse tales make Goðmundr the king of a Teutonic Elysium,[1] and represent him as a very great personage; but the Icelandic story gives him an antagonistic neighbour, over whom he is made to triumph by the aid of a stranger, who, looked at in the light of our Celtic stories, should be the Culture Hero, or his son the Solar Hero. The latter would seem best to suit the story of Thorsteinn, who, bringing Guðrún away with him to be his wife, cannot help reminding one a little of Cúchulainn carrying away his bride from her father, the coal-faced king Forgall. As to the rest, the conquest of Geirrœðr and the annexation of his realm to Goðmundr's recall the assistance given by Pwyll to Arawn king of Hades (p. 340), while the stone which rendered Thorsteinn invisible challenges comparison with the ring used with the same effect by Owein ab Urien (p. 351).

[1] Rafn's *Fornaldar Sögur* (Copenhagen, 1829), i. 411; and the *Formanna Sögur* (Copenhagen, 1827), iij. 175—198, appendix.

In a word, the Thorsteinn story, though not corresponding through and through to any of the Celtic ones, shows a general similarity to them, which goes to form evidence of a notion once common to Celts and Teutons as to the nether world; and the outlines of that notion are probably to be ranked among the ancient ideas of the Aryan family.[1]

To return to Cúchulainn, it is right to add that some of the stories give his wife a name other than Emer, namely Ethne Ingubai,[2] wherein we have a discrepancy, probably not to be got over by saying that these were two names borne by one and the same person. For it may be that the myth pictured the Dawn not as one but as many, to all of whom the Sun-god made love in the course of the three hundred and more days of the year. Among those mentioned as his wives or lemans may be included not only Emer and Ethne, but also Uathach and Aife; nay, he seems, as we shall see presently, to have had also loves of a somewhat different description, reflecting the sparkling of the dew-drop in the rays of the sun; but he declines to have anything to say to Dornolla, the big-fisted daughter of Domnall: she was too hideous, and she became his implacable foe.

Another tale[3] of Cúchulainn's doings in the world of darkness and death must now be briefly mentioned, as it

[1] On the question of the relation of the Thorsteinn story to other Teutonic stories, see R. Heinzel, *Ueber die Nibelungensage* (Vienna, 1885), where a great variety of references are given: see also Ceriani's *Taranis et Thor* in the *Rev. Celt.* vi. 420.

[2] As in the first part of the story of *Cúchulainn's Sick-bed.*

[3] *Bk. of the Dun*, 43*a*—50*b*; Windisch, pp. 205—227; also published, with a translation by O'Curry, in the *Atlantis*, i. 370—392, ij. 98—124.

brings out the unmistakable features of the myth very clearly. While the Ultonians were celebrating the great festival which marked the Calends of Winter and the days immediately before and after them, a flock of wild birds lighted on a loch near them. The ladies of Conchobar's court took a fancy to them, and Cúchulainn was disgusted to find that they had nothing better for the men to do than that they should go bird-catching; but when his gallantry was duly appealed to, with an allusion to the number in Ulster of the noble ladies who were one-eyed out of love for him, he proceeded to catch the birds, which he distributed so liberally that he found when he came to his own wife he had none left for her: he was very sorry on that account, and promised that as soon as ever any wild birds visited the Plain of Murthemne or the river Boyne, the finest pair of them should be hers. It was not long ere two birds were seen swimming on the loch: they were observed to be joined together by a chain of ruddy gold, and they made a gentle kind of music which caused the host to fall asleep. Cúchulainn went towards them; but his wife and his charioteer cautioned him to have nothing to do with them, as it was likely that there was some hidden power behind them. He would not listen, but cast a stone from his sling at them, which to his astonishment missed them. He cast another, with the same result. 'Woe is me!' said he, 'from the time when I took arms to this day, my cast never missed.' He next threw his spear at them, which passed through the wing of one of the birds, and both dived. Cúchulainn, now in no happy mood, went and rested against a stone that stood near, and he fell asleep. He then dreamt that two women, one in

green and the other in red, came up to him: the one in green smiled at him and struck him a blow with a whip, the one in red did the same thing, and this horse-whipping of the hero went on till he was nearly dead. His friends came and would have waked him, had not one of them suggested that he was probably dreaming, so they were careful not to disturb his nap. When at length he woke, he would tell them nothing, and he bade them place him in his bed. This all took place on the eve of November, when the Celtic year begins with the ascendency of the powers of darkness. When Cúchulainn had lain in his bed, speaking to nobody, for nearly a year, and the Ultonian nobles and his wife happened to be around him, some on the bed and the others close by, they suddenly found a stranger seated on the side of the bed. He said he had come to speak to Cúchulainn, and he sang a song in which he informed him that he had come from his sister Fand and his sister Liban to tell him that they would soon heal him if they were allowed. Fand, he said, had conceived great love for him, and would give him her hand if he only visited her land, and treat him to plenty of silver and gold, together with much wine to drink. She would, moreover, send her sister Liban on November-eve to heal him. After having added that his own name was Aengus, brother to Fand and Liban, he disappeared as mysteriously as he had come. Cúchulainn then sat up in his bed and told his friends all about the dream which had made him ill: he was advised to go to the spot where it occurred to him twelve months previously, for such are the requirements of the fairy reckoning of time. He did so, and he beheld the woman in green coming

towards him: he reproached her for what she had done, and she explained that she and her sister had come, not to harm him, but to seek his love: Fand, she said, had been forsaken by Manannán mac Lir, and had set her heart on him, Cúchulainn; moreover, she had a message now from her own husband, Labraid of the Swift Hand on the Sword, to the effect that he would give him Fand to wife for one day's assistance against his enemies. Cúchulainn objected that he was not well enough to fight; but he was induced to send Loeg his charioteer with Liban to see the mysterious land to which he was invited. Loeg, after conversing with Fand and Labraid of the Swift Hand on the Sword, returned with a glowing account of what he had seen. This revived the drooping spirits of his master, who passed his hand over his face and rapidly recovered his strength. Even then he would not go to Labraid's Isle on a woman's invitation, and Loeg had to visit it again and assure him that Labraid was impatiently expecting him for the war that was about to be waged. Then at length he went thither in his chariot and fought. He abode there a month with Fand, and when he left her he made an appointment to meet her at *Ibar Cinn Trachta*, or the Yew at the Strand's End, the spot, according to O'Curry, where Newry now stands.[1] This came to the ears of Emer, Cúchulainn's wedded wife, and she, with the ladies of Ulster, repaired there, provided with sharp knives to slay Fand. A touching scene follows, in which Emer recovers Cúchulainn's love, and Fand beholds herself about to be forsaken, whereupon she begins to bewail the happy days

[1] *Atlantis*, Vol. ij. p. 115.

she had spent with her husband Manannán mac Lir in her bower at *Dún Inbir*, or the Fort of the Estuary. Nay, Fand's position in the unequal conflict with the ladies of Ulster became known to Manannán, the shape-shifting Son of the Sea, and he hastened over the plain to her rescue. 'What is that there?' inquired Cúchulainn. 'That,' said Loeg, 'is Fand going away with Manannán mac Lir, because she was not pleasing to thee.' At those words Cúchulainn went out of his mind, and leaped the three high leaps and the three southern leaps of Luachair.[2] He remained a long time without food and without drink, wandering on the mountains and sleeping nightly on the road of Midluachair. Emer went to consult the king about him, and it was resolved to send the poets, the professional men and the druids of Ulster, to seek him and bring him home to Emain. He would have slain them, but they chanted spells of druidism against him, whereby they were enabled to lay hold of his arms and legs. When he had recovered his senses a little, he asked for drink, and they gave him a drink of forgetfulness, which made him forget Fand and all his adventures: as Emer was not in a much better state of mind, the same drink was also administered to her; and Manannán had shaken his cloak between Fand and Cúchulainn that they might never meet again.

This story of Cúchulainn's Sick-bed calls for one

[1] The leaps referred to were places called *Léim Conculainn*, which were not uncommon in Ireland: so was *Luachair*, 'a place where rushes grow,' frequent enough, and is, in fact, so still. The one here in question is placed by O'Curry south of Emain, with the road of Midluachair from Emain to Tara passing through it: see the *Atlantis*, ij. p. 122.

or two remarks before passing on. It identifies in a manner the world of waters with that of darkness and the dead; for elsewhere Liban is a woman in charge of a magic well, which, neglected by her, overwhelms her and changes her into an otter,[1] while the waters formed the lake now called Lough Neagh. Liban is to be equated with the Llivon or Llion of the Welsh story of the deluge occasioned by the bursting of Llyn Llion[2] or Llivon's Lake, and with the girl accused of neglecting the well, which Welsh legend describes bursting over *Cantre'r Gwaelod*,[3] or the Bottom Hundred, a country fabled to have flourished where the billows of the Irish Sea now ride at large on the shores of Keredigion. As to Fand, who had her separate apartment at Labraid's abode, she is called in the story the daughter of Aed Abrat, that is the Fire of the Eyelid, which meant the Tear, daughter of the Pupil of the Eye: she was so called, we are told, on account of her brilliancy and comeliness. With this the probable etymology of the name Fand agrees, being, as it would seem, of the same origin as the English word *water*, Lithuanian *vandů* of the same meaning, and as the Latin *unda*, 'a wave:' it recalls De la Motte Fouqué's *Undine*, who has, however, her more exact counterpart in the Welsh story of the Lady of the Little Van Lake already mentioned (p. 422). Now Fand

[1] See the story of Echaid mac Máireda's Death in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 39*a*—41*b*, with a translation by O'Beirne Crowe in the Kilkenny Association's Journal for 1870, pp. 96—112.

[2] The *Triads*, iij. 13 and iij. 97.

[3] See the *Bk. of Carmarthen*, poem xxxviij, Skene, ij. 59; and the *Traethodydd* (Holywell) for 1880, pp. 479-81, where I have made some remarks on the different versions of the tale.

had been married to the great sea-god Manannán mac Lir at the Dun of the Estuary, and the wooing of Cúchulainn by her is the sparkling of the pellucid drop in the sun's rays when he has reached the dark places of the earth; but that was to last only for a time, and Fand returns to her former love; that is to say, the crystal drop is finally carried back to the ocean. These pretty myth-pictures may date from almost any age in the history of an imaginative race; but it is probably a touch by the hand of hoary antiquity alone that represents the Sun-god gone mad, and only recalled to the ways in which he should go by the king's magicians and medicine-men.

Another tale,[1] proved by the names involved to belong to the same class, must now be briefly added: it relates how Cúchulainn, on his way back from Scáthach's country, came on November-eve to a city whose prince, called *Ruad* or Red, king of the Isles, had been obliged to expose his daughter as tribute to the Fomori, three of whom were to come from their distant islands to carry her away from the strand, where she sat alone awaiting their dreaded arrival. Her father promised her to wife to any man who would rescue her, and Cúchulainn hearing of it, awaited the Fomori and killed them, wherefore he was entitled to the hand of the daughter of the king; so the king told him to take her. He excused himself, and told the maiden to come after him to E[illegible] in twelve months' time,[2] but he forgot to fix the place of their meeting.

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 126*a*; the Ashburnham MS. (D. IV. 2 in the library of the R. I. Acad.), 84*b*; and the *Bk. of Leinster*, 125*a*, 125*b*.

[2] At this point the *Bk. of the Dun* breaks off without giving the girl's name, but it calls her father *Ruad* or Red, king of the Isles;

ing. On the day, however, which had been appointed, Cúchulainn happened to be careering with a friend near Loch Cuan,[1] better known as Strangford Lough, when they beheld on the water two swans joined together by a chain of gold. Cúchulainn cast a stone at them from his sling, which wounded one of them. On hastening to the strand, they found there, not two swans, but two of the finest women they had ever seen. Derborgaill, for that was the name of the maid rescued by Cúchulainn, explained who she was, and how she and her handmaid had come according to his order, though he had now wounded her with a stone which was lodged in her side. Cúchulainn was very sorry for what he had rashly done, and proceeded to suck the stone out of the wound with the blood around it. He afterwards gave her to wife to Lugaid, his greatest friend, as he declared that one whose side he had sucked could not be his own wife, a touch of refinement overcast with gloom by the sequel, which relates how Derborgaill was savagely mutilated by the women of Ulster under very peculiar circumstances, and how her death was grimly avenged on them by the enraged Cúchulainn. Now one version[2] of Derborgaill's story makes her daughter to Forgall king of Lochlann, which meant a country in or beneath a loch or the sea, the home in fact

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at the same time the Ashburnham version, 84*b*, speaks of her as the daughter of Ruad, and as Derborgaill by name.

[1] The *Bk. of Leinster* begins the story at this point by introducing Derborgaill in love with Cúchulainn on account of his fame, the stock excuse put into the mouths of all love-sick maidens who take the initiative in Irish tales.

[2] The one related in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 125*b*.

of the Fomori, whose king is said to have been Tethra, uncle to Forgall.[1] Much consistency, however, is not to be looked for in these matters; nor is Forgall's connection with Lochlann contradicted by the situation of Luglochta Loga, where Cúchulainn finds Forgall's stronghold and his daughter Emer; for, according to another account, the residence of Forgall was in the side of *Lusca*, a name which means a cave, and is borne by a place in the present county of Dublin,[2] which is perhaps not too far from the coast for the Sun-god to seem to emerge from the direction of it; not to mention that the Fomori, though belonging to the world of waters, may be encountered anywhere underground, even where the sea is far away: we may compare Undine and her kinsmen, who had access to this world wherever there was a stream or a well. According to one of the foregoing accounts, Derborgaill was about to be given away to the Fomori, her father's foes and oppressors; while according to the other, she was the daughter of a king of the Fomori, who, we may infer, wished to bestow her on one of his own race, when she set out to Cúchulainn. The difference amounts to little, and the damsel is to be regarded as behaving in the same way as a goddess of dawn and dusk. She might, further, be said to combine in her own person the characteristics, to a certain extent, of Emer and Fand; but this requires to be explained with reference to her name Derborgaill, more familiar to most of you in its Scotch form of Dervorgild. It is interpreted in the Book of

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 123*a*; and the Stowe MS. 82*b*.

[2] O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 52, note.

Leinster to mean '*Dér*, or Tear, daughter of Forgall king of Lochlann,'[1] which one cannot help comparing with the name of Fand, and associating with Derborgaill's love for Cúchulainn, as an analogous case of the nature myth representing the drop glistening in the sun's rays.

[1] Irish *dér* means a 'tear,' and is in fact the etymological equivalent of that English word and its congeners in other languages, such as Greek δάκρυ and Welsh *deigr* of the same signification, both Irish and English having levelled the path of the voice by removing the guttural consonant. So Derborgaill literally meant Forgall's tear. As to the structure of the name, it is to be observed that it is not a compound; and that, though *dér*, 'a tear,' has not yet been met with except as a feminine, the cognates make it fairly certain that it was originally neuter in Irish. It is known that, under the influence of neuters of the *O* declension (Latin ij. decl.), other neuters in Irish sometimes take a final nasal, which should correspond, but for this false analogy, to the *ν* of ἀγαθόν and the *m* of *bellum*, and is found written in Gaulish *ν* or *n*. Thus, though the Irish *muir* is of the same meaning, etymology and declension as the Latin *mare*, it becomes *muirn* in *Muir n-Icht*, 'the Ictian Sea,' or the English Channel; similarly, *teg* or *tech*, 'house,' of the same etymology and declension as the Greek τέγος, becomes *tegn*, as in *teg n-dagfir*, 'domus viri boni:' for more instances, see the *Grammatica Celtica*[2], pp. 235, 270. Treated in the same way, *dér* would become *dérn*, and prefixed to *Forgaill* would, according to the rule as to *n* + *f* (earlier *n* + *v*), yield *Dervorgaill*, with the *v* prevented from hardening into *f*, and the *n* ultimately elided. Dervorgaill would be written in the ancient Irish orthography *Derhorgaill*, which the scribe of the story in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 125, has spelled Derbforgaill, in which he inserted an *f* with the *punctum delens* in order to preserve the transparence of the etymology which he wished to advocate, and which appears to have been the right one. Accordingly the name should be now pronounced *Der Vorgaill*, or, in one word, *Dervorgaill* with the accent on the middle syllable; and that it is so, I learn from Prof. Mackinnon of Edinburgh, who recollects this name borne by an old woman in his native isle of Colonsay when he was a child: it was, as he kindly informs me, always accented on the syllable *vor*. The *dér* here in question is to be distinguished from *dĕr*, said to mean a girl; and it is to be borne in mind in reading this conjecture.

Why both stories should treat the liquid element as a tear I cannot say: a modern author would in such a case probably prefer speaking of the drop of rain or dew, and it is conceivable that the Tears of Forgall king of Lochlann were in ancient Erinn the mythic definition of rain or dew;[1] but I must confess complete ignorance of any facts that would serve to countenance such a view.

Cúchulainn and his Foes.

The epic tale of the Táin involves Cúchulainn in a quarrel with a goddess of a different description from those hitherto mentioned: I mean the Mórrígu, or Great Queen of the Mars-Jupiter of the Goidels (p. 43). According to the *Book of the Dun*, it happened one day during Cúchulainn's defence of Ulster against the forces of Ailill and Medb from the west, that the Mórrígu presented herself to him in the form of a damsel of highly distinguished appearance, clad in a dress of all colours. 'Who art thou?' inquired Cúchulainn. 'I am the daughter of Buan the king,' said she; 'I am come to thee; I have loved thee on account of thy fame, and I have brought with me my treasures and my herds.' 'Not good, indeed,' said he, 'is the time of thy coming to us: is not the bloom of our . . . .[2] bad? Not easy, then, for me is it to arrange a meeting with a woman,' said he, 'while I am in this struggle.' 'I shall,' said she, 'be of assistance to thee in it.' Thereupon he

[1] Compare the Old Norse definition of dew in the *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 63: "Rime-mane is the horse called, which draws the night from east over the blessed Powers. Every morning the foam drops from his mouth; hence the dew in the valleys."

[2] The word *ainmgorti* used here, 74*a*, is obscure to me.

gave her an insulting reply, which made her completely change her tone, and say: 'It will be hard for thee when I shall come against thee engaged in fighting with the men of Erinn: I shall come in the form of an eel beneath thy feet at the ford, so that thou wilt stumble and fall.' 'That strikes me as a more likely form for thee than that of a king's daughter; but I shall,' he added, 'seize thee in my hand, causing thy ribs to break, and thou wilt be subject to that blemish till I pronounce sentence of blessing on thee.' 'I shall,' said she, 'in the form of a grey she-wolf, drive the cattle to the ford against thee.' 'I shall cast a stone,' said he, 'at thee from my sling, and smash one of thy eyes in thy head; and thou wilt be under that blemish till I pronounce sentence of blessing on thee.' 'I shall come,' said she, 'to thee in the form of a hornless red heifer at the head of the herd, so that they will rout thee at the mires, at the fords and at the pools, and thou wilt not perceive me meeting thee.' 'I shall,' said he, 'fling a stone at thee, and break one of thy legs[1] under thee, and thou wilt be under that blemish till I pronounce sentence of blessing on thee.'[2] Thereupon she left him for a while; but, according to her threat, she returned one day when he was engaged in single combat with a formidable foe; and, in the form of an eel, she gave three twists round his feet, so that he fell at full length across the ford: presently he got up and seized the eel in his hand, so that her ribs broke within

[1] I am not sure whether this be correct: the Irish in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 74*b*, is, 'commema do fergara fót;' but when it is described done at 77*a*, we have 'ger gara' instead of *fergara*, which is perhaps to be read into *fergara*. The nom. sing. occurs as *fer gaire* at 77*b*.

[2] Ibid. 74*a*, 74*b*.

her. The noise of the strokes dealt by Cúchulainn and his antagonist at one another in the ford was such as to frighten the western army's flocks and herds, so that the latter broke loose and rushed eastwards across the camp with the tents on their horns: this was the Mórrígu's opportunity, so she came in the form of a she-wolf and drove the cattle in the other direction down upon Cúchulainn, whereupon he cast a stone from his sling, as he had promised, and smashed her eye. Afterwards she came down on the ford in the form of the hornless red heifer at the head of the herd, and was lamed by Cúchulainn, as he had foretold.[1] The Mórrígu had now to bethink herself how she might be healed of her triple blemish, for wounds inflicted by Cúchulainn could not be healed without his own intervention. One day, as Cúchulainn felt thirsty after the performance of a fabulous feat of valour against the troops of the west, the Mórrígu presented herself to him in the guise of an old woman, lame and blind of one eye, engaged in milking a three-teated cow. He asked her for a drink, and she gave him the milking of the first teat, whereupon he wished her the blessing of gods and not-gods, and she was healed of one of her wounds. He asked her again for milk, which she gave him from the second teat, and he repeated the blessing, at which another of her wounds was healed. He had likewise the milk of the third teat, and on his pronouncing his blessing on her a third time, she was made whole, whereupon she reminded him that he had said that he would never heal her. 'Had I only known it was thou,' said he, 'I should never have healed thee

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 76*b*, 77*a*.

to the end of the world.'[1] Cúchulainn and the Mórrígu were now, so to say, quits, and the story ends without shedding any light on the later relations between them. Another story,[2] however, which describes Cúchulainn's death, makes the Mórrígu, out of friendship for him, break his chariot on the eve of the fatal day, so as to induce him to stay at home; how the reconciliation had been effected I cannot say; and I have only entered into these details because they form the Irish counterpart of the hostility evinced by Here towards Heracles, and their final reconciliation.

The Mórrígu, it is needless to say, failed in her friendly effort to keep Cúchulainn at home on the day already referred to, for the warriors of Ulster were again in their *couvade*, and he alone was left to face the enemy, who was this time under the command of Lugaid king of Erinn, and Erc king of Leinster.[3] The former slew Cúchulainn near Loch Lámraith[4] in the Plain of Murthemne on the very day when the Ultonians were able to come out of their confinement; and Conall Cernach, Cúchulainn's foster-brother, pursued Lugaid, and overtook him before the close of the day bathing in the Liffey. A

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 77*a*, 77*b*, where the wounds healed are not quite the three inflicted in the previous part of the story: the Mórrígu here has her head, an eye and a leg healed, whereas, according to the previous account, they should have been her ribs, an eye and a leg respectively. But such inconsistencies are quite common in old versions of Irish tales, showing that the scribes used a variety of older editions.

[2] *Bk. of Leinster*, 119*a*—123*b*; extracts will be found, published with a translation by Stokes, in the *Rev. Celt.* iij. 175—185.

[3] O'Curry, 513-4.

[4] Another name of the same lake given in the *Bk. of Leinster* was Loch Tondchuil, 121*b*.

parley took place, followed by a protracted duel, resulting in Conall slaying Lugaid, who surrendered to him both his realm and his head. In this singular combat Conall had the aid of his horse, a beast said to have been provided with a dog's head in order to aid his master in his battles; so when Conall had been bound by Lugaid to fight with only one hand, as the latter had lost one of his hands that day, Conall's canine horse took part in the conflict by biting a piece out of Lugaid's side, which rendered the rest of the fight easy for his antagonist.[1] This, it will be seen, forms a remarkable parallel to Owein ab Urien's lion assisting him in his duels on more than one occasion (p. 402). But to return to Cúchulainn: his slayer was Lugaid, as has just been said, and he is so important a character that his history must here be detailed at some length. He is usually called Lugaid Riab nDerg, or L. of the Red Stripes, represented as Cúchulainn's special friend, or else as his foster-son and even as his own son. He is variously known as *Lugaid mac Conroi*, 'L. son of Cúroi,' and *L. mac na Tri Con*,[2] 'L. son of the Three *Cús*,' or Hounds, and he is possibly to be also identified with Lugaid mac Con, or L. Hound's

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 122*b*.

[2] These are supposed (O'Curry, p. 479) to have been Cúchulainn, Conall Cernach and Cúroi, the genitives of the names being Conculainn, Conaill and Con-roi respectively. *Cú-roi* or *Cú-rui* (with or without the mark of length on the diphthong) seems well attested (*Bk. of the Dun*, 61*a*, 69*a*, 71*b*; *Bk. of Leinster*, 31*b*, 169*b*), but it must have also had the form *Cú-rí*, as the genitive occurs in the form *Conu-ri* in ancient ogam on a stone in his district: this pronunciation is again approximated in the Anglo-Irish *Caher Conree*, which late Irish authors sometimes write *Cathair Chonrai* or even *Cathair Chonrigh*.

Son, whose story, however, differs very widely from the others, owing, it may be, at least in part, to racial reasons. It is also conceivable that *Mac Con* or *Mac na Tri Con* originally meant merely Him of the Hound, or of the Three Hounds, in reference to a simple or triple Cerberus as companion of the Plutonic deity: Gwyn ab Nûđ had likewise both a horse and a hound of a formidable kind.

Now the mother of Lugaid of the Three Hounds was, according to one account, Bláthnat, wife of Cúroi mac Daire, a great magician associated with the mountain range of Slieve Mis in Kerry, where his stronghold has given a lofty height between Tralee and Dingle its name of *Cathair Chonroi*, 'Cúroi's Fortress,' Anglicized *Caher Conree*. Now Bláthnat's name, derived from *bláth*, 'bloom,' reminds one of that of Blodeueđ, from *blodeu*, 'flowers,' and she is herself represented as unfaithful a wife to Cúroi as Blodeueđ was to Lleu (p. 239); for she is not only said to have loved others, but a tragic tale relates how she became Cúchulainn's wife after he had slain Cúroi with her aid. Cúchulainn and two other Ultonians had paid a friendly visit to Cúroi at his abode in the west; and Cúchulainn, whether then or later we are not told, found opportunity of coming to a treacherous understanding with Bláthnat. So at the time fixed upon by her, namely, November-eve, Cúchulainn and his followers stationed themselves at the bottom of the hill watching the stream that came down past Cúroi's fort; nor had they to wait long before they observed its waters turning white: it was the signal given by Bláthnat, for she had agreed to empty the milk of Mider's three cows from Mider's cauldron into the stream, which has ever

since been called the Finnghlais or White Brook.[1] The sequel was that Cúchulainn entered Cúroi's fort unopposed, and slew its owner, who happened to be asleep with his head on Bláthnat's lap. Cúchulainn took away Bláthnat, with the famous cows and cauldron; but he was not long to have possession of his new wife, for Cúroi's poet and harper, called Ferceirtne, resolved to avenge his master; so he paid a visit to Cúchulainn and Bláthnat in Ulster, where he was gladly received by them; but one day, when the Ultonian nobles happened to be at a spot bordering on a high cliff, Ferceirtne suddenly clasped his arms round Bláthnat, and flinging himself with her over the cliff, they died together.[2]

This story may perhaps be regarded as presenting the difficulty, that the treachery more usually characteristic of the dark powers is here ascribed to the Sun-hero, somewhat as if Lleu and Goronwy had changed places in the story of Blodeued's infidelity; but it is impossible to make Cúchulainn one of the dark beings, among

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 169*b*. What passes as Cúroi's cairn is known on the shoulder of the mountain; but no remains of his *cathair* or fort have ever been found, and O'Curry (iij. 80), looking for the remains of walls, would not identify it with the height now called Caher Cônree, which O'Donovan found to be no wall, but 'a natural ledge of rocks' (*Battle of Magh Rath*, note, p. 212). In 1883, I travelled past the foot of the mountain to Dingle, and returned the same way, but failed both times to get a good view of the top on account of the mist, which seemed to render it a fitting abode for a god resembling the Welsh Gwyn ab Nûd or the Manx Manannán.

[2] With the exception of a short paragraph in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 169*b*, the author is indebted for this story to O'Curry. ij. 97, iij. 79-82, and Keating's *History of Ireland* (O'Connor's ed., Dublin, 1865), pp. 220-5; they differ, however, in detail.

whom Cúroi, on the other hand, must be classed. For we find him among the allies who gave Ailill and Medb assistance on the Táin, in which he was ready personally to engage had he not been checkmated. This character of a Dis or Pluto agrees well with the fact that Cúroi appears as an ancestor in the west, which is attested, among other things, by an ancient ogam,[1] on a low cromlech near Caher Conree, commemorating a man described as Son of Cúroi. Like Niall of the Nine Hostages, and others of the same type, Cúroi engaged in wars outside Erinn and far away: one story places his exploits even among the Scythians.[2] Like the solar heroes, the princes of darkness not only grew to manhood in a short time, but they were also, like them, great travellers, conquering far and wide, the reason being, in the last resort, that wherever the light of the sun shines, there darkness likewise comes in its turn. It is right, however, to add that there is a story which represents Cúchulainn as having a long-standing cause to hate Cúroi. Cúchulainn and the heroes of Ulster once on a time resolved to go on a plundering expedition to the Isle of the Men of Falga, a fairy land ruled by Mider (p. 145) as its king. Cúroi, who was a great magician, insinuated himself among the raiders in disguise, and by means of his arts he succeeded in leading the Ultonians into Mider's stronghold, after they had repeatedly failed in their attempts. He did this on the condition that he

[1] *Celtic Britain*[2], p. 263; Brash, p. 175, pl. xvi: see note, p. 472.

[2] See Windisch's *Irische Texte*, pp. 294-5; compare also the Welsh elegy to Cúroi in the *Bk. of Taliessin* (Skene, ij. 198), where he is mentioned as one who 'was wont to hold a helm on the Sea of the South.'

was to have of the plunder the jewel that pleased him best. They brought away from Mider's castle Mider's daughter Bláthnat, as she was a damsel of exceeding beauty; also Mider's Three Cows and his Cauldron, which were objects of special value and virtues. When they came to the division of the spoils, the mean-looking man in grey, who had led the victorious assault, said that the jewel he chose was Bláthnat, whom he took to himself. Cúchulainn complained that he had deceived them, as he had only specified a jewel, which he insisted on interpreting in no metaphorical sense; but by means of his magic, the man in grey managed to carry the girl away unobserved. Cúchulainn pursued, and the dispute came to be settled by a duel on the spot, in which Cúchulainn was so thoroughly vanquished that Cúroi left him on the field bound hand and foot, after having cut off his long hair,[1] which forced Cúchulainn to hide himself for a whole year in the wilds of Ulster, while Cúroi carried away to his stronghold of Caher Conree both Bláthnat and her father's cows and cauldron.[2] This story seems to mix up two things, the first of which was the carrying away of the Three Cows and the Cauldron of the king of the fairy island, of which a very different version represents it as Cúchulainn's own doing (p. 261). Now Falga is variously[3] supposed to have been the Isle of Man or *Insi Gall*, that is to say, the Western Isles; but, according to Cormac's Glossary, the cows, which

[1] That was not all, for the *Bk. of Leinster*, 169*b*, adds the words: diarfumalt (.i. diarchommil) cacc nambó moachend.

[2] O'Curry, iij. 81; O'Connor's Keating, *loc. cit.*

[3] See O'Curry, iij. 80, and a gloss on *Fulga* in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 169*b*.

were white cattle with red ears, belonged, not to Mider, but to another king of the other world, who was called Echaid Echbél, or E. Horse-mouth. He lived in Alban, and his cows used to come to graze in Dalriada, on a headland, now called Island Magee, in Antrim,[1] where they were appropriated by Cúchulainn and his men, from whom they were then stolen by Cúroi and carried away whither Cúchulainn knew not. This, it will be seen, is a Goidelic version of the story of Cacus stealing from Hercules some of the heifers he had taken from Geryon. The other thing confused with the story of Echaid's Cows was that of the contest for the daughter of Mider king of the fairies. This latter story taken by itself is transparent enough: it is devoted to the different stages in the usual conflict between the representative of light and darkness for the dawn-goddess: in the first engagement the former is vanquished and cropped of his long yellow hair, whereupon his retirement takes place for a time, just as he withdraws distraught from the haunts of men, when Fand is taken away from him by Manannán, the other great magician of Irish story. At the next stage the Sun-god succeeds in disposing of Cúroi and carrying away his wife to his own home; but the powers of darkness gain possession of her once more, for that is probably the meaning of her being borne away over the cliff.

According to these stories, Lugaid was the son of the

[1] The Stokes-O'Donovan *Cormac*, p. 72; also the *Four Masters*, A.M. 2859, O'Donovan's notes *i*, *t*. In the *Bk. of Leinster* these cows are called in the genitive, 'na *tri* nerc (.i. bó) iuchna,' and 'nanerc niuch*na*,' and the same word *Iuchna*, said there to be a proper name, occurs also in Cormac's article; but I have seen no explanation of the term.

unfaithful Bláthnat; but there seem to have been plenty of different accounts of his parentage, in which other sets of names figure; and one[1] of them is interesting as an instance, to a certain extent, of associating with darkness and death the ideas of guilt and depravity. Medb, queen of the West, had two sisters, called respectively *Clothru* and *Ethne Uathach*, or E. the Horrible. They had three brothers, called *na tri Finn Emna*, or the Three White Ones of Emain. Why they were so called is a question of the same kind as why the corresponding Welsh name should have been borne by a god of death like Gwyn ab Nûd; he was, however, only one, according to the story of Kulhwch,[2] of three Gwyns, who are possibly to be equated with the three Finns of Emain. The individual names of these last were Bres, Nár and Lothur, which one might perhaps render War, Shame and Hell.[3] Now Lugaid is considered the son of this Evil Triad and Clothru or the Horrible Ethne.[4] The story of his

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 124*b*.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* p. 106, where they are called Gwyn son of Esni, Gwyn son of Nwyvre, and Gwyn son of Nûd: Guest's text and translation, ij. 205, 259, unaccountably omit the two first Gwyns.

[3] Nár means 'shame' and 'shameful;' the plural of *bres* occurs as *bressa*, meaning 'battles:' see Stokes' *Calendar of Oengus*, Prol. 74; and *lothur* is quoted in the *Gr. Celtica*[2], p. 782, with the sense of *alveus, canalis:* it seems to be derived from *loth*, meaning '*coenum, Lerna*' (*Gr. Celt*[2]. p. 15), '*Mefitis*' (Windisch's *Ir. Texte*, s. v. p. 669), and '*palus*' and '*hell*' (Stokes' *Goidelica*[2], p. 69). Lóthar or Lothor, gen. Lóthair, was also the name of Medb's herdsman on the Táin, *Bk. of the Dun*, 65*a*.

[4] According to the *Bk. of Leinster*, 124*b*, the mother was Clothru, who became Conchobar's wife after her sister Medb had left him; but O'Curry, ij. 290, following probably other versions of the story, makes Ethne the king's wife. The name *Ethne Uathach* occurs also in the story of the Deisi: see the *Bk. of the Dun*, 54*a*.

origin, briefly told in the Book of Leinster, forms a picture less colossal but more disgusting than that sketched by Milton of the relations between Death and Sin and Satan. Now the four provinces of Erinn which were usually hostile to Ulster wished to choose a king to rule over the kingdom at Tara; and among those who met together were Ailill and Medb, Cúroi, and Erc king of Leinster, in whose palace at Tara the meeting was held. The Ultonians were of course not consulted, but the vision of the seer at the bull-feast indicated as the over-king that was to be chosen, a warrior who was then in Ulster, standing, as it happened, by Cúchulainn's sick-bed. Messengers were sent to him, and it was when they announced their errand that Cúchulainn sat up and delivered a charge to Lugaid as to how he was to conduct himself in his office of king.[1]

This friendship between Cúchulainn and Lugaid is very remarkable; it is illustrated also in the Táin epic, where Lugaid is called son of Nós and described as king of Munster.[2] Ailill and Medb are represented availing themselves of that friendship to make use of Lugaid as their intermediary when they wish to negociate with their great enemy Cúchulainn. We have had an instance also of it in the story of Cúchulainn giving his own bride Derborgaill to Lugaid to wife (p. 465), and to this may be added one which mentions Forgall Monach betrothing Emer to Lugaid mac Nóis king of Munster, and the latter declining to have anything to do with her as soon

[1] Windisch, pp. 212, 213.

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, 74*a*: the other Táin references to him are 67*a*, 69*a*, 70*b*, 73*a*, 73*b*, also possibly 62*a*, where we read of *Fer Ulli mac Lugdach*.

as she explained to him that Cúchulainn was to be her husband, whom Lugaid, according to this euhemerized passage, did not wish to anger.[1] On Welsh ground the possession of the bride would in both cases have only been settled as the result of a battle between the rival suitors, and the friendship and mutual regard ascribed to Cúchulainn and Lugaid is peculiarly Irish. It arises from the story of Cúchulainn's sojourn in Scáthach's Isle as Scáthach's pupil, that is to say, as her foster-son; but Scáthach had other foster-sons, who were accordingly Cúchulainn's foster-brothers there. The foster-brother[2] was, according to Celtic ideas, one's friend *par excellence*, and this is the origin of Cúchulainn and Lugaid's friendship, for Lugaid was Cúchulainn's foster-brother in Scáthach's Isle; and the same remark applies to the others who were their fellow-pupils there, several of whom, including two called Fer Baeth and Fer Diad respectively, were induced by Medb, much against their inclination, to fight with Cúchulainn on the Táin. In their case their former friendship with Cúchulainn serves to deepen the tragic tone of the story. The most formidable of all the old friends of Cúchulainn was Fer Diad, and the duel between them lasted a *noinden* or four days; the dialogues preceding each conflict turn mostly on the friendly relations between the heroes

[1] See the Stowe MS. (R. I. Academy, D. iv. 2), fol. 83*b*, which maintains the consistency of the story it relates by not naming Lugaid among Cúchulainn's fellow-pupils in Scáthach's Isle: see 83*a*.

[2] The word denoting this relation was in Irish *comalta*, which is as if one had in Latin a word *com-alt-ius*, meaning 'reared together with,' and so is the Welsh equivalent *cyfaillt* or *cyfaill*, the only term in the language for 'friend.'

when together in Scáthach's Isle, and they have been elaborated with considerable care, while Cúchulainn's grief when his friend and antagonist fell on the fourth day is very touching. Fer Diad, it may be explained, was a match for Cúchulainn so long as they fought with the same weapons, but Cúchulainn at last called for the *Gái Bolga*, which he always held in reserve. This was a missile which he directed that time by means of his feet, from the water in the ford upwards into his antagonist's body, and it proved at once fatal.[1] What this strange weapon may have been in actual war, one cannot exactly say; but, mythologically speaking, the direction of it from the water upwards would seem to indicate as its interpretation the appearance of the sun as seen from the Plain of Murthemne when rising out of the sea to pierce with his rays the clouds above. In another instance the *Gái Bolga* is brought down on the head of Cúchulainn's antagonist with the effect of crushing him,[2] which would seem to refer to the action of the sun's rays on the clouds below from his position on high in the heavens.

It will now be readily understood how it came about that Irish mythology could treat the Sun-god and certain of the dark beings as at times his bosom friends; and also how some of them had nevertheless to fight with him and fall by his hand. Lugaid was one of this class, but the euhemerism of Irish tales, in the form we have them, has tried hard to keep Lugaid as the friend of Cúchulainn distinct from Lugaid as his mortal enemy;

[1] For the whole story, original text and translation, see O'Curry, iij. 414—463.

[2] Stokes & Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, pp. 184, 206.

and one of the results is, that we cannot, with our imperfect knowledge of Irish literature, trace how the story originally described Lugaid becoming hostile to Cúchulainn. It is otherwise with the corresponding Teutonic story of Brynhild wooed to be Gunther's wife by Siegfried, who some time afterwards falls the victim of a foul murder perpetrated with Gunther's aid; for the narrative tries to account for the change in Gunther's feelings towards his friend and benefactor.[1] But in the case of Cúchulainn and Lugaid we have to make a spring, so to say, from the tenderness of their friendship into the thick of their deadly feud, when the braves of Ulster were again in their couvade, and their land was devastated by their enemies from the other provinces of Erinn. For they were this time under the leadership, not of Ailill and Medb, but of Lugaid and his friend Erc king of Leinster, aided by cunning magicians called Calatín and his Sons, who had also assisted Cúchulainn's foes on the Táin.[2] The sequel has already been briefly related, how Cúchulainn, trying to make head against them, fell by the hand of Lugaid. Now the stories which treat Lugaid as Cúchulainn's friend do not permit the former to be seen in his character of a personification of darkness and death, of evil both physical and moral. This has to be gathered indirectly from such facts as the following. The flagstones of Lugaid's court, under which his body was said to be buried, appear to have been so well known to Irish folk-lore as to have elicited an explanation which interpreted them to mean blushes and disgrace, or else

[1] Cox's *Tales of the Teutonic Lands*, pp. 96—106.

[2] *Bk. of Leinster*, 119*a*—120*b*; also 93*a*.

developed them into an odious triad of murder, disgrace and treachery.[1] All this was doubtless based on the character ascribed to Lugaid; and a similar conclusion is to be drawn from the story of Conall Cernach avenging the death of his friend Cúchulainn on Lugaid by slaying him and carrying away his head as a trophy. On his return homewards, Conall, meeting his comrades, laid the head down on the top of a stone, where it was forgotten by him; and when one was despatched to bring it away, it was found to have corroded its way through the stone: such appears to have been the virulence of its nature.

Other accounts make Erc the slayer of Cúchulainn: his name has its explanation in its Welsh equivalent *erch*, 'dun, horrible,' Gr. πέρκος, which seems to indicate that he belonged to the same class of dark beings as Lugaid. As the slayer of Cúchulainn, he also is described having his head cut off by Conall, and the tragedy is much deepened by the account given of the grief of Acall, Erc's wife, or, according to another version, his sister, who dies of a broken heart.[2] But such a story would have many forms, and one other of those extant makes Conall slay a king of Leinster under circumstances which might be not inaccurately described as those of the deaths of Lugaid and of Erc taken together to make one tragedy. There had been a great battle at the end of Aitherne's unspeakable progress, and in the battle the king of Leinster had slain two brothers of Conall. It should be explained that the king's name was Mesgegra mac Dáthó, who was a decidedly dark personage (p. 330), and that Conall, arriving after the battle had been fought,

[1] O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* pp. 478-9. [2] Ibid. pp. 49, 483, 513-4.

set out on the track of the victorious men of Leinster, who, on reaching their own country, disbanded, leaving the king and his charioteer alone. The latter came to the river Liffey, and as the king looked at the water he saw floating down the stream a nut as big as a man's head: he alighted to pick it out of the water, when his charioteer happened to nap and to have a disturbing dream. When he woke he thought the king had eaten the whole kernel, so he cut off the king's hand with half the kernel in it; but, on discovering his mistake, he drove his sword through his own body. This was not all, for now Conall Cernach arrived on the scene; and the king would not fight unless Conall had one of his hands tied,[1] so that they might be more fairly matched. That was done, and they reddened the Liffey with their blood; but Conall prevailed, and carried the head of his opponent away with him: the same story is related of it when laid down on a stone as of Lugaid's. On his way back towards the borders of his own country, Conall accidentally met Buan, Mesgegra's wife, going home with her suite. 'Whose art thou, O woman?' said Conall. 'I am the wife of king Mesgegra,' said she. 'Thou hast been ordered to come with me,' said Conall. 'Who has ordered it?' said the queen. 'Mesgegra,' answered Conall. 'Hast thou brought a token?' asked Buan. 'Here are his chariot and his horses,' said Conall. 'Many,' said she, 'are they to whom he makes presents.' 'Here is his head then,' said Conall. 'I am now free,' said she. Thereupon the king's head was seen to change colour, red and pale white alternately. 'What ails the head?' said Conall.

[1] Compare Lancelot fighting with one hand, in Wright's *Malory* (London, 1866), iij. 263.

'I know,' said she; 'it is the words that passed between him and Aitherne: he said that no man of the Ultonians should carry me away. It is the conflict on account of what he then said, that is what ails the head.' 'Come thou to me to my chariot,' said Conall. 'Wait,' said Buan, 'for me to bewail my husband.' She then raised her cry of lamentation so that it was heard as far as Tara and Aillen: after that she threw herself headlong and died on the spot. Her grave is on the road, and it is called Buan's Hazel from the tree which grows through it.[1] Apart from this incident which recalls the death of Acall, the story of Conall fighting with Mesgegra in the Liffey is so like that of his overtaking Lugaid in the same river, that we may treat them as referring to the same mythic event, and regard Lugaid and Mesgegra as virtually one and the same mythic being. This is countenanced by the allusion to Mesgegra in Emer's lamentation over her husband's death.[2]

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 116*b*, 117*a*; Stokes, *Rev. Celt.* viij. 47—63.

[2] *Bk. of Leinster*, 116*a*—117*a*, 122*a*—122*b*, and 123*b*.

Lecture V.

THE SUN HERO.

PART II.

Kulhwch and Gwri of the Golden Hair.

Up to this point we have used the various forms of the Sun-god's name, Llew, Lleu, Lug and Lugus, as our finger-posts; but we have now to pass from the range of their guidance to consider some other versions of the solar myth. We may begin with one of those connected with the Arthurian legend, but not so closely connected with it as not to be readily treated by itself: I mean the story of Kulhwch and Olwen.[1] Now Kulhwch's mother's name was Goleuđyđ, 'Light-as-day or Day-bright,' and she was daughter to a prince called Anlawđ, who was also the father of Eigr or Igrayne, Arthur's mother.[2] His father's name is given as Kilyđ, which meant a companion, fellow, and, perhaps, a husband; and his grandfather's name is represented as being Kelyđon Wledig, which might possibly be regarded as meaning

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[1] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 100—143; Guest's *Mab.* ij. 247—318.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 100, 102, 106; Guest, ij. 198, 252, 258; also *Brut Tysilio* in the *Myv. Arch.* ij. 289, where Eigr is said to have been daughter of *Amlaód óledic.*

Prince Kelyđon, with the latter word taken as the equivalent of a Caledo, in the sense of one of the Caledones or Caledonians; but there is no evidence for the existence of either Caledo or Kelyđon as a masculine singular. So it is preferable to treat Kelyđon Wledig as an archaism for Gwledig Kelyđon, which would mean Prince of Caledonians or of Caledonia. The story is chiefly interesting as a kind of parallel to Cúchulainn wooing and marrying Emer, daughter of Forgall king of Lochlann, as will be seen from the following abstract of it. Previous to the birth of Kulhwch, his mother lost her senses, and wandered Leto-like on the mountains: it was the fright caused her by a herd of swine that was the immediate cause of her being delivered. The swine-herd took the baby to his father's court, where men called him Kulhwch, or Him of the Pig-sty, because he had been found in a pig-sty. He was nevertheless noble; and when he was yet a stripling, his father, who had been for some time a widower, married a woman who had a daughter of her own. The step-mother wished Kulhwch to marry her daughter, but he excused himself on the score of his youth, whereupon the mother was much angered, and swore him a 'destiny' that he was to have no woman to wife but Olwen the daughter of Yspyđaden Pencawr, or Hawthorn Head-giant. The step-mother had every reason to believe that uncanny father likely to put an end to Kulhwch's life as soon as he came to him with a request for his daughter's hand; for it was known to her that no suitor ever returned from Yspyđaden's castle, as its giant-owner was to lose his life the day his daughter married. Kulhwch told his father what his step-mother had said as to his marrying

Olwen, and the father said that nothing was easier if he would only go to the court of his cousin Arthur, and follow his instructions: these were, that he should ask Arthur to cut his hair, and, when it was done, that he should demand Olwen as his *kyvarws* or boon; for the ceremony of hair-cutting by the king meant his making him one of his men, and his acquiring the right to demand a boon of his lord. Kulhwch complied, and went to the court of Arthur, who took his golden scissors and cut Kulhwch's hair, whereby he discovered that he was of his kin; so he made him tell him who he was. Kulhwch, as instructed by his father, asked as his boon that he should have Olwen to wife. Arthur had no objection; but neither he nor his knights had ever heard of Olwen, and, though they were by no means unused to travel, they had not the remotest idea where Yspyđaden's abode might be. When a considerable time had been vainly spent in the search, and Kulhwch was beginning to grumble that he was still without his boon, he was challenged to go himself on the search with a small party of Arthur's knights, selected with special reference to their skill in such undertakings. He accordingly went with them, and it was not long ere they arrived near a great stronghold, on the way to which they came across an endless flock of sheep, watched by a shepherd sitting on the top of a mound. He was a remarkable person clad in skins, and he kept at his side a shaggy mastiff bigger than a stallion nine winters old; nor was it his habit to lose even a lambkin from the flock, or to allow anybody to pass that way unharmed; nay, the plain was covered with tree-stumps and clumps, the green of which had been scorched away to the very soil by the breath of

his nostrils. Gwrhyr Gwalstawt Ieithoeđ,[1] who knew all languages, even those of some of the animals, was asked to address the shepherd on behalf of the party; but he protested that he was under no obligation to go a step further than the others; so they all advanced together, and the more fearlessly as their magician Menyw son of Teirgwaeđ, strengthened their failing courage with the assurance that he had laid the mastiff under a spell which rendered him harmless. The shepherd told them that he was Custennin, brother to Yspyđaden, whose castle they sought and could now see not far off; but on learning what their business was, he tried to persuade them to go back the way they had come, as no one who went on such an errand to Yspyđaden's castle was ever known to return. They would not listen, and Kulhwch, as he took leave, gave Custennin a ring of gold; but it would not go on any one of his fingers, so he put it in one of his gloves, and when he reached home he handed it to his wife.

[1] The name (*R. B. Mab.* pp. 115, 126, 129, 137, 265) means Gwrhyr, Interpreter of Languages, the word *Gwalstawt*, which occurs written also in other ways, mostly less correct (*R. B. Mab.* pp. 112, 114), being the A.-Saxon *wealhstód*, 'an interpreter.' The oldest Welsh form seems to be *gwalstot* in Rhonabwy's Dream (*R. B. Mab.* p. 160), a story in a somewhat older hand than the other Red Book ones to which the page references have just been given. The Irish etymological equivalent of the name Gwrhyr was Ferghoir, borne (in *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*, i. § 17; also Joyce's *Old Celt. Romances*, p. 288), by the Stentor of Finn's party, whose every shout was audible over three cantreds. *Gwrhyr* and *Ferghoir* are probably derived from the Celtic root *gar* or *ger*, 'to call,' and the meaning of the Welsh name suggests a time when the herald had to shout from the advanced post of his own men to that of the enemy. Add to this that Arthur's court had the services of another accomplished interpreter of human speech in a person called Kadyrieith, *R. B. Mab.* p. 160; Guest, ij. 417.

This gave her occasion to extract from him all the news about Kulhwch and his party, when Custennin said she would see them very shortly. She was filled with two feelings, one of joy at the coming of Kulhwch, whose mother she stated to have been her sister; and the other of sadness at the thought that the youth was not likely to escape alive from Yspyđaden's hands. Custennin's wife was a fit consort for that mighty herdsman, and at the coming of Kulhwch she rushed, overjoyed by their approach, to embrace him; but Kei, who as the leader of the party had his eyes open, adroitly reached her a bundle of fire-wood he found close by: the woman's fond hugging instantly reduced it to the dimensions of a withy. 'Ah, lady,' said Kei, 'had it been I that were so squeezed, nobody else would ever have a chance of loving me.' In the course of their stay at Custennin's house, she opened a stone chest near the fireplace, and out came a yellow-haired, curly-headed youth. This, she said, was the only one left of her twenty-four sons, who were one by one destroyed by Yspyđaden, and she had no hope of his escaping any more than his brothers; but Kei advised her to let this her surviving son cling to him and his friends. She then prayed them not to go to Yspyđaden: they would not be dissuaded, but would wait until Olwen herself arrived, for they had learned that it was her habit to come to wash herself every Saturday at Custennin's house, where she and her maid always left behind them all their rings and jewels. Then follows a curious description of Olwen, in which it is stated, among other things, that her hair was yellower than the flower of the broom, and her skin whiter than the foam of the billow; that wherever she trod there sprang up four white

trefoils, whence her name Olwen, meaning Her of the White Track. Kulhwch wooed her; but she proceeded to explain to him, that he must ask her father, who had obtained her word of honour that she would not marry without his consent. She advises him what to say to Yspyđaden, and how to answer him; so Kulhwch and his friends set out to call on Yspyđaden, and on their way they kill his nine porters and his nine mastiffs without any ado. They make their way to the giant and salute him: then they tell him their business. 'Where are my servants and those blackguards of mine?' said he, referring to his porters. 'Lift the supports under my eyebrows that have fallen over my eyes, that I may see the form of my son-in-law.' When that was done, he promised them an answer on the morrow, and, as they were departing, he cast a poisoned javelin at them, which was caught by one of the party and hurled back through the giant's knee-socket, which he resented in strong terms. The next day they returned for his answer, but he put them off with the excuse that he must consult the girl's four great-grandfathers and four great-grandmothers, who were, he said, still alive. As they were going away he cast the second poisoned javelin at them, which was caught by one of the party as on the previous day, and hurled back with such effect that it went through Yspyđaden's chest and out through his spine: this annoyed him greatly, for, as he said, it was likely to occasion him a difficulty of breathing when walking up-hill, and possibly to interfere with his stomach. They returned on the third day, and had a javelin cast at them as before, which Kulhwch himself caught and sent back through the apple of Yspyđaden's eye and out through the back

of his head: that annoyed him rather more than the woundings on the previous days; so on the fourth day he thought it proper to sit down with his would-be son-in-law and go into details. He stipulated that Kulhwch was to have Olwen to wife provided he could fulfil certain conditions which he named: these last involved so many apparent impossibilities and the intervention of so many mythic heroes, that their chief interest may be said to consist in their forming a catalogue of the subjects of so many tales, most of which have been lost. With the aid of Arthur and his men, Kulhwch procures all the impossibilities; Yspyđaden's castle is stormed by Goreu, the only one surviving of Custennin's twenty-four sons; the giant himself, like Forgall on a similar occasion, loses his life; and the marriage of Olwen is consummated.

This tale, which I have been compelled to abridge very considerably, contains a number of things of interest to the student of mythology; but I need only allude to one or two of them. The clover-blossoms that were wont to spring up in Olwen's track recall the roses that grew where Aphrodite trod, and the former's giant-father's name Yspyđaden, meaning 'hawthorn,' reminds one of the thorn of winter, the pricking of which makes Sigrdrifa fall asleep, and of the mistletoe which, thrown by his blind brother, gives Balder his fatal wound; but the story of Kulhwch is to be read briefly in the Norse Lay of Skirni, which relates how Gerđr Gymir's daughter was successfully wooed for the love-smitten Frey by his messenger; how the latter had asked of the shepherd that 'sat on the howe watching all the ways,' which he should take in order to visit Gerđr in spite of her father's hounds; and how the shepherd thought him a

fey person or a ghost to think of attempting such a thing.[1] Still more to our purpose is it to notice the parallel between Kulhwch and Cúchulainn, excepting always a difference, already indicated between the former and Lleu, namely, that while Cúchulainn does almost everything for himself, Kulhwch achieves all he does by obliging others to toil for him: the only time he is described acting of his own initiative is when he receives Yspyđaden's poisoned javelin and sends it back with the greatest precision through the apple of the giant's eye, which, as it decided Yspyđaden to come to terms with Kulhwch, forms the turning-point of the story, and invites comparison with Lleu's one hurl of his spear when he transfixed his foe. The parallel is still further pretty close: Kulhwch was born in a hovel belonging to a swineherd, or in a sty used by his pigs, as Cúchulainn, according to some of the accounts, was born in the bothie of the man in the Brugh of the Boyne. Both were of noble blood, and grew to be greatly admired on account of their personal charms; Kulhwch had, so far as we are allowed to judge, the same unerring hand that characterized Cúchulainn in the use of his spear; Cúchulainn's marrying was a matter of great importance to the nobles of Ulster, and so was the marriage of Kulhwch one of great interest—a forced interest, it is true—to the knights of Arthur's court. Their respective brides were similar, and this extends to the difficulty of visiting them. Of the brides' mothers we read nothing; but the general resemblance between their fathers Forgall and Yspyđaden is too obvious to need discussion in detail, and both lose their

[1] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 111-7.

lives when their daughters marry. But I pass over this to make a remark or two on the mothers of the heroes respectively. Now Kulhwch's mother was daughter of Anlawđ Wledig or Prince Anlawđ, of whom we know nothing, and she was sister to the wife of Custennin, brother and herdsman to Yspyđaden: her own name was Goleuđyđ, or Light-as-Day, and her sister was the mother of the twenty-four youths slain all but one by Yspyđaden. The number twenty-four points pretty clearly, in my opinion, to the twenty-four hours of the day, and we equate the twenty-four sons of Custennin with the twenty-four ladies liberated from the stronghold of the Perverse Black Knight by Owein ab Urien.[1] This last description of them as imprisoned ladies is more in harmony with Greek mythology, which also made them such and called them the Hours, keepers of heaven's cloud-gate and ministers of the gods. It is not likely that twenty-four was the original number in Welsh mythology; and the Irish story of the three Sons of Dóel Dermait opposes to it those three and their sister. The latter, whom I take to represent night, was not brought back by Cúchulainn, who released her three brothers from captivity, just as Kulhwch was the means of saving the life of the only surviving son of his aunt's two dozen children, who thus lived to see the wedding of Kulhwch and Olwen, that is to say, the time when the sun was about to rise to illumine the world for another day. The Irish myth was consistent in not making Cúchulainn bring back the hours of darkness, but only those of light; and the fixing their number as three refers probably to

[1] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 191-2; Guest, i. 82-3.

the division of the day into three parts—morning, noon and afternoon or evening. In any case, three is also the number of the Horæ as given by Hesiod,[1] who calls them Eunomia, Dike and Eirene respectively; and I am not sure that the Χάριτες or the Graces[2] of Greek mythology were not, in point of origin, the same as the Horæ: be that as it may, the latter were supposed to watch over men and prosper their works, presiding chiefly over the changes of time and the seasons. Whether they were not confined originally to the narrow limits of the day I cannot say, but we have no grounds in Celtic literature for extending their domain beyond it; and after the analogy of myths relating to the sun and to light, we may naturally expect them, whether three or twenty-four, to have been regarded as the offspring of parents more or less allied with darkness. This is borne out on Irish ground by the description already alluded to, of Dóel Dermait's daughter and brother, and by that of Custennin's wife in the Welsh story, not to mention that the father of the twenty-four sons was brother to Yspyđaden, the chief of the giants of the dark world. Now Kulhwch's mother was sister to the wife of Custennin; what then are we to make of her name, with its unmistakable reference to the light of day? The only answer which would seem to satisfy these conditions is, that she was a representative of either the dawn or the gloaming. In case we fix on the dawn, the Sun-god, whose spouse is a dawn-goddess, is himself the son of a dawn-goddess,

[1] *Theog.* 902.

[2] The relation between the Charites and the Sanskrit Harits will be found discussed in Max Müller's *Lectures on the Sc. of Language*[8], ij. 408-11, 418.

which cannot be regarded as an objection in a nature myth of the kind in question here. However, I am disposed, on the whole, to suppose the gloaming or dusk to suit our tales better—that light which, for some time after the sun himself has sunk out of sight, continues to illumine the skies in these latitudes, and to tip the mountains and the clouds with colours which are now and then of indescribable beauty. Out of that blaze of departing light the Sun is obscurely born during the hours of darkness to begin his career anew; but before he has made love to the rosy-fingered Morn, he has lost his mother. This hypothesis would help us to assign a possible meaning to Cúchulainn's mother's name by referring it to her as the dawn, or better, perhaps, as the gloaming. The story of her escape from Emain to the fairy house to give birth to her son during the night, which was so arranged by Lug that the infant should be brought up by the nobles of the Ultonian court, need not be further gone into as a parallel to the mad wanderings of Goleuddyd and the bringing home of her son by the swineherd to his master's court; and I wish to dwell only on her name as suggesting how to explain that of the goddess Dechtere. The Welsh word dyd, 'day,' which enters into the composition of Kulhwch's mother's name, is not to be found in that of Dechtere; but her name has a partial resemblance to the English word in its old form of *dæg:* the kindred German word *tag* still retains the guttural. This brings one to a group of well-known words[1] which incline me to consider the name *Dechtere*

[1] Sanskrit *dah*, 'burn,' *dagdha*, 'burnt;' Lithuanian *degu*, 'I burn,' *degti*, 'to burn,' *degta-s*, *nu-degta-s*, 'burnt, destroyed by fire,' *daga*, 'hot weather, harvest-time, harvest;' O. Prussian *dagis*, 'summer;'

to belong to the same mythical category as that of Goleuddyd, and to refer to the goddess as the mother of the blazing sun, or else, more probably, to her as a personification of the light that overspreads the sky before the sun appears above the horizon, or after he has just sunk below it. Originally, however, it may have alluded more particularly to the hot days of summer; for myths about the sun may have to do with the seasons of the year as well as with the landmarks within the narrower space of a day. It is unfortunate that classical scholars have nothing certain to say as to the meaning of the name of Apollo's mother Leto or Latona, in whom we undoubtedly have one of the Hellenic counterparts of the Celtic figures which we have been trying to examine.

In the foregoing stories the Sun-god is, as a rule, not brought up by his mother, and in the next to be mentioned the separation between mother and son is brought about in a remarkable way. The following is the purport of the tale:[1]—Pwyll Prince of Dyved had taken to wife

O. Norse *dag-r*, Gothic *daga-s*, German *tag*. Having got thus far, one at once recognizes the equivalent of Sanskrit *dugdh-* or of the Lith. *degt-* in the Welsh word godaith, formerly godeith or gwodeith (for an early Celtic *wo-dext-*), 'a blaze, especially the burning of a place overrun with brakes, brushwood or furze.' Similarly Glodaith, the name of a place near Llandudno, is probably to be analysed into Glo-daith and interpreted as the place for burning *glo* or charcoal: it is spelled *Glodeyth* in the *Record of Carnarvon*, p. 1. It may be conjectured that we have the element *deith*, *deyth* or *daith* in a noun *edeithor*, which occurs in the probable sense of 'burner, scorcher or blazer,' in the *Bk. of Taliessin* (Skene, ij. 203); and *edeithor* without the prefix would be *deithor*, of possibly much the same meaning, and involving a base corresponding to that from which *Dechtere* has been derived by adding the *ja* termination. Windisch, p. 138, gives once the shorter form *Dectir*.

[1] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 17—25; Guest, iij. 59—71.

Rhiannon daughter of Hyveid the Old, and when they had lived together two years without any issue, the nobles of the land began in the third year to demand that he should choose another wife that he might have an heir. He persuaded them to wait another year, in the course of which a son was born to Rhiannon. But the night he was born his mother slept, and so did the six nurses who had been engaged to watch, and when they woke in the morning the boy was nowhere to be found, for it was the eve of the Calends of May, when all evil spirits and uncanny things roam at large. The nurses, to avoid being burnt alive for their negligence, conspired to swear that Rhiannon had devoured her son, so they smeared her face with the blood of some puppies they found in the house. This could not be concealed, and it went forth to the country that Rhiannon had destroyed her own baby, and the nobles again wanted Pwyll to put her away; but he replied that they could not demand this, unless she continued without offspring, which was not the case, and that if she had done wrong she should be punished. Rhiannon sent for doctors and wise men, so that rather than contend with the lying nurses she might undergo penance. The penance fixed was, that she should remain for seven years sitting daily by the horse-block near the gate, that she should tell her story to every one who came or was thought by her to be ignorant of it, and that she was to offer to all guests and strangers to carry each of them on her back to the hall: it was, of course, a rare thing for anybody to accept such an offer. This was at a place called Arberth, in the present county of Cardigan, where Pwyll held his court. At that time, Nether Gwent,

or the country, roughly speaking, between the lower courses of the Wye and the Usk, was ruled over by a prince whose name was Teyrnon Twrv Bliant, and he is said to have been the best man in the world. Now Teyrnon had a highly prized mare that foaled on the eve of every First of May, but nobody knew what became of the foals; and the year Rhiannon gave birth to her son, Teyrnon was determined to find out what happened to the foals; so he had the foal then born, together with its mother, placed in-doors, while he proceeded to watch over them himself that night. It was not long ere he heard a great noise, and after the noise he saw a claw protruding through the window and seizing the colt by the mane. Teyrnon quickly drew his sword and cut the claw off at the elbow, so that he had the colt and the claw by him in the stable. Then he heard a great tumult and noise outside, whereupon he opened the door and rushed for some distance in the direction of the noise, but the night was too dark for him to see who caused it; so remembering that he had left the stable-door open, he hastened back, and found on the ground close by it a baby in swaddling clothes, with a sheet of satin wrapped round it. He fastened the stable-door and took the baby to his wife's bed-room; when she had been told of the adventure, she examined the baby's clothes and found that it must have been the son of gentle parents. Moreover, as she had no children, she arranged to make people believe that the baby was her own: so they had the child baptized with the baptism that was usual at that time,[1] and they called him

[1] This charming catholicity of the story-teller has been completely snuffed out in Lady Ch. Guest's translation, iij. p. 65, which is as fol-

Gwri Gwallt Eurin, or Gwri of the Golden Hair, for what hair he had was as yellow as gold. Before he was a year old he could walk vigorously, and he was bigger than any three-year-old child though it were good of growth and stature; and in his second year he was as big and strong as a child of six. Ere he was fully four he would contend with the servants to be let to take the horses to water, and Teyrnon, at his wife's suggestion, had the colt of the same age with the boy broken in for him to be his own. In the mean time, the news about Rhiannon reached Teyrnon, and he had begun to scrutinize the boy's looks, for he had formerly been one of Pwyll's men; and he came to the conclusion that the lad was exactly like Pwyll, that in fact he must be Rhiannon's lost child. After consulting his wife and agreeing with her that it would be the right thing to restore him and release his mother from her penance, he took him to Arberth. When they arrived, Rhiannon offered to carry them to the hall, which they very naturally declined; but in the course of the feast that was going on, Teyrnon gave the history of the boy, and followed it up with an appeal to all those present to say whether they did not think he was Pwyll's son: nobody had any doubt in his mind on the matter; and Rhiannon observed that if that were true, she would be rid of her *pryderi* (the Welsh for anxiety). 'Lady,' said Pendaran Dyved, one of the chief nobles present, 'well hast thou named thy son

lows: 'and they caused the boy to be baptized, and the ceremony was performed there.' How this very bald statement could have been extracted from the Welsh words I do not quite understand: they are, 'Peri a wnaethant bedydya6 y mab or bedyd awneit yna:' see the *R. B. Mab.* p. 21.

Pryderi, and Pryderi son of Pwyll Head of Hades is the name that suits him best.' 'Consider,' said Rhiannon, 'whether his own name be not more suitable to him.' 'What is the name?' said Pendaran. 'Gwri of the Golden Hair is the name we gave him,' said Teyrnon. 'Pryderi,' said Pendaran, 'shall be his name.' 'It is best,' said Pwyll, 'to take the boy's name from the word his mother uttered when she got joyful tidings of him.' This was agreed upon, and Teyrnon was thanked for his behaviour in the matter and offered presents of all kinds to carry away. Pryderi was given over to Pendaran Dyved to be educated. In the course of years Pwyll died; Pryderi succeeded him, and chose as his wife Kicva, daughter of Gwyn Gohoyw, son of Gloyw Wallt-lydan, son of Prince Casnar of the nobility of this island. So ends this branch of the Mabinogi.

Considerable complication arises out of Pwyll and Pryderi's relations with Hades, and, so far as concerns the present story, we have to distinguish between Pwyll Prince of Dyved and Pwyll Head of Hades, and between Gwri of the Golden Hair and Pryderi son of Pwyll Head of Hades. In Gwri we have a sort of parallel to Cúchulainn and Lleu. Gwri's rapid growth recalls both Lleu and Cúchulainn, in common with whom he was also remarkable for his golden hair. We cannot compare his life with Cúchulainn's, as no action of his is described besides his taking his father's horses to drink, which reminds one of Shakspear's classic picture of Phœbus watering his steeds. The allusion also to the colt born at the time of Gwri's own birth deserves special notice, as it has its counterpart in the story of one of the obscure incarnations of Lug before he was born Setanta or Cúchu-

lainn. It is to the effect[1] that when Conchobar and his party, including his charioteer Dechtere, were overtaken in the fairy neighbourhood of the Brugh of the Boyne, they came across a solitary new house there, the owner of which bade them enter. They hesitated, both on account of the smallness of the building and of its probable lack of provisions and sleeping accommodation: in, however, they went, and they had not been there long when they suddenly[2] espied a kitchen door. In due time they had food and drink of the most varied and luxurious description brought them, and they had never, they thought, found themselves better served. But when they had become merry and rather more, their host informed them that his wife in the kitchen was overtaken by the pains of childbirth. Dechtere went to her, and a boy was born, at the same time that a mare at the door gave birth to two colts. In the morning the Ultonian party found themselves alone in the open air with their horses, the baby and the two colts. The colts were kept as a present for the baby, and the latter was reared by Dechtere for some time; but one day the child fell ill and died, to her profound grief; but for the next avatar of Lug, Dechtere found herself chosen to be the mother, as she was informed by him in a dream, when he took the opportunity also of charging her to keep the colts for the boy that was to be born and to be called Setanta. The coincidence is not seriously lessened by the colts being two in the one story and only one in

[1] Windisch, pp. 138-40, from Egerton, 1782, and the *Bk. of the Dun*, 128*a*, 128*b*.

[2] Windisch's *talmi* (*i. iarsin*) *du* is to be corrected into *talmidu* (*i. iarsin*), p. 137; see *Bk. of the Dun*, 128*a*.

the other, as that is a consequence of the fact that a man who fights on horseback in the Mabinogion would be made to ride forth in a chariot drawn by two horses in the epic tales of Ireland. Herein Irish would seem to have antiquity on its side, since the chariot and chargers associated with the Irish Sun-god find their counterpart in those of Helios in Greek mythology.[1]

Corc and Diarmait.

Various allusions have been made to Diarmait, and now something more must be said of him, especially as both his parentage and his death have an important bearing on the view here taken of the Sun-god. Diarmait was the son of Corc and grandson of Duben, so the story of Corc has now to be briefly resumed where we left it off (p. 309). It will be remembered that after Corc had been completely purged of the paganism of his nature when he was a year old, he was taken back to Erinn: the next thing we read of him is that, years later, his father Cairbre, as provincial king, sent him as a hostage to Cormac mac Airt king of Erinn, who had his court at Tara. Cormac entrusted Corc to a mighty warrior called Aengus of the poisoned Spear, and Aengus treated him as his foster-son, and he was with him on the occasion of a hurried visit by Aengus to Tara to avenge an insult to his family. Aengus then killed a son of Cormac's, and in so doing he put out one of the king's

[1] On the other hand, it is not to be forgotten that Conall Cernach, when pursuing Lugaid, had his chariot drawn by a single charger, the canine horse to which allusion has already been made (p. 403), as possibly the Irish counterpart of the brute auxiliary of the *Chevalier au Lion* and of Owein ab Urien.

eyes. After doing this, Aengus and Corc escaped, and the latter freed himself from his position as a hostage. A war ensued, which is regarded as the beginning of the great movement of the tribes of Leinster usually known as the Expulsion of the Déisi, some of whom came as far as Dyved, in the south-west corner of Wales, and settled there. But the story of Corc makes him, after Aengus' death, accompany another band of the exiles on sea, and sail westwards until they came to Bói's Island (p. 309), to which the narrator at this point gives the name of *Tech nDuind iar nÉrinn*, or Donn's House behind Ireland. When Corc saw the island where he had been reared, he asked his companions to stay with him there; but his story goes no further, except to state in a general way that he remained in the south of Ireland. His mother's name, as already mentioned (p. 308), was Duben, genitive Duibni or Duibne, so he is usually known as *Corc Duibne*, or Duben's Cropped One. It is clear at a glance that Duben's twin sons Corc and Cormac are to be compared with Arianrhod's children Dylan and Lleu, and that they may be taken to represent darkness and light respectively. Of Cormac, however, next to nothing is said, but we are left to suppose that he was handed over at his birth to the nobles of Munster to be burnt. But Corc, in whom the interest of the story centres, clearly lends himself to a comparison with Dylan; for as Dylan hies away to the sea as soon as he is christened, so Corc is taken as soon as he is born to a little island in the Atlantic, and in the course of his later wanderings he welcomes the sight of it once more and desires to remain on it. This, it is needless to say, is in keeping with the systematic association of the world of waters

with that of darkness, as suggested more than once already. Further, the identification here suggested of Corc with darkness has in its favour the important evidence of the story how his brother deprived him of one of his ears. That seems in some way to typify the action of the sun on the dark shades of night, and it is impossible to avoid seeing that it refers to the same attribute of the dark being as that which gave Ailill Aulom, or A. Bare-ear, his surname (p. 391). Further, Corc Duibne may be shown, in a round-about way, to have had another name, *Donn*, 'brown or dark.' For Corc had a famous son called Diarmait O'Duibne, or D. grandson of Duben. But the accounts given of his parentage vary, some calling his father Corc, and some others, not to say most others, being wont to give him the name Donn;[1] but there was probably no contradiction between them, as his name may be inferred to have been in full Corc Donn, or the Brown Cropped One. This would exactly explain why Bói's Isle, where Corc was reared for the first year of his life, appears in the same story under the more usual name of Donn's House behind Ireland. Of course Donn

[1] The story of *The Pursuit* always calls Diarmait's father Donn; but the editor quotes at some length, ij. 84—92, a poem which he thinks the production of some Munster poet of the thirteenth or the following century, and in this the father is called Corc and the grandfather Cairbre (ij. 85, 89). This can hardly be a late invention, as the modern tendency seems to have been to ignore the Corc and Duben legend in favour of a pedigree such as that quoted by the editor of *The Pursuit*, ij. 93, from O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, iij. 69, making Diarmait son of Donn, son of Duibne, son of Fothad, &c. But the value of a pedigree which treats *Duibne* as a man's name is not very great. Donn, however, is Diarmait's father throughout *The Pursuit:* the word means dark or brown, and is possibly to be regarded as a surname or another name of both Corc and Diarmait.

in his connection with that spot in the sea was the subject of another story of a different kind: he was, it is said, the king and leader of the Milesians when they arrived to invade Ireland, but he happened to be drowned near the spot, which the peasants are still said to call Donn's House. That the cropped king of darkness should be the father of the solar hero Diarmait is in no way surprising, as it amounts probably to not much more than another way of saying that the darkness of night precedes the light of day; and the way in which his mother is described suggests a dawn goddess associated with the Liffey; for she is called Crochnuit, daughter of *Currach Life*, that is to say, of the Plain of the Liffey, the unenclosed portion of which is now known as the Curragh of Kildare.[1]

It would take up too much of our space to examine the many adventures associated with Diarmait's name: I can only give you here the story of Diarmait's death as briefly as possible.[2] After Grainne, who had been promised to Finn, had compelled Diarmait to elope with her, and Finn had given up his attempt to recover her or to punish her husband, peace was made between Diarmait and Finn, who nevertheless remained ever jealous of Diarmait. When years had elapsed, the latter's wife and daughter had a feast made for Finn and his followers, and it happened whilst Finn was their guest that Diarmait was one night waked by the voice of a hound. He marvelled at that, and would have got up to

[1] *The Pursuit*, ij. § 39; Stokes-O'Donovan's Cormac, pp. 43, 128; the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1234, editor's note, iij. 272.

[2] *The Pursuit*, ij. § 36, &c.; Joyce's *Old Celt. Romances*, pp. 332—350.

seek the dog, but it was the last night of the year, and Grainne, after wishing him safety, observed that it was the Tuatha Dé Danann that were busying themselves. Presently Diarmait heard the hound's voice again, and he would have gone out after the dog, but his wife's advice prevailed. He fell into a deep sleep, but by and by he was waked by the voice of the dog again, and, as it was now daylight, he went out lightly armed and accompanied by his favourite hound. He walked on and on until he reached the top of Benn Gulbain, a mountain now called Benbulbin, in the county of Sligo. There he found before him Finn all alone, and, without greeting him, he asked him if it was he that was hunting, whereupon Finn answered that it was not, but that a party of his men who had gone before him were there, and that one of the dogs had come across the track of a wild boar. He went on to say that it was the Boar of Benn Gulbain, and that it was idle for them to hunt him, as they had tried it often before: in fact, the beast had killed, he said, half a hundred of their number that very morning. Moreover, he added, that the boar was coming up the hill towards where they now were; the huntsmen were fleeing before him, and he thought it advisable for them both to quit the knoll where they were standing. But Diarmait would not go, and Finn told him he had better, as he was under *gessa* or prohibitions not to hunt a swine. He said he had never heard that before, and he wished Finn to explain. The latter then began to relate to him how he, Diarmait, was brought up at the house of his foster-father, the great magician Aengus of the Brugh of the Boyne, and how his mother Crochnuit was the mother also of a son of Roc mac Díocain, who was

Aengus' steward. As a matter of favour and considerable pay, it was conceded to Roc that his boy, though a plebeian, should be reared as the playfellow and foster-brother of Diarmait. But one evening, when Aengus had Diarmait's father and Finn staying at his house, the former's jealousy was much roused by the attention which he saw some of Aengus' men paying to the son of the steward; presently two of Finn's dogs fell to fighting, when the weaker members of the household suddenly rushed away, and the steward's son ran for shelter between the knees of Diarmait's father, who gave him a squeeze which killed him. The steward's grief was great, and he would take no eric but that Diarmait should be placed between his knees; but being unable to get that, and having learnt something of his master's art, he fetched a magic wand, and with it struck the corpse of his child, so that it was transformed into a grey cropped pig. Before the boar had had time to rush out, Roc pronounced an incantation over him, according to which he was to have the same span of life as Diarmait, who was, however, to fall by him. It was then, as Diarmait was now told, that the *gessa* were laid on him by his foster-father Aengus that he was never to hunt a pig. Finn, therefore, advised Diarmait again to move away from the knoll where they stood talking together, but he was not to be frightened. So Finn left him, and refused even to leave him his dog Bran to encourage Diarmait's. 'By my honour,' said Diarmait, 'it is to kill me that thou hast made this hunt, O Finn; and if it be here that I am fated to die, I have no power to shun it.' Presently the boar came, and inflicted a fatal wound on Diarmait before the monster himself perished. According to

another account, said to be the one now current among the peasantry,[1] Diarmait killed and flayed the boar without receiving any harm: then Finn asked him to measure the hide, which he did by pacing it; but not being satisfied, he asked him to pace it again, which he did, walking against the lie of the bristles, so that he had one of his feet pricked by a venomous bristle, which caused his death in a very short time. In either case, Finn and his men had arrived on the spot before Diarmait was gone; and Finn is described bitterly saying to him that he was only sorry that the women of Erinn were not there to see the pale face of the darling they had so much loved. But Diarmait asked Finn to fetch him some water, that he might drink from the palms of his hands; for Finn, when he obtained his power of divination, had it also granted him that whosoever drank water from the palms of his hands should at once be cured of all wounds and diseases. Finn said that Diarmait did not deserve it of him, whereupon Diarmait proved that he did by recalling to Finn's memory the various occasions on which he had rescued Finn from the hands of his enemies. Then Finn said there was no water to be found there, which Diarmait showed to be untrue, at the same time that he pointed out a spring only nine paces from where he stood. Finn was very unwilling; but he was threatened by Ossín and the other Fenians, who loved Diarmait more than Finn: so he went to fetch water, but on his way back he thought of Grainne, and spilt it: he was forced, much against his will, to go a second time, but the result was similar. Ossín and the

[1] Note 83 to the *Pursuit*, ij. p. 81.

Fenians grew furious, and he set out the third time; but when he came with the water, it was too late: Diarmait had expired. Grainne's grief when she heard of it was no less profound and frantic than that of Aphrodite when her darling Adonis was killed by the boar he was hunting, a parallel which might be followed further. To return to Finn: he was wily enough to induce Grainne at last to become his wife, and to make use of her to obtain peace from the Sons of Diarmait when he had found that they could not be resisted in arms, and that they had meant to avenge on him their father's death. Lastly, as soon as Aengus, Diarmait's foster-father, became aware of it, he came to fetch his body: that night, he said, was the first since his foster-son was but nine months old that he had not watched over him and protected him against his foes. He was not prepared for Finn's treachery, as he had made peace between them. Now he carried away Diarmait's body to the Brugh of the Boyne, saying that though he could not call him back to this life, he would put a soul in him, so that he might converse with him daily.

So ends this story, and it is scarcely necessary, after the remarks made on the subject on diverse previous occasions, to say that it all represents the varying fortunes of the struggle between the Sun-hero and his dark antagonist for a goddess of the usual type, who is represented first betrothed to Finn, then eloping with Diarmait, and after his death becoming Finn's wife likewise. It may here be noted as to her name, that *Grainne* implies some such an early form *Grannya*, the close relationship of which to that of *Grannos* of the Apollo Grannus of the Celts of antiquity cannot be mistaken. Finn's character

is a subject of considerable difficulty, to which I shall return later; suffice it here to compare Finn with the Welsh Gwyn ab Nûđ, who contests with Gwythur the hand of Creiđylad daughter of Llûđ. But Gwyn's story offers no parallel to Finn's tortuous way of leading Diarmait to meet his death in a hunt; rather are we reminded of Gunther and the hunt he had a hand in planning for the assassination of Sigfried. Lastly, the nature interpretation of the rôle assigned the Boar of Benn Gulbain is subject to no doubt: the savage brute symbolizes the same element as the terrible worm born with Cian (p. 392). So the noble Diarmait, beloved of all, and the grisly Boar were the offspring of one mother: they represent light and darkness.

Irish literature speaks of other mythic swine, one of which may be mentioned here: it was a monster sow belonging to Mesroida mac Datho king of Leinster, a prince of the same class as Ailill Aulom and the like. The milk of three-score prime cows went to feed the sow of Mac Dáthó every day for seven years; and it was reared with malice and venom that it might be the bane of the men of Erinn. It was, however, not the only remarkable property of Mesroida, for he possessed also a hound called Ailbe, which resembled Culann the smith's, killed by Cúchulainn, except that the range of its watching was much wider, being nothing less than the whole of the province of Leinster. Now both Conchobar king of Ulster and Medb queen of Connaught sent to Mac Dáthó to ask him for the dog: both made magnificent offers to him. This plunged the owner in perplexity and despair; but he had a shrewd wife who persuaded him to promise the dog to both, and to invite them both,

with their followers, to fetch it on a given day. The Ultonians came; so did the men of Connaught; and either company was surprised to meet the other at Mac Dáthó's gate. He welcomed all, and killed the great swine to feast them: by this time its stomach alone would have been a load for nine men. No sooner was the banquet ready than the question arose who was to carve the colossal carcase; and they proceeded to decide it according to the merits of the men of Ulster and Connaught in the raids which each had made into the other's country. One after another of the would-be carvers had to give way to somebody whose claim was superior to his, until at length it looked as if the Connaught brave named Cét mac Magach was to be the man; but at the last moment Conall Cernach rushed into the room. Cét, who recognized in him a formidable rival, but knew not what business had made him late, addressed him in words to the following effect:[1]

'Welcome Conall, heart of stone,
Fierce glow of Lug, sheen of ice,
Ruddy force of wrath in a hero's breast[2]
Covered with scars and victory—
Finnchoem's son I see[3] against me.'

[1] For the text, see Windisch, p. 96, &c., and for an abstract of the story, see O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* p. 486, note; also his *Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 14, note.

[2] The Irish *fochích* I treat as involving *cích*, usually signifying a breast or pap; but I have been influenced in the translation by the Welsh equivalent *cig*, meaning simply flesh: so *fochích* would mean 'beneath the breast or beneath the flesh,' in the sense of 'in the body or person of.' Perhaps *Lug* should here be treated as *lug*, and rendered 'light.'

[3] The text, *Bk. of Leinster*, 113*b*, has *adcomsa*, which I do not understand, so I have treated it as *adcímsa* or *adciimsa*.

Conall replied in the same wild strain and bade Cét leave the carver's place, which the latter did, sullenly remarking that Conall would not carve had his brother Anluan been present. 'But he is present,' rejoined the impetuous Conall, pulling Anluan's head from his girdle and hurling it at Cét. After this, Conall began to divide the swine among his friends, and by the time he had finished he had himself eaten the nine men's burden. As to the warriors of Connaught, there was left for them only the two fore feet of the animal, which they did not consider quite enough. Then followed a promiscuous fight, in which Mesroida let his fierce Cerberus take a part: on the whole, the men of the West got the worst of it, and the pursuit of them began, in the course of which the Ferloga incident happened (p. 142). This story is clearly another version of the victory of the Sun-god, and the remarkable feature of it is, that Conall Cernach, that is to say in terms borrowed from other stories, Cúchulainn's avenger, slayer of Ailill[1] of Cruachan, and beheader of Mesroida's brother Mesgegra (p. 329), is the one permitted to divide the carcase of Mesroida's swine, and also, more than all others, to devour it: he is *par excellence* the avenging Sun-hero.[2]

The porcine representation of darkness was not peculiar to the ancient Irish; traces of the same sort of nature myth are to be found also in Wales; for to return to

[1] O'Curry, ij. 291.

[2] As a picture of manners, I leave the story to tell its own tale: it is in this respect one of the most striking within the whole range of Irish literature; and the incident has been treated by Prof. Zimmer in his *Kelt. Studien*, ij. 189—193; also by M. Duvau in the *Rev. Arch.* viij. 336.

Diarmait, it is important to notice the time of his death. It took place on the last night of the year or on the morning following. Now as the Celts were in the habit formerly of counting winters, and of giving precedence in their reckoning to night and winter over day and summer (p. 360), I should argue that the last day of the year in the Irish story of Diarmait's death meant the eve of November or All-halloween, the night before the Irish *Samhain*, and known in Welsh as *Nos Galan-gaeaf*, or the Night of the Winter Calends. But there is no occasion to rest on this alone, as we have the evidence of Cormac's Glossary that the month before the beginning of winter was the last month;[1] so that the first day of the first month of winter was also the first day of the year; and that according to the ancient Irish, it was the proper time for prophecy and the unveiling of mysteries,[2] while in Wales it was not unusual within almost recent times for women to congregate on that night in the parish churches to learn their own fortune from the flame of the candle each held in her hand, and to hear the names or see the coffins of the parishioners destined to die in the ensuing twelvemonth: it sometimes happened

[1] This is accepted by O'Donovan in his Introduction to the *Bk. of Rights*, p. lv; but in Stokes's *Three Irish Glossaries*, p. 20, precedence is given to another MS. which reads: Fogamur .i. donmís derid is ainm isin fogamur .i. fogham .i. gæth 7 mur, &c. This is rendered as follows in O'Donovan's translation, p. 74: '*Fogamur* it is a name for the last month in the autumn,' &c.; but the Irish, which has been tampered with by somebody who did not understand the ancient reckoning, only means, as it stands, 'for the last month is it a name in the autumn.' I should propose to mend the original very slightly thus: Fogamur .i. donmis derid is ainm insin . fogamur .i. fogham, &c. '*Fogamur*, (to wit) for the last month that is a name,' &c.

[2] For a few instances, see O'Curry, p. 284, and iij. 201 *et seq.*

that one saw one's own coffin, and many were the pathetic events connected with this pagan survival.[1] In Ireland it was also the time for another custom: it was then that fire was lighted at a place called after Mog Ruith's daughter Tlachtga.[2] From Tlachtga all the hearths in Ireland are said to have been annually supplied, just as the Lemnians had once a year to put their fires out and light them anew from that brought in the sacred ship from Delos.[3] The habit of celebrating *Nos Galan-gaeaf* in Wales by lighting bonfires on the hills is possibly not yet quite extinct; and within the memory of men some of whom are still living, those who assisted at the bonfires used to wait till the last spark was out, when, unlike Diarmait, the whole company would suddenly take to their heels, shouting at the top of their voices:

Yr hwch ðu gwta	The cropped black sow
A gipio 'r ola'!	Seize the hindmost!

[1] I may refer to the *Brython* for 1859, pp. 20, 120; but I have read valuable matter in the folk-lore offered for competition at the London Eisteddvod of 1887, especially in the MS. of the writer calling himself Gwerinwr. I am, however, not certain which of the superstitions attached to the eve of the first of November, and which to that of the second, called *Dy'gwyl y Meirw* or the Feast of the Dead.

[2] Tlachtga has been identified by O'Donovan with an ancient ráth on the Hill of Ward near Athboy in the Munster portion of Meath, while the Well of Tlachtga was at the foot of the Hill of Ward, which was probably the Hill of Tlachtga, where she died. According to O'Donovan, the full name of Athboy was *Áth Buidhe Tlachtgha*, 'the Yellow Ford of Tlachtgha:' see the *Bk. of Rights*, pp. 3 and 10, note; also p. *l*, and O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, A.D. 1172 (iij. 5). Tlachtga was, in the first instance, the name of the daughter of Mog Ruith (pp. 211, 381): see the *Bk. of Leinster*, 331*b*; also 331*c* and 326*g*, where a man's name Fer Tlachtga is derived from hers.

[3] Preller's *Gr. Myth.* i. 146.

This version, which comes very near the English saying, 'the devil take the hindmost,' and means that originally one of the company became a victim in real earnest, is current in Carnarvonshire, where allusions to the cutty black sow are still occasionally made to frighten children. In the upper part of the vale of the Dee, the doggerel takes the following form:

Hwch ddu gwta	A cutty black sow
Ar bob camfa,	On every stile,
Yn nyddu a chardio	Spinning and carding
Bob nos G'langaea'.	Each November-eve.

Here a stile takes the place of the cross-roads, which are apt to figure in English folk-lore; and we have it again in the corresponding but less specific rhyme from my native part of north Cardinganshire, which runs thus:

Nos Galan-gaea'	On November-eve
Bwbach ar bob camfa.	A bogie on every stile.

Add to this that the Scotch Gaels have formed from the word *Samhain*, 'All-hallows,' a derivative *Samhanach*, meaning an All-hallows demon or goblin, supposed to steal babies as well as perpetrate other atrocities then.[1] Now the Irish story makes it clear what all this means, and why the night in question was regarded as the saturnalia of all that was hideous and uncanny in the world of spirits. It had been fixed upon as the time of all others when the Sun-god, whose power had been gradually falling off since the great feast associated with him on the first of August, succumbed to his enemies the powers of darkness and winter. It was their first

[1] The *Cymmrodor*, vi. 176-7: see also the first number of the *Scottish Celtic Review*, where one should read *samhanach* for *lamhanach* in the introductory remarks.

hour of triumph after an interval of subjection, and the popular imagination pictured them stalking abroad with more than ordinary insolence and aggressiveness; and, if it comes to giving individuality and form to the deformity of darkness, to describe it as a sow, black or grisly, with neither ears nor tail, is not perhaps very readily surpassed as an instance of imaginative aptitude.[1]

Outside Celtic we have parallels in the Norse smith Völundr (p. 381) and the German Wieland, but with the deformity reduced within the narrow limits of lameness. So also in the case of the Greek god Hephæstus, who was, however, the father of the dragon form of Erichthonius, one of the early kings of Athens. Hephæstus and Athene were closely associated in the ugly story of his origin and in the pious cult of which they were both the objects in Attica. On the Celtic side, the latter association recalls the Irish mythic magician Mog Ruith and his daughter Tlachtga (p. 211), whose name is connected, indirectly, it is true, with the annual distribution of fire to the hearths of Erinn at Samhain or the first of November. For at Athens that was the time of the Chalceia, an ancient feast in honour of Hephæstus and Athene, the exact date being the ἕνη καὶ νέα of the month of Pyanepsion, that is approximately the last day of October. This feast was preceded, immediately preceded, as it is supposed, by the Apaturia, which was the meeting-time of the phratriæ or the tribes, both at Athens and in most of the Ionian commu-

[1] With the Welsh instances already mentioned should also be ranged the 'grimly boar all black in a cloud' seen by Arthur in a dream, and interpreted to refer to the Spanish giant (p. 334) he was to overcome: see Malory, i. 173-4, and Geoffrey, x. 3.

nities. It lasted several days, and was partly devoted to civic business, such as the adopting of new members into the tribes, and more especially to the registering, subject to close scrutiny, of the names of all the legitimate children born during the year then ending. When the sacrificing and feasting on the last day were over, the children's fathers and other representatives of the tribes went forth in a procession, after lighting their torches at the state hearth. Then the Chalceia began with a torchlight race engaged in by the younger men; and altogether the part played by the torch in the doings in honour of Hephæstus on those festive days is very noticeable. The nearest Celtic parallel is to be found in the racing away from the bonfires in Wales and the distribution of fresh fire in Ireland; but it is to be added that the Samhain feast in the latter country was, like the Greek Apaturia, partly devoted to business, namely, to a public scrutiny of the trophies which the Irish braves claimed to have won during the year then ending; otherwise the feast, which occupied, not only Samain or the first of November, but also the three days before and the three days after it, was given up to the usual games and the fair, to pleasure and amusement, to eating and banqueting.[1] Having digressed so far, I can hardly

[1] See Windisch, *Irische Texte*, p. 205, and Stokes in the *Rev. Celt.* v. 231; but for details about the Apaturia and Chalceia, see Preller's *Gr. Myth.* i. 146-7; A. Mommsen's *Heortologie*, pp. 302-17, also table i.; and Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq. grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1887), s.v. *Apaturia* and *Chalceia*, also *calendrier*, where it is shown, in connection with the Macedonian calendar, exclusively adopted (with modifications) in the East, that the year was treated in more than one reckoning as beginning with what we should call the end of October or the beginning of November: see especially pp. 829*b*, 831*a*.

turn back without searching whether the Greek calendar does not offer something to match the other two great feasts of the ancient Celts at the beginning of the months of August and May; for I have never been able to find that they held any remarkable feast in winter, a lacuna which, if not more apparent than real, must have had a meaning. But however that may be, it follows from the coincidence between the Goidelic Samhain and the Greek Chalceia, that the Panathenæa, with its great variety of games and contests in honour of the goddess Athene,[1] who used to be then presented with a splendid peplos, must have taken place at the same time as the Lugnassad, said to have been established by Lug in honour of Tailltiu or Taillne his foster-mother. The parallel in other respects between the great festival of the Greeks and the feasts held at the same date in all Celtic lands (pp. 409—424) would take up too much time to discuss here; but having proved two-thirds of my case, so to say, I must now continue my digression to the remaining third. At this point, however, I must confess to somewhat less success, as the Greek calendar shows nothing occurring just three months before the Panathenæa. So one has to be content with an approximation in the Athenian Thargelia, centring on the sixth day of the month of Thargelion.[2] This is at least six days later than one could wish for a feast to match the Goidelic Beltaine, or the first of May; but it was also about the time of the Delia in the island of Delos. Both were held in honour of the Sun-god Apollo; and further the Thargelia commemorated

[1] See Preller's *Gr. Myth.* i. 173, &c.; A. Mommsen's *Heortologie*, pp. 116—205.

[2] Preller, i. 209; A. Mommsen, p. 422.

his slaying the dragon Pytho; but it had another feature which encourages one to equate it with the Goidelic feast in spite of the discrepancy of date, namely, that it was considered the regular occasion for all kinds of purification in order to preserve the city from plague and pestilence. Among the peculiar rites that characterized it was the leading about of two adult persons, as it were scapegoats, excepting that at the end they were sacrificed and burnt, so that their ashes might be dispersed. With this may be compared Cormac's account of the ancient Beltaine, when he says that it was so called from two fires which the druids of Erinn used to make with great incantations; and cattle, he adds, used to be brought to those fires and driven between them as a safeguard against the diseases of the year. The regretable brevity of Cormac is made less serious by what is known of the practices connected with the First of May in Scotland; since we clearly learn from them how one man originally became a victim for his companions, and how the selection was made: they did not choose him for his ugliness, as the ancient Greeks seem to have done.[1] The parallel which has been roughly drawn here between the Celtic and the Greek calendar suggests that at one time the Greeks regarded the old year as ending with the Apaturia, and the new one beginning with the Chalceia in honour

[1] As to the Thargelia and Delia, see Preller, i. 209-10, and A. Mommsen, pp. 414-25; Cormac's statement will be found in the Stokes-O'Donovan edition, pp. 19, 23; but for an account of the Scotch Beltaine, see Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. xi. p. 620; also Pennant's *Tour in Scotland* in 1769 (3rd ed., Warrington, 1774), i. 97, 186, 291; Stephens' *Gododin*, pp. 124-6; and an interesting monograph on the subject by Dr. Murray in the *New English Dict.* s. v. *Beltane*.

of Hephæstus on the ἕνη καὶ νέα of Pyanepsion. Lastly, a year which was common to Celts with Greeks is not unlikely to have once been common to them with some or all of the other branches of the Aryan family.

Diarmait's Home and Duben's Name.

After this digression, I must now return to Diarmait and Corc, since the remarks already made on them would be incomplete without devoting some little space to the name of the latter's mother. It is given in the Book of the Dun[1] as *Duibind* in the accusative, which might, as *nd* and *nn* have in that manuscript much the same value, be written *Duibinn*, were it not more probable that it ought to be corrected into *Duibin*,[2] as the genitive there given is *Duibni*, more normally written *Duibne*, in modern spelling *Duibhne*. This helps to fix the declension of the name in Old Irish, and we may treat it as nom. *Duben*, gen. *Duibne*, dative and accusative *Dubin*; but it seldom occurs except in the genitive, which is common enough; for there was not only Corc Duibne, but also a people called *Corco*[3] *Duibne*, a name Anglicized into *Corcaguinny*

[1] See the facsimile, pp. 53*b*, 54*a*.

[2] This agrees with the form used by Keating, namely, *Duibhin*, which he would probably use both as acc. and nom.: O'Connor's edition, p. 273. It is not difficult to see how the mistake would arise, if we suppose the scribe to have converted *nn* into *nd*, and to have found *Duibin ningin conairi*, 'D. daughter of C.,' written or spaced inexactly in the copy before him.

[3] What relation, if any, the word *corco* or *corca* bears to Corc's name, I am unable to say; but here are a few notes bearing on them. *Corc* makes in the genitive *Cuirc*, and the lord of a territory called Muscraighe, after Cairbre Musc, Corc's father, used in the eleventh century to give himself the name *O'Cuirc*, or Corc's Descendant: *vice versa*, one of the districts called Muscraighe was distinguished later

in that of a barony situated on the Dingle peninsula in Kerry. But the descendants of Duben were at one time much more widely spread, and the island of Valentia is found called Dairbhre of the Ui Duibne,[1] or the D. of Duben's Descendants; and, according to O'Donovan, the principal families of the Corco Duibne, which were the *Ui Failbhe* or O'Falvys, the *Ui Seagha* or O'Sheas, and the *Ui Congaile* or O'Connells, were in possession of the following lands shortly before the English invasion: the O'Falvys, of Corcaguinny; the O'Sheas, of the territory of *Ui Rathach*, now called the Barony of Iveragh,

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as Corc's, namely, the barony of Clanwilliam in county Tipperary. See the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1043, 1044, 1100, 1503. *Cuirc* is written *Quirk* in English, while in early Irish it was *Curci*, attested by an ogam in the neighbourhood of Dingle. As to *corco* or *corca*, the dative plural *ó na Corcaibh*, 'from the Corca,' is given in the *Book of Rights*, p. 97, and the genitive plural *na (g-) Corc*, 'of the Corca,' p. 104, in reference possibly, as O'Donovan suggests, to clans called Corca Achlann, Corca Firtri and Corca Mogha; a plural *Cuirc* is treated in the same way as meaning the Corca in a note by Prof. Hennessy to his edition of the *Book of Fenagh*, pp. 30, 31; but these last seem to have been so termed as the descendants of a Corc Ferdoit son of Fergus, and the term might be Englished 'the Corcs.' The late tendency was very decidedly to prefer *corca* to *corco*, as in *Corcaguinny* and *Corkaree*, a barony in the county of Westmeath, supposed to be the tribe-name given in Adamnán's *Vita S. Columbæ* as *Korkureti* (Reeves's edition, p. 89). So I am on the whole inclined to see in *korku* and *corco* a word like the Old Irish *mocu*, *moco* or *muco* (treated later as *maccu* and even *mac-u*), to which Stokes, in Kuhn's *Beitræge*, i. 345, would give the sense of grandson or descendant. It entered with a collective meaning into clan-names, such as Mocu-Dalon, Mocu-Sailni and Mocu-Runtir, Latinized '*genus Runtir*:' see also the remarks on the word in Rhys' *Lec. on Welsh Phil.*[2] pp. 407—412, but cancel the suggestion there made that the word involves *ua* or *o*, 'grandson.' Perhaps neither *corco* nor *muco* is a word of Celtic origin.

[1] The *Bk. of Rights*, O'Donovan's note, p. 47.

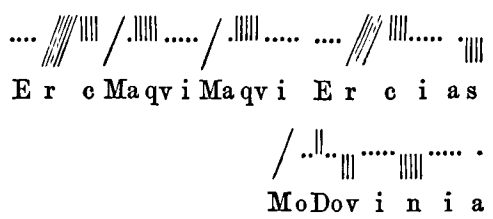
in the south-west of the county of Kerry; and the O'Connells, of that of Magunihy, in the south-east of the same.[1] Add to this that Corc Duibne was supposed to have left descendants of his settled near Kinsale,[2] in the county of Cork, and one may infer that most of the ancient inhabitants of Kerry and a good deal more considered themselves descended from Duben. However, the survival of the name Corco Duibne as *Corcaguinny*,[3] allows us to infer that the traditional descent from an ancestress Duben continued more vigorously accredited on the Dingle peninsula than anywhere else, and it so happens that this can be corroborated in a remarkable manner; for the barony of Corcaguinny is richer in Ogam inscriptions probably than any other Irish district of the same area. Two of them are of special interest to us here, as they seem to refer to the mythic ancestress. For if you put *Duben*, genitive *Duibne*, back into the form which the name should, according to analogy, have had in early Irish, you will have some such a name as *Dubina* or *Dobina*, genitive *Dubinïas* or *Dobinïas*: this is exact enough to enable you at once to recognize the name in its attested forms in Ogam. One of the stones

[1] *Ibid.*; also p. 76, and the same scholar's notes to the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1095 (Vol. ij. 950), 1495 (Vol. iv. 1220), 1581 (Vol. v. 1756); also his edition of the old *Topographical Poems* (Dublin, 1862), pp. 108-9, and notes 594-9.

[2] The *Bk. of Fenagh*, note by the editor, 32.

[3] The change of sound is not a very unusual one: *Corco Duibne* was softened down to *Corco Dhuine;* but the spirant sound which analogy would indicate the *dh* to have once had, has long since been generally superseded by that of *gh*. The pronunciation represented by the spelling *Corcaguinny* was evolved in consequence of a tendency, discernible here and there, to reduce the spirant *gh* into a corresponding mute *g*.

I allude to lies in a disused burial-place called Ballintaggart, near Dingle, in the barony of *Corco Duibne* or Corcaguinny, and it reads: Maqqvi Iaripi Maqqvi Moccoi Dovvinias; that is to say '(The Grave or the Stone) of Mac Erp,[1] son of Dovvina's Descendant. *Mocco Dovvinias* was probably the standing designation of the head of the clan to which Mac Erp belonged, and with it may be compared the fashion in use now of speaking of the O'Donoghue or the O'Conor Donn, meaning respectively the Descendant of Donchadh and of Conchobar. In any case, the pedigree implied in the inscription is made to end with the distant ancestress whose name in the genitive is given as *Dovvinias*. The final sibilant was very precarious even in early Irish, and no trace of it occurs in the other inscription to be mentioned. This latter occurs on a stone in the same neighbourhood, which stands on a small headland near Dunmore Head in a wild situation arguing no lack of sentiment on the part of him who chose the site: the legend is the following:—



[1] This is a guess; but Erp would be the name whose genitive occurs as (H)irp in the Bodley MS. *Laud.* 610; see fol. 95*b*[2], where we read of a *Cathmol mc Hirp*, who was buried with Lugaid mac Con in *Cuil m-Brocholl*, somewhere in South Munster. The name occurs in the *Welsh Triads*, i. 40 = ij. 5, as that of Yrp Lluyđawg, who obtained a vast host from the Welsh by outwitting them in arithmetic. He was possibly a Pict; the name Erp was borne by several persons also in Norse literature: see the *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 51, 56, 58, also ij. 2, 6, where a poet Erp Ljutandi is mentioned.

We are here met by a difficulty as to whether *MoDovinia* is to be construed with the legend on the other edge of the stone or by itself, as the writing is not continuous. On the whole I am inclined to the former view, and to render the inscription thus: '(The Grave or Stone) of Erc, son of the Son of Erca,[1] (daughter or descendant) of MoDovina.' It is possible that a word meaning daughter or descendant has been effaced by the weather before *MoDovinia* on the right-hand edge of the stone; but that is not essential, nor would the construction in the absence of it be more abrupt than in the case of *Corc Duibne*, or Duben's Corc, in the Book of the Dun. I have, however, failed to detect any more traces of writing on that part of the angle,[2] but the existence on the stone of this little word *mo*, to be identified possibly with Irish *mo* 'my,' is one of its peculiarities. It marks the mythic ancestress as the object of special endearment and respect, probably of divine reverence. The same thing occurs in the case of other such mythical personages as Ailill Aulom or Ólom (p. 391), who is sometimes called Ailill Mo-haulum, and in that of Mo-Febis,[3] whose sons were Mog

[1] *Erca* would be the early nominative feminine corresponding to the genitive *Ercïas* of the inscription. One reads of *Clann Erci*, so-called from their mother, in Scotland: see the *Bk. of Fenagh*, pp. 330-1.

[2] It is right to say that Mr. Brash, p. 179, omits the particle *mo* or *mu*—for the vowel is not certain—after quoting an inaccurate reading of Mr. Windele's; while in his posthumously published work on *Ogham Inscriptions*, Sir S. Ferguson, whose recent death I deeply deplore, calls (p. 41) the scorings here in question 'characters not now legible;' but the examination of the stone by my wife and myself, under more favourable circumstances, in the summer of 1883, led us to the unexpected conclusion which has just been stated.

[3] For *Mohaulum*, see the Bodley MS. *Laud.* 610, where we have *Ailill Mohaulum*, 94*b*[2], 95*a*[1], *Ailella Mohauluim*, 95*b*[1], *Mohaulum*

Ruith, mentioned on previous occasions (p. 211), and Lóch Mór, one of the most formidable foes killed by Cúchulainn on the Táin. The pagan formula was continued by the Irish in the names of their saints in Christian times, as, for example, in Mo-Gobnáit, Mo-Bíóc, and dozens of others.[1] In point of etymology, *Duben* is obscure and not improbably of Ivernian origin; but it is exceptional that the *v* of the ogmic form *Dovinia* or *Dovvinias* should have been retained, written *b*, in the later forms, as the general rule would require its complete disappearance.[2] If you will look at the map, you will observe that

alone, 94*b*², *Mohauluim* gen. 95*a*²; the *h* is represented by an *s* with a dot, which is liable to be forgotten by the scribe, as happens once on 95*a*¹, where also *Molnigid* occurs, applied to a Lugaid identical probably in point of origin with the slayer of Cúchulainn. As to *Mo-Febis*, see the *Bk. of the Dun*, 74, where Febis or Femis is said to have been the mother's name; but the *Four Masters* make Mofebis a man, and date his death A.M. 3751, though they mention his son Mog Ruith engaged in war A.M. 3579, or 172 years earlier. Allusions to *Mofemis* will be found also in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 15*b*, 19*a*, and *Mofemis* in O'Curry's *Manners*, ij. 9.

[1] See the index to the *Martyrology of Donegal* (Dublin, 1864), and Stokes' *Calendar of Oengus*, p. ccxciij.

[2] It is right to say that the exact sound meant to be represented by *vv* is not known, if it be taken to have differed from the ordinary power of a single *v*. The irregular retention of the consonant may be supposed based on some peculiarity of dialect connected with Munster; and an important parallel, which countenances this view, offers itself in the name *Eber* of the mythic ancestor or eponymous hero of the Ivernian populations of the south of Ireland, especially Munster. The name is otherwise reduced to *Ier*, *Er* and *Ir*, which is the one usually preferred as that of the ancestor of the Ivernian element in Ulster: the form represented in common by *Eber* and the shorter names must have been in early Irish *Iveros* or *Everos*. *Eber* is also written *Emer*, which comes down from a time when both *b* and *m* here, as well as the *b* in *Duben*, *Duibne*, were sounded *v*. *Ier* is not often to be met with, but it occurs, for instance, in the *Bk. of*

the country with which Duben's name was more or less closely connected, forms a kind of an indented peninsula between Kenmare River and Tralee Bay, such a position as regards the western sea as one might have considered the special domain of a goddess of dusk or dawn: compare the relation of Duben's Welsh counterpart Arianrhod and others of the same class to the world of waters (pp. 236, 380). With regard to the divinity of the Irish goddess, the reader may naturally ask, how any one about whom there was such a story as that about Duben and her relations with Cairbre Musc could have been the object of respect, not to say of divine reverence, such as may be inferred to have been hers. Here mythology and religion probably went their own several ways, just as readers of the Odyssey do not find the piety of Eumæus much disturbed by the hideous tales of lewdness which Greek story had to relate, not only of the minor divinities, but especially of Zeus, the greatest. The dark side of Duben's character is much less dwelt upon in Irish literature than is that of Arianrhod in the Welsh Mabinogi of Mâth ab Mathonwy; but the faded outline of a flattering picture of the latter has nevertheless come down to us within the narrow compass of a triad, which allows her to rank as one of the Three White or Blessed Ladies of the Isle of Britain.[1] All this means

Leinster, 326*e*, and in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 99*a*, where we have in the gen. *ier diernaib muman*, 'Iveri de Iverniis Momonis:' comparè *Erp*, genitive *Hirp*, and the *Iaripi* already referred to; also a dissyllabic genitive *Iair* in Stokes' *Calendar of Oengus*, Oct. 26.

[1] The *Triads*, i. 73, iij. 107. The word I have rendered 'White or Blessed Ladies' is *gwenrŭain*, consisting partly of *gwen*, the fem. of *gwyn*, 'white,' which, though one of the commonest words in my language, I am unable satisfactorily to translate into English; for

that there was a distant time when religion and mythology were at one as to the character of such divinities as Duben and Arianrhod. Even Lugaid appears to have been once the object of worship: you may take the name Mo-Lugaid as evidence, and note the fact that the ancient centres of Irish paganism, left 'waste without adoration,' are compared to the site of Lugaid's house.[1]

In connection with my attempt to show that Diarmait, Corc and Duben were intimately associated with Kerry, it is worth while to observe that the inhabitants of that part of Ireland were probably among the least purely Celtic and the most thoroughly Ivernian in the island. Though nothing conspicuously different from the legends of other districts seems to characterize those of Kerry, it is not impossible that a closer examination of them would result in the discovery of non-Celtic traits. That is, perhaps, the light in which one should regard the attribution to Diarmait of a mole, described as a love-spot, on his face, and curly hair on his head of a dusky black colour,[2] the Ivernian race being, as it is supposed, itself of a dark complexion.

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besides 'white,' it may mean 'respected, holy, felicitous, blessed,' with a variety of *nuances* which no single English word will convey: thus the poets speak of *Duw gwyn*, 'holy or blessed God,' and *nef wen*, 'the blessed or blissful heaven,' while their lemans have not unfrequently been addressed by them as *fy nyn wen*, 'my heavenly maid;' and my father used to call his respected step-mother *mam wen*, a term in common use in parts of Mid-Wales, and best rendered by the French *belle mère*. These and the like uses of the adjective are paralleled by the Lithuanian treatment of *baltas*, 'white:' see Nesselmann's *Dict.* p. 319.

[1] Stokes, *Calendar of Oengus*, Prolog. lines 205-8.

[2] See *The Pursuit*, i. § 5, and pp. 61-2; also the poem referred to in my note, p. 504, which seems to give Corc or Diarmait the epithet

The Celtic Sun Hero and the Norse Balder.

It is proposed at this point to give you the means of comparing the story of the Sun-god of the Celts with that of Balder. The latter, as given in old Norse literature, is approximately as follows:[1]—

Balder was one of the sons of Woden and Frigg: he was the best of the Anses and praised of them all. He was so fair of face and so bright that rays of shining light issued from his body. The whitest of all plants was compared to Balder's brow and known by that name, whence an idea may be formed, says one author,[2] of the beauty of his hair and of his body. He was not only the whitest, the sweetest-spoken and the mildest of all the Anses, but it was a property of his nature that he could not go wrong in his judgments. He dwelt in a place in heaven called Breiđablik or Broad-gleam, the most blessed of all lands, where nought unclean or accursed could abide. But once on a time Balder began

donn, 'brown or dark,' ij. 85; but the words are separated by the artifice or the straits of the poet, and the editor, taking a view different from mine, treats Donn as a separate name, ij. 89. The conjecture that Diarmait is to be reckoned as belonging to the Ivernians, is in some measure corroborated by the fact that hitherto no successful attempt has been made to explain his name as Celtic, and that the same remark applies to that of Duben.

[1] The sources which I have consulted are the following: the Prose Edda in *Edda Snorronis Sturlæi* (Copenhagen, 1848), i. 90-2, 102, 104, 172-86; Vigfússon & Powell, *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 69, 71, 104, 108, 114, 181-3, 197, 201, 574-5, ij. 23, 623-4, 628, 637, 641-8; Simrock, *Die Edda* (Stuttgart, 1855), pp. 292-3, 295-6, 299, 316-20.

[2] What plant or flower he referred to is not quite certain; the *cotula foetida*, *pyrethrum inodorum*, and the eye-bright or euphrasy, are mentioned in Vigfusson's *Icelandic Dictionary*, s.v. *Baldr*.

to be disquieted by dreams of ill-omen; and when he told the Anses of it, they took counsel together how to ensure his safety. The result of their deliberation was, that Woden went down to the nether world to consult a dead sibyl about the dreams that haunted Balder; and Frigg, who dwelt in a house called Fensalir or the Hall of the Fen, sent to make all things swear that they would not hurt her beloved son Balder: the oath was exacted from fire and water, from iron and all metals, from stones and earth, from the trees of the forest, from diseases and poisons, from four-footed beasts and from birds and serpents: the mistletoe alone was deemed by Frigg too young a thing to be asked to swear. But Loki, the brewer of mischief and the sire of a bestial triad consisting of the Fenri Wolf, the Leviathan of the deep, and Hell the witch of Niflheim or the Home of Fog, was by no means pleased to see that Balder could not be hurt like others; so one day when the Anses were amusing themselves by throwing their spears and arrows at Balder, since they knew they could not hurt him, Loki went, disguised as an old woman, to where Frigg lived in the Hall of the Fen. When the hag was asked what the Anses were doing, she replied that they were throwing missiles at Balder, and she inquired if it was true that nothing would hurt him. Frigg answered that everything had been bound by oath not to hurt him except the mistletoe. On hearing this, Loki found excuse to depart, and went to the spot where Frigg said the plant called mistletoe grew, a little to the east of Walhalla; and he brought a twig of it to where Hödr stood in the outskirts of the assembly; for that was the name of a blind god of great strength. Loki asked Hödr why he did not join the

others in honouring Balder, to which he replied that he could not see where Balder was, and that he had besides no arms: then Loki cunningly handed him the mistletoe, and directed him whither to throw it. So Höðr hit Balder, who fell dead on the spot. The Anses were shocked, but they could do nothing, as the spot was a sanctuary or asylum. Frigg, however, asked who would earn her goodwill and love by hastening to Hell to treat with her for the release of Balder. Hermóðr the Swift, another of the sons of Woden, undertook to set out on his father's horse Sleipnir on that perilous journey. But first of all the Anses brought Balder's body down to place it in his ship called Ringhorn, which, as it surpassed all other ships in size, they could not move an inch towards the sea. So they sent for a giantess called Hyrrokin, or Fire-smoke, to come from Giant-land to launch it for them, which she did at the first push, with such effect that the rollers underneath it struck fire and all the earth trembled, a performance which struck Thor as so like his own that he was with difficulty restrained from smashing Hyrrokin's head with his hammer Mjölnir. Balder, after Woden had whispered in his ear, was then placed on the funeral pile in his ship, a sight at which the heart of his wife Nanna broke: so her body was placed on the pyre by his: the fire was lit, and Thor hallowed it with his hammer and threw a dwarf into it called Lit. Moreover, Balder's horse, with all his harness, was burnt with his master, and Woden laid on the pyre his gold ring Draupnir or Dropper, which from that time forth had the peculiarity that every ninth night eight gold rings of the like weight with itself dropped from it. Not only the Anses assisted at the funeral, but also a multitude of mountain

giants and rime-ogres. Vengeance was wreaked on the slayer of Balder; for Woden was told when he went to the sibyl about the dreams that haunted his son, that Höðr bearing the fatal branch would be his death, but that Woden's son Vali, born of Vrindr in the Halls of the West, would avenge his brother when he was only one night old; 'He shall neither wash his hands,' was the reply, 'nor comb his hair, till he has borne the murderer of Balder to the funeral fire.' Such was the horror in which Balder's murder was held among the Anses that they never wished to hear the name of Höðr ever mentioned afterwards. The vengeance inflicted on Loki was very terrible: when he saw how angry the Anses were at what he had done, he fled, and finally sought refuge in the form of a salmon in a waterfall; but the Anses made a net and caught him. They then took him into a cave, where they left him bound with bonds of iron on three jagged pieces of rock, one under his shoulders, one under his loins, and the third under his knee-joints, while a terrible serpent hangs over his body distilling venom in his face. Loki's wife stands by with a cup to receive the venom, and when it is full she empties it; but while she is doing that, the venom drips on Loki's face and then he writhes, causing what men call earthquakes; and this goes on till the doom of the gods. That is one account; but another makes Loki, before his doom, appear among the Anses to bandy words with them, and even to boast to Frigg that he was the cause why Balder no longer rode into the hall. He is then reminded by Woden that he had already undergone disgrace eight winters underneath the earth in the form of a woman and milkmaid, and another of the Anses told him

that they were about to bind him on swords with the intestines of his rime-cold son, the punishment already mentioned; for the intestines turned into bonds of iron. He then left the Anses as he was threatened by Thor, of whom he went in bodily fear. As to Hermóðr, he pursued his journey for nine nights without interruption through glens deep and dark, till he came to the river called Giöll or Yell, when he was questioned as to his errand by the maid who had charge of the Yell-bridge. On he rode until he came to the fence of Hell's abode, which his horse cleared at full speed, and on entering the hall he found his brother Balder seated in the place of honour. He abode with him that night, and in the morning he asked Hell to let him ride home with him to the Anses. He urged her to consider the grief which everybody and everything felt after Balder; to which she replied that she would put it to the test by letting him go if everything animate and inanimate wept for him, and by detaining him if anybody or anything declined to do so. Hermóðr was accompanied to the gate by Balder, who gave him the gold ring Dropper to take to Woden as a token, while Nanna gave him a mantle and other gifts for Frigg, and a gold ring for Fulla, Frigg's maid and confidante. With these presents Hermóðr reached home, to announce to the Anses the answer which Hell had given to his request. Messengers were at once sent forth to the world to bid all beweep Woden's son out of the power of Hell. This was done by all, by men and animals, by earth and stones, by trees and by all metals, as you have doubtless seen these things weep, says the Prose Edda, when they pass from frost to warmth; but as the messengers were on their way home after discharging their duty, they chanced to

come across a cave occupied by a giantess called Thökk, whom they ordered to join in the weeping for Balder with the rest; but her answer was—'Thökk will weep dry tears at Balder's balefire. What have I to do with the Son of Man quick or dead? Let Hell keep what she holds.'[1]

The ogress was suspected of being Loki in disguise; for this happened before his punishment had overtaken him. But be that as it may, the refusal prevented Balder's return just then. Return, however, he did at the proper time; for the story would be incomplete without the prophecy put into the mouth of the third and last sibyl of the Volospá, to the following effect: "I behold Earth rise again with its evergreen forests out of the deep; the waters fall in rapids; above hovers the eagle, that fisher of the falls. The Anses meet in Ida-plain; they talk of the mighty Earth-serpent, and remember the great decrees and the ancient mysteries of Fimbul-ty. There shall be found in the grass wonderful golden tables, their own in days of yore. The fields unsown shall yield their increase. All sorrows shall be healed. Balder shall come back. Balder and Höðr shall dwell in Woden's mansions of bliss, in the holy places of the blessed gods. . . . Then shall Hœni choose the rods of divination *aright*, and the sons of the Twin-brethren shall inhabit the wide world of the winds. . . . I see a hall brighter than the sun, shingled with gold, standing on Gem-lea. The righteous shall dwell therein and live in bliss for ever." Lastly, Balder had a son called *Forseti*, meaning a judge, and he dwelt in heaven in a house called *Glitnir* or the Glistener,

[1] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 126.

built on pillars of gold and thatched with silver, where he sat all day giving judgment in all cases of law: his was the best tribunal for both gods and men, for everybody quitted it having had his due.

The foregoing is a summary of the most important passages bearing on Balder in old Norse literature; but I should not have thought it needful to give it at such length had there been any work to which one might refer as reproducing the substance of the various allusions to Balder, without omitting particulars of importance to the line of argument here adopted. The myth, when detailed in a fairly complete form, has the advantage of telling with so much clearness its own tale as to the solar nature of the hero, that it needs no exposition beyond an incidental remark or two by way of comparing or contrasting it with some of the Celtic stories which have been passed in review in my previous remarks. It is needless to observe that the prophetic form, in which alone a part of the story is preserved, is due to Christian and Biblical influence, and especially to the idea of those who saw in Balder a type of Christ, who was to come to make all things new in a new heaven and a new earth; and as Malachi prophesied that 'the sun of righteousness' should 'arise with healing in his wings,' so Balder was to come back and all sorrows were to be healed. It is important to notice Balder's compulsory delay, as it follows from the fact that Balder was not simply the sun, but the summer sun, whose return is witnessed by the dwellers in the North only after protracted waiting. Balder's obscurer brother descends after him to the abode of Hell, and leaves it the next morning; and his other brother and avenger Vali is of more rapid growth even

than the Celtic representatives of the sun, since he is born in the Halls of the West during the night, and rises in the morning to conquer the power of darkness to which Balder had succumbed. These less illustrious brothers of his have their counterparts in Celtic, not so much perhaps in Lug's more obscure incarnations, as in Cúchulainn's comrades and rivals, Loegaire and Conall, the latter of whom, second only to Cúchulainn himself in valour, survived to be the avenger of his death.

It is remarkable that Balder has a dwelling-place in the heavens, and this seems to refer to the arctic summer, when the sun prolongs his stay above the horizon. The pendant to the picture would naturally be his staying as long in the nether world. At length a general weeping for Balder takes place—a tender touch which the writer of the Prose Edda seems to have correctly interpreted by a reference to the tears, as it were, with which most objects are bedewed when warmer weather follows a hard frost. Of course Frigg's messengers, who are the unnamed suns of the days between winter and summer, can with their increasing warmth make most things weep, but not the ogress Thökk[1] who dwells in a cave penetrated neither by the light of day nor by the frost of winter, and her tearlessness is artistically made the obstacle to Balder's return. In other words, it was still too soon; but in due time he fails not to come back, and then follow the happy results described by the sibyl. The latter makes his murderer Höðr be his brother

[1] The giantess is probably not to be regarded as a form of Loki, but rather as a personification of fate or destiny; and I suggest with diffidence that her name is of the same origin as the Welsh *tynghed*, 'destiny,' Irish *tocad*: see Nigra's *Reliquie Celtiche*, p. 43.

and come back with him; for the Norse nature myth pictured darkness as brother to light, and death as following in the track of life; but the touching picture of the murdered and his murderer returning together to live in peace and amity in the new order of things, betrays the influence of the notion that the story of Balder's death was a sort of account of Abel's and the first fratricide. As to Höðr, he was a blind god of great might; and taken in conjunction with these two attributes, his name Höðr, genitive Haðar, is a remarkable one, as it is the same word which we have in the Anglo-Saxon heaðu, 'war or battle,' also in Irish and Welsh *cath* and *câd* respectively of the same meaning. From this it seems to follow that he was chiefly a personification of promiscuous death, such as would be suggested to the primitive mind by the startling incidents of battle, in which it was frequently thought that the wrong man fell, while he who ought to succumb escaped; and with this agrees the fact also that there was a feminine Höð, who was a Valkyria or chooser of the slain. This approach to a blending in the god Höðr's person of Mars and Pluto has its parallels in Celtic myths, where the god of death, always present in the battle-field, may be easily mistaken for a god of battle in the proper sense of the word: witness, for example, a poem[1] in the Black Book of Carmarthen, where Gwyn ab Nûð is made to enumerate the great battles in which he had been present; but Gwyn is not so much a war-god as a god of the dead and king of the other world, who fetches the fallen to his own realm.

[1] Skene, ij. 54, 55.

The story of Balder, in the only form we have it, makes Höðr the innocent slayer of that god, by giving the genius of mischief which guides him in his act a separate personality bearing the distinct name of Loki; and it must have been a nice question who murdered Balder; for it might be argued that it was not Höðr, as he could not see, and that it was not Loki, as he did not throw the fatal twig. Norse law would treat him as murdered by them both, by Höðr as the hand-bani, or the one whose hand committed the deed, and by Loki as the ráð-bani, or the one who contrived it. But who slew Cúchulainn? The stories vary; for we found one stating that it was Erc,[1] and one that it was Lugaid, a discrepancy which one might be at first inclined to put down to the carelessness of Irish story-tellers; but the Norse tale allows one to suppose that it is to be traced to a different origin; and the Irish accounts as they stand are best explained on the theory that they were both his slayers.[2] Now Erc and Lugaid appear in them as warriors, but there is no more reason to regard them as originally and essentially war-gods than in the case of Hoðr and Loki, though Erc at least came sooner or later to be invested probably with that character,—a view which derives indirect corroboration from the fact that Irish hagiology makes a saint bearing the name of Erc resemble St. Martin,[3] an assimilation which I should trace to a probable equivalence of the names Erc and Mars. I should, therefore, venture to regard the Erc

[1] See the *Bk. of Ballymote*, quoted by O'Curry, pp. 513-4.

[2] The view of O'Curry at p. 507, where he tries to derive it from Tigernach.

[3] *Mart. of Donegal* (Dublin, 1864), pp. 292-3.

who had a hand in the slaying of Cúchulainn, as corresponding closely enough in his character of a quasi Mars to Höðr. The avenger of Cúchulainn was his foster-brother Conall Cernach, or C. the Victorious, who, according to different stories, slew both Lugaid and Erc, and carried away their heads. In Conall we have, as already hinted, another personification of the sun; for he was the son of the sister of Cúchulainn's mother; and her name Finnchoem, meaning white and lovely, would seem to point to her as a dawn or gloaming goddess: she was Cúchulainn's foster-mother as well as the mother of Conall. Further, the latter's name is *Cynwal* in Welsh, which is more conservative of consonants, and this represents an early Celtic form *Cuno-valos* or *Cuno-walo-s*, the genitive of which occurs as CVNOVALI on an old inscribed stone[1] in the neighbourhood of Penzance in Cornwall. The correspondence between Conall and the slayer of Höðr suggests the inference that in the latter's name Vali we have the remains of a full name answering to *Cuno-valos* reduced and modified in a way not uncommon in old Norse. Moreover, as the Anses caught Loki in the waterfall of Franang, so Conall overtook Lugaid bathing in the Liffey and beheaded him, leaving his body, with the exception of the venomous head, for others to bury beneath the notorious Three Flags of Lugaid's court (p. 483). It is needless to point out how this recalls the three stones of torture on which Loki was laid in bonds of iron.

One might at first sight be tempted to regard *Lugaid*

[1] Hübner's *Inscrip. Brit. Christianæ*, No. 2; Rhys' *Lectures on Welsh Philology*[2], pp. 379, 406, where the surmise that *val-* is cognate with *wolf* is probably to be cancelled.

and *Loki* as kindred names; but that would be hazardous. The former makes in the genitive *Lugdech*, which in its early form in Ogam is found variously written *Lugudeccas* and *Lugudeca*,[1] which yields the crude form *Lugudec*, to be treated probably as a compound *Lugu-dec*, meaning one who had something to do with *Lug* or *lug;* this cannot, however, be defined so long as the signification of the second element is unknown. Provisionally perhaps one might regard it as equivalent to 'Lug-slayer,' or possibly the darkener, conqueror or devourer[2] of *lug* in the sense of light. It might be objected that Lugaid is not made in Irish story to kill Lug, but Cúchulainn; that, however, does not much matter, as Cúchulainn is an avatar of Lug or the latter in another form. Had more Irish myths been preserved, and in a more ancient form, one might expect to find that Lugaid was in the first instance matched with Lug and not with Cúchulainn. As it is, we are only told that Lug was slain by *Mac Cuill*,[3] whose name being interpreted seems to mean the Son of Destruction, which would also exactly suit Lugaid, the Loki of Goidelic mythology. The name of Lugaid was, however, not confined to Ireland; for wherever the Sun-god roamed, there his mortal foe must also come in his time; and as we found traces of the

[1] The stones are at Ardmore and Kilgrovane in co. Waterford: I examined both in 1883; but see Brash, pp. 247, 257, pl. xxxvi.

[2] What the original figure may have been, it would be hard to guess with any certainty; but compare the old Teutonic idea that an eclipse of the sun was owing to his being swallowed by a celestial beast of prey, and see an ingenious picture of the scene in York Powell's *Old Stories from British History* (London, 1882), p. 11.

[3] It admits, however, of being also translated 'the Son of (the) Hazel.'

cult of Lugus among the Celts of the Continent, so also his adversary must have figured in their beliefs. In fact, one finds in the country of the Gaulish Arevaci of Spain the Latinized form of a name practically identical with that of Lugaid: I allude to an inscription found at the Arevacian city of Segovia, giving, among other proper names, that of a certain *Luguadicus*,[1] whose son Valerius Anno, as we learn from the monument, was a native of another town of the Arevaci, namely Osma, the ancient Uxama and the very place where another inscription, as already mentioned (p. 424), connects the cult of the Lugoves with a temple superintended by a college of cobblers. One or two minor points have still to be noticed very briefly. The relationship between Lug and Cúchulainn is not without its parallel in the story of Balder, who had a son Forseti or Judge, another

[1] My attention was called to this by a paragraph in the *Rev. Celt.* vij. 399; but the inscription will be found given by Hübner in Vol. ij. of the *Berlin Corpus*, No. 2732, as follows: Valerio Ann[o]ni Luguadici f(ilio) Ux[am(ensi] a[nn(orum] xxv sodales [f(aciendum] c(ururunt). One might be tempted to explain the Irish *Lugudec-*, taken alone, to mean 'the biter or tearer of Lug,' in reference to some such a story as that of the Boar of Benn Gulbain killing Diarmait, or as the Welsh one that gave Lleu the brute form of the *Aurwrychyn* or Gold-bristle previous to his being killed by the hunter's hounds: compare the second element *dec-* with such words as Greek δάκνω, 'I bite,' and the Gothic *tahjan*, 'to tear;' but if *Lugudec-* and *Luguadicus* are to be taken together, one is led to suggest the possibility that the original nominative was *Lugu-ádix* or *Lugu-ádex*, and the genitive *Lugu-adécas*, yielding in early Irish *Lugu'déccas*, later *Luigdech:* compare such words as Irish *beothu*, 'life,' genitive *bethad*, as evidence that the accent was at one time movable in Irish. With *adec-* I know of no Celtic word to compare, unless it possibly be the Irish *adaig*, 'night,' or *aidche* of the same meaning, but standing for an early feminine derivative *adecja*.

edition, so to say, of himself, for Balder also was an unerring judge. At first sight it looks a little capricious to make the sun a judge; but from the point of view of those whose imagination gave the myth its form, nothing perhaps could have been more natural; for if the Sun-god was to be regarded as a judge at all—and every great prince had to give judgment on all sorts of occasions—he must excel in that capacity, for the position of vantage occupied by him would make him impartial, and, for the dwellers in the far North, patient to listen all the livelong day to all comers, at the same time that he saw all that went on in the world below. This excellence as a judge, without however laying too much emphasis on the habit of sitting long to hear suits, probably a characteristic to be traced only to the slowness of the summer sun in the arctic regions, belonged also to Lug, who is described as jurisconsult and historian, and more especially to his son Cúchulainn, who boasted to Emer that he revised the verdicts of the Ultonian brehons, whereby he constituted himself a sort of court of appeal in his own person; and in this connection it is worth the while to mention how the conquest of Erinn by the Milesians brought with it the replacing of *Mac Gréine*, or Son of the Sun, by Amorgen of the White Knee (p. 365), who has the combined functions of a just judge, of poet and of historian or story-teller ascribed to him; but it is in the person of Moen (p. 311) that the Celtic Sun-god is before all things a judge, that he is neither king nor warrior, but a great brehon alone.

These remarks on the parallelism between the Celtic Sun-god and Balder would be incomplete without a word respecting the latter's mother Frigg. She is proved by

the Anglo-Saxon word *Frígedæg*, now *Friday*, and by the Old Norse habit of calling the planet Venus Frigg's Star, to have been treated to a certain extent as a counterpart of the Latin Venus. Her dwelling in a mansion called Fensal, the Hall of the Fen or Swamp, recalls Lleu's mother Arianrhod and her sea-girt castle. But we have also treated as her counterpart the maiden giantess Gefjon, who created the island of Seeland, which she brought, as an addition to Denmark and as the price of her love, from the site since occupied by lake Wener. She knew everybody's destiny, and passed for one of Woden's loves;[1] but Frigg was his wife, and even the latter's life had not been immaculate, though her laches[2] could not vie in enormity with those of Arianrhod or Duben. Both Frigg and Gefjon belong, however, to the same class of goddesses as the Celtic ones, though there is little left to prove it in the case of Frigg except the name of her abode in the Fenn. The strolling maiden Gefjon belonged perhaps to a lower stage of culture than the ideas of the Wicking period, which brought the Anses to dwell together and made Frigg lead a matrimonial life *comme il faut* as Woden's consort.

Taliessin.

In the last section I spoke of the Sun-god in the person of a mythic judge: we have now to discuss a Welsh story which makes him a great bard and poet, bearing the well-known name of Taliessin. It is convenient to follow the long-established custom of speaking of certain Welsh poems as Taliessin's, and of a manuscript of the 13th century in which they are contained

[1] *Corpus. Poet. Bor.* i. 104, ij. 465. [2] Ibid. i. 105.

as the Book of Taliessin. Those poems represent a school of Welsh bardism, but we know in reality nothing about their authorship; and the personality of Taliessin is as mythic as that of Gwydion and Merlin, both of whom have also been treated as the authors of Welsh verse. The name, however, of Taliessin, viewed in this light, has an interest far surpassing even that of Merlin; this will be best understood with the aid of what we read in the so-called History of Taliessin.[1] There we make the acquaintance of Kerridwen, wife of Tegid the Bald, whose patrimony was where Llyn Tegid or Bala Lake now lies. Besides other children, including a daughter who was the handsomest woman of her time, they had a son Avagđu, who was the ugliest man in the world; so Kerridwen, thinking that he had no chance of being tolerated among gentlemen unless he had some noble excellence or science, undertook, with the aid of the books of Fferyll, as Vergil the magician is called in Welsh, to boil for his benefit a cauldron of poesy and science, that he might gain reputation for his knowledge and skill with respect to future events. She placed a blind fellow called Mordav and a certain Gwion the Little in charge of the cauldron, while she went forth to gather herbs of virtue according to the hours of the stars and the directions of astronomy. The cauldron was to boil on without interruption for a whole year; but before the time was up, three precious drops from the cauldron fell on one of Gwion's fingers, and on account of the scalding sensation he put it in his mouth, when he suddenly knew everything, and above all things that

[1] Guest's *Mab.* iij. 321-6, 356-61; Stephen's *Literature of the Kymry*[2], p. 425.

he had everything to fear from Kerridwen: so he fled, leaving the cauldron to burst from the virulence of its contents. Kerridwen pursued Gwion, and it went so hard with him that he had to assume various forms, but always with the result of being checkmated by her: at last, beholding a heap of wheat, he dropped into it in the shape of a grain, whereupon she changed herself into a crested black hen, found him out and devoured him. In due time he was born again, and with such a fair face that Kerridwen his mother had not the heart to destroy him, so she had him wrapped in a hide and cast into the sea; the hide was picked up at Aberdovey on one of the stakes of Gwyđno's weir on the Calends of May, under the following circumstances. It was usual to find in the weir the value of a hundred pounds every First of May, so that year Gwyđno gave it to a hapless son of his called Elphin, who accordingly went with his men to examine the weir at the proper time. Their disappointment was so great that one of them said to Elphin that he had never till then been really luckless, when he had broken off the luck of the weir. Observing the hide on the weir, Elphin said: 'This may contain the value of a hundred pounds.' The man engaged in opening it exclaimed, on beholding a child's forehead, 'Here is a charming forehead (*tal iessin*)!' '*Taliessin*[1] let him be,' said Elphin; lifting the boy with his hands and bewailing his lack of luck. Presently the baby Taliessin sang a poem to console Elphin in his disappointment;

[1] Elphin's reply is ambiguous: if read *Tàl iessin*, it means 'fine forehead,' but if *Tâl iessin*, 'fine pay;' while read as one word, the distinction would be lost; but the story as it proceeds implies *tâl*, 'pay or profit:' see Guest, iij. 328, 363.

this was followed shortly afterwards, to everybody's astonishment, by two more poems to which he gave utterance in answer to questions as to his previous existence and as to his knowledge. On this I need scarcely make any remark, as you cannot fail to see at once how closely it corresponds to the story of Moen picked up from the sea and heard to speak thrice in the first hours of his life (p. 311). In the case of Lleu and Gwri and Cúchulainn, the precocity was one of growth generally, but here it is confined to speech and wisdom. The First of May must, according to Celtic ideas, have been the right season for the birth of the summer Sun-god; and his mother who drops him in the sea and goes her way is Kerridwen the Minerva of Welsh poets: she may probably be ranked with Arianrhod and Gefjon.

Let us now return to the story of the three stray drops from the cauldron, to which Taliessin's knowledge of all things is traced. Kerridwen had taken as husband him of Bala Lake called Tegid, in whose baldness we have probably a touch of the same kind as the croppedness of Corc and Ailill Aulom. The contents of the cauldron had been intended by Kerridwen for the intellectual endowment of Tegid's son Avagđu, whose name is no longer known to the Welsh except as a synonym for Hell or for the prince of darkness, in the Christian sense of the term. The legend deriving poetry and knowledge from the powers of the nether world had probably a considerable variety of forms; and the supposed fact of that derivation of the muse is the key-note to much that is characteristic of the most peculiar poems in the Book of Taliessin. For our purpose it matters little what man or how many men wrote them, or even when they were

written; for they contain an element of thought which clearly belongs to an ancient order of things. It is more to the point to note that many of them imply an antagonistic school of poets, which Taliessin is represented relentlessly attacking. This may be supposed to have been a more Christian school than that to which he is made to belong; and that was probably of the essence of the feud. The legendary life of Taliessin opposes his patron Elphin and the bard himself to the powerful sixth century prince Maelgwn of Gwyneđ, and the poets of his court respectively. Maelgwn, according to Gildas, his contemporary and critic, had for a time been a monk; and he is believed to have received his education from no less a teacher than St. Cadoc, with whose name Welsh tradition connects a number of sayings of a philosophic and Christian nature. Be that as it may, Maelgwn belonged to the dynasty of Cuneđa, which was so famous for the number of distinguished saints it gave the Church, that it is termed[1] one of the Three Holy Clans of Britain. Further, it was under Maelgwn's rule that Bangor in Arvon is supposed to have first become the home of a bishop; and everything suggests that the poets favoured by Maelgwn and his court were likely to be less pagan in the tone of their teaching than those can possibly have been who appropriated the name of Taliessin, that is if we may judge from the poems ascribed to him. The quarrel was even then probably of old standing; it may be supposed to date from the time when the Brythons began to accept Christianity, and to have combined itself possibly with the Pelagian con-

[1] *Triads*, iij. 18.

troversy. On the other hand, it is certain that it lasted many centuries after Maelgwn's death; for even in the fourteenth century the bardic or semi-pagan school was sufficiently vigorous to elicit a bitter denunciation from a Welsh priest and poet, Siôn Kent, who treats it as consisting of the Men of Hu, whose muse was the genius of lying as distinguished from the better muse that was of Christ.[1] Kent's words briefly indicate with sufficient clearness the nature of the charge which a Christian poet would bring against the semi-pagan bards of the Taliessin school. The latter retaliate, in the assumed person of Taliessin, by charging the others with gross ignorance of the mysteries of bardism. Thus Taliessin now and then propounds to them and to the monks long lists of questions, mostly of an impossible and unanswerable kind, but all asserted to lie within the limits of his personal knowledge; for he has gone through all sorts of transformations, and has in some form or other assisted at all the great events through which the world has passed since its beginning. He challenges them also to prophesy to their patron, thereby intending them to fathom their inferiority to him, who can tell all that is to happen till the end of the world. In a word, his pretensions are of the most extravagant kind, and cannot well have been surpassed by those of the druids in the days of their greatest power in Erinn and Mona, or by those of the boldest sorcerer among the savages of modern times.

The only pretensions closely resembling Taliessin's, and decidedly of the same origin as his, known to me in

[1] See the original, quoted in Pughe's *Dictionary*, s.v. *Hu.*

Celtic literature, are those of Amorgen, the seer of the Sons of Mile, on the occasion of their invading Ireland.[1] There is, however, a difference between them: when Taliessin asserts that he was present at the great events of all previous ages, that is an intelligible way of magnifying his own importance; but when he states that he had gone through many forms, and specifies that he had been a word, a book, a bridge, a coracle, a sword, a drop in a shower,[2] and the like, one fails to see the point of the brag; whereas Amorgen is clear; for he would not say, 'I was' or 'I have been,' but 'I am:' thus, among other things, he says he is the wind and the wave, a loch on the plain, a spear, a tear of the sun, and the like. Some, doubtless, of the assertions he makes owe their strangeness to a primitive formation of predicate without the aid of a particle corresponding to such a word as 'like.'[3] But even allowing for this, there remains enough to show that we have here to do with the self-glorification of the chief of the initiated, whether you call them bards or seers, poets or prophets; by means of his knowledge and skill in druidism or magic, he can take any form he likes, and command the elements according to his will. It is in this light that I would read a certain class of transformations which Taliessin boasts having undergone. As to his visits to the other world, he not only

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 12*b*; *Trans. of the Ossianic Soc.* for 1860, v. 234; M. d'Arbois de Jubainville's *Cycle*, pp. 244-6, where the author dwells on the parallel and the difference.

[2] Skene, ij. 137-44.

[3] A remarkable instance of this, with the absence of the definite article, will be found in the poem where Mider describes his own fairy realm: for the text, see the *Bk. of the Dun*, 131*b*, and Windisch's *Irische Texte*, pp. 132-3.

professes to have been in Caer Sidi and the Glass Fortress, he not only boasts having taken part in the harrying of Hades; but it is a familiar country to him, and he has witnessed how its inhabitants, whom neither plague nor death can reach, quaff a drink sweeter than wine from a copious fountain with which that submarine isle is blest.[1] He knows every dwarf beneath the ocean, and has observed the rank assigned to each.[2] This is not all: so truly is he a bard, that he is recognized as such even in the mythic mother-country of all bardism and knowledge; and that recognition takes the tangible form of a bardic or professorial chair reserved for him in Caer Sidi, and for his successors in his profession for ever.[3] But he had other chairs, one of which was called the Chair of Kerridwen of uncertain location; and the triad is completed by one belonging to him called the Chair of Teyrnon, which is possibly to be looked for also in the direction of Caer Sidi and the realm beneath the waves of ocean, for Teyrnon was one of the lieges of Pwyll Head of Hades, according to the account in the Mabinogi called after his name.[4] The Chairs of Kerridwen and Teyrnon are the subjects of two poems in the Book of Taliessin.[5]

Let us now examine the Taliessin legend from another point of view, and begin with the name. This has pro-

[1] *Bk. of Taliessin*, poem xiv.; Skene, ij. 155, and poem xxx.; Sk. ij. 181.

[2] Ib. poem vij.; Sk. ij. 135, from which one may be referred also to the Black Book, line 4 of poem v., Skene, ij. 7.

[3] Ib. poem xiv.; Sk. ij. 154-5.

[4] *R. B. Mab.* p. 22; Guest, iij. 66.

[5] Skene, ij. 155-7, 158-9.

bably been tampered with by popular etymology, and its ordinary form is perhaps less to be relied on than the rarer ones of Telessin, or Telyessin.[1] What it may have exactly meant, we know not; but it is clear that it is a compound, and it is probable that the second part should be treated as *essin* or *eisin*, which I would equate with the name of the great mythic poet of the Goidels, Ossín,[2] better known in English in the form of *Ossian*, which it has taken in Scotland. The same view expressed in another way would be that Ossín is the reduced or de-compounded form of a longer name corresponding to the Welsh Telessin, or Telyessin. I would, however, go beyond this verbal equation, and regard Taliessin and Ossín as representing, in point of origin, one and the same character belonging to an earlier stage of Celtic mythology. On the Welsh side, Taliessin is Gwïon re-born, while on the Goidelic side Ossín is the son of

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[1] *Telessin* and *Telyessin* are the forms in Rhonabwy's Dream (*R. B. Mab.* pp. 150, 160), while the Kulhwch story has the less intelligible spelling *Telcessin* (p. 107). If the first element in the name was *telg*, that would account for the optional forms *Telyessin* (i.e. *Telg-essin*) and *Tel-essin*, the *g* being either represented by the semi-vowel or completely dropped. *Telg-* might be regarded as related to the Irish word *tailc*, 'strong,' and *tailce*, 'strength, firmness;' but there would also be no lack of words to connect with *tel* or *tal*, supposing either of them to be the first part of the name: witness the Welsh *telyn*, 'harp,' and *telaid*, 'fair, graceful,' *teledïw*, 'fine, handsome, beautiful,' not to mention *tal* in the Gaulish name *Vepotalos*, whatever that meant. The *Black Book* shows a decided preference for *Taliessin*.

[2] *Ossín*, *Oissín* or *Oisín*, is said to mean a 'little fawn' (O'Curry, p. 304), from *oss* or *os*, '*cervus*.' But, so far as I know, the fitness of the name is nowhere made conspicuous; if, however, it should prove well founded, I should compare Lleu in the story which represents him killed by staghounds.

Finn, which is contrary to the ordinary rule that regeneration is more common in Irish stories[1] than in Welsh ones. The discrepancy is, however, not such as to preclude our comparing Gwion and Finn with one another. In the first place, Finn was the chief of a band of warriors called the *Fiann*.[2] Now in this term *Fiann* we have a word admitting of being equated letter for letter with the proper name *Gwion*, the meaning of which is unknown in Welsh. This alone does not amount to a proof of the identity of the names, but it becomes an important item of evidence when backed by an unmistakable parallel between the stories about Gwion and Finn. How Gwion got his knowledge and power of predicting the future by tasting of the brew meant for another person, the hideous Avagđu, has already been told; and it only remains to relate how on the other side Finn got his wisdom.

The principal foes of Finn and the family to which he belonged were called Urgrenn son of Lugaid Corr, and Goll the 'One-eyed' son of Morna; and Finn as a boy was with difficulty hidden away from them and their men. In order to cope with them, he went to a poet to learn his art, and Finn, whose name was *Demne Finn*, that is Demne[3]

[1] Though Finn is not said to be re-born as Ossín, there was an Irish story which gave him a second life, namely, in the person of an Ultonian king called Mongán: see the *Bk. of the Dun*, 133*a*—134*b*; also M. d'A. de Jubainville, *Cycle*, pp. 336—343, and O'Curry, iij. 175.

[2] A poet is represented addressing them as *Fián Finđ*: see *Bk. of Leinster*, 296*b*: the poem is quoted by O'Curry, ij. 385. The term *Fiann* occurs as a collective used in the feminine singular, while the individual members were called in the plural *Fianna*.

[3] The word looks as if it ought to be an abstract noun meaning 'assurance, certainty,' from *demin*, 'sure, certain.'

the Fair or White, told his tutor that his name was Demne. Now the tutor's own name was also Finn, more usually called Finn Éces or Finn the Seer. The boy found the sage watching Fiac's Pool in the Boyne; for there was a prophecy that Finn was to catch one of the Salmons of Knowledge and eat of it, with the result that he should no longer be in ignorance of anything he might wish to know. He had been watching the pool seven years, when at last he caught the long-expected fish. He handed it to his pupil to cook, with strict orders not to taste of its flesh; but when it was brought him cooked, the boy was obliged to confess that he had in cooking the fish burnt his thumb, which he then put in his mouth, just as Gwion did with his scalded finger; he was next made to confess that his name was Finn; and his tutor, perceiving that all his labour had been in vain, handed him the whole salmon to eat, and pronounced him the real Finn of the prophecy. From that day forth, Finn, whenever he wanted to know anything, had only to put his thumb in his mouth and chew it.[1]

In order to make you further acquainted with the source of Finn's knowledge, I could not do better than quote the following passage from Prof. O'Curry's Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, ij. 143:[2] "In those very early times there was a certain mystical fountain which was called Connla's Well, (situated, so

[1] The original of the story will be found published by Dr. K. Meyer in the *Rev. Celt.* v. 201: see also pp. 197-8; likewise Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 414-5, note 25, where we are told that *Linn Féic*, or Fiac's Pool, was near the village of Slane.

[2] See also the Stokes-O'Donovan ed. of Cormac, p. 35, s. v. *Caill Crínmon.*

far as we can gather, in Lower Ormond). As to who this Connla was, from whom the well had its name, we are not told; but the well itself appears to have been regarded as another Helicon by the ancient Irish poets. Over this well there grew, according to the legend, nine beautiful mystical hazel-trees, which annually sent forth their blossoms and fruits simultaneously. The nuts were of the richest crimson colour, and teemed with the knowledge of all that was refined in literature, poetry, and art. No sooner, however, were the beautiful nuts produced on the trees, than they always dropped into the well, raising by their fall a succession of shining red bubbles. Now during this time the water was always full of salmon; and no sooner did the bubbles appear than these salmon darted to the surface and eat the nuts, after which they made their way to the river. The eating of the nuts produced brilliant crimson spots on the bellies of these salmon; and to catch and eat these salmon became an object of more than mere gastronomic interest among those who were anxious to become distinguished in the arts and in literature without being at the pains and delay of long study; for the fish was supposed to have become filled with the knowledge which was contained in the nuts, which, it was believed, would be transferred in full to those who had the good fortune to catch and eat them. Such a salmon was, on that account, called the *Eo Feasa*, or 'Salmon of Knowledge;' and it is to such a salmon that we sometimes meet reference among our old poets, where, when speaking of objects they pretend to be above description, they say, 'unless they had eaten of the salmon of knowledge they could not do it justice.'" The author then proceeds to

give references in point from Irish literature; but we meet with the crimson nuts elsewhere mentioned as forming part of the food of the gods of the ancient Goidel, the Tuatha Dé Danann,[1] and they were probably believed to account for the surpassing wisdom and cleverness ascribed to those gods. With the salmon that lay in wait for the crimson nuts may be compared in passing the Salmon of Llyn Llyw,[2] connected by the story of Kulhwch with the Severn, and stated to have been the first animal created, his memory being made to go back in the matter of Mabon's history (p. 29) further than all the other ancients of the brute creation, which, arranged in the order of the lengths of their ages, were the Eagle of Gwernabwy, the Owl of Cwm Cawlwyd, the Stag of Rhedynvre, and the Blackbird of Kilgwri.[3] It is not very clear whether Erinn was supposed to have but one sacred and secret well of the kind described, bearing various names and mysteriously connected with all the chief rivers of that country, or else several such wells severally connected with them. But we read of the sacred well in connection with the Shannon and with

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[1] *The Pursuit*, i. §§ 51, 54; Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances*, p. 314.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 130-1; Guest, ij. 300.

[3] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 129-31; Guest, ij. 297—300. Kilgwri, according to a note in Guest's *Mab.* ij. 362, is in Flintshire; but according to Morris' *Celt. Remains*, p. 90, it is Worrall in Cheshire. Cwm Cawlwyd is above Llanrwst in the Geirionyd district, and I trace Gwernabwy in the name of a farm called Bod 'Rnabwy, near Aberdaron, in the extreme west of Carnarvonshire, where Rhedynvre likewise occurs as the name of another farm, now shortened to 'Dynvra. The poet D. ab Gwilym makes a graceful allusion to these ancient animals in his poem lij., p. 99 of the London (1789) edition.

the Boyne:[1] the former was Connla's Well, of which the paragraph cited speaks, and a verse in the Book of Leinster describes the tree overshadowing it as 'a many-melodied hazel of knowledge;'[2] it also derives the name of the Shannon from a lady called Sinann, daughter of Lodon son of Lir, there being no river so called till she presumed to gaze into the sacred well, when the water suddenly burst forth at the insult in pursuit of her and drowned her: that is how the Shannon was formed and named. A similar story in the same manuscript[3] gives the like account of the calamity which happened to a lady called Boann (pp. 123, 144). She had been rash enough to visit the secret well, which nobody durst do except Nechtan and his three drink-bearers alone; the infuriated stream pursued her across the country as far as the sea and drowned her. So was formed and named the river Boann or Boyne, which fills a great place in Irish legend, and is identified by the writer of the story referred to, in some mysterious way, with other rivers known to literature, such as the Severn, the Tiber, the Jordan, the Euphrates and the Tigris, whereby he brings the Irish stream into connection with Paradise and satisfies his wish to blend the legends of his own country with those of other nations. Another form which the Boyne story took was to the effect that this most mystic of Irish rivers traversed the whole world in seven years.[4]

With the Irish source of knowledge, so jealously

[1] See O'Curry's *Manners*, &c. ij. 144, and compare the stories of the Shannon and the Boyne in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 156*a* and 191*a*.

[2] *Bk. of Leinster*, 156*a*, line 17: *fail coll nécsi nilcheolach.*

[3] Ib. 191*a*.

[4] Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, p. 188.

guarded from the gaze of women, may perhaps be compared what is said in old Norse literature respecting the fountain of Woden's wisdom, as described in the passages brought together by Vigfusson and Powell in their Volospá Reconstructed, to the following effect: "Where is the chief abode or sanctuary of the gods? . . . It is at the Ash Ygg's steed, where the gods held their court every day. This Ash is the greatest and best of trees; its limbs spread over all the world, and three roots of it stretch across the heaven, and hold it up and stretch wonderfully far. One turns towards the Anses, the second towards the Rime-ogres, where once the Yawning Gulf was, but the third stretches over Cloud-world, and Hwergelme [Cauldron-Whelmer] is under this root, and Felon-cutter [the snake] gnaws the bottom of this root. But under the root that trends towards the Rime-ogres is Mim's Burn, wherein is wisdom and understanding, and he that owns the burn is named Mim; he is full of knowledge, because he drinks from the brook out of the Yell-horn."[1] Here the communication with the whole world, which Irish paganism leaves to the mystic river, is replaced by the mighty ramifications of a vast world-tree; but we are chiefly interested in the passage representing Woden so greatly coveting the water of wisdom that for one draught alone he pledged his eye to the giant who owned it. It is thus put in Vigfusson and Powell's Reconstruction of the Volospá:[2]

"Well I know, Woden, where thou didst hide thine eye, in the blessed Burn of Mim;

[1] Vigfusson & Powell's *Corpus Poet. Bor.* ij. 634, where the sources of the several passages are given.

[2] Vigfusson & Powell, ibid. p. 623.

I see a river pouring forth a stream of loamy water out of the pledge of the Lord of Hosts.
I know where Heimdall's Horn is hidden under the shadowy Holy Tree:
Mim drinks out of the clanging Horn a *draught* of mead every morning *from the Burn*."

All this agrees fairly well, despite the mythic tree of the ancient Norsemen being an ash, with the ancient Irish idea, which traced science and wisdom beyond the Salmon, and even the holy water in which he swam, to a Tree of Knowledge that overshadowed its banks—more correctly speaking, to nine trees; and this is to be specially noticed, as it seems to give a clue to the meaning. The Salmon of Llyn Llyw had more to say than the other ancients questioned by Arthur's men, because he had lived longer in the world; and here probably the nine hazels are to be regarded as symbolic of time, the bringer of experience and the great teacher of all. The number nine refers here, I take it, to the nine-night week of the ancients, as it does also in the case of another source of knowledge, the wonderful Cauldron of the Head of Hades, that was kept boiling by the breath of nine maidens (p. 256): these are, to borrow other terms, the Nine Muses of the Greek classics, and the Nine Maiden Mothers of Heimdal, whom the Norsemen of old sometimes regarded as the first birth of time, the father of princes, churls and thralls alike.

We left Taliessin and Gwion placed respectively over against Ossín and Finn. Beyond the account of Gwion tasting of the contents of the Cauldron of Sciences, and the unfailing knowledge he thereby acquired of all coming events, the references to his name in Welsh literature are so obscure that we learn little from them. They

favour, however, the notion that the character of Taliessin, who boasts himself Gwion, was a reproduction of that of the latter;[1] but Taliessin pretended to have been not only a poet or prophet, but also a warrior engaged in various important expeditions to the other world, to which reference has been made more than once. Was Gwion also a warrior? The allusions to him in Welsh poetry are too obscure to be said to prove this, but he was probably the person mentioned among the warriors and champions enumerated in the story of Kulhwch, where we read of Gwion the Cat-eyed, so called because he was so sharp-sighted that he could cut a haw from off the eye of a gnat without hurting it,[2] an exaggerated sharpness of sight probably to be traced to the solar origin of the hero to whom it is ascribed. On the Goidelic side, Ossín is not only represented as a famous warrior, but also as a great poet, in both of which rôles he only reproduced the character of his father Finn, who was not merely celebrated as a warrior and huntsman, but especially as poet and diviner; so much so, in fact, that the strange statement[3] is made, that no warrior was allowed to join his Fiann unless he was well skilled in the poet's art, a curious qualification for membership in a body which some speak of as 'the militia' of ancient Erinn.

There remains a difficulty which we must now try to discuss. I have already treated Finn as the Goidelic equivalent of the Welsh Gwyn, son of Nûd, king of the

[1] Skene, ij. 108, 303 (i. 287): see also ij. 130 (i. 525), ij. 153 (i. 535).

[2] *R. B. Mab.* p. 112; Guest, ij. 268.

[3] See Keating, quoted by O'Curry, ij. 381.

fairies and the demons of the spirit world; whereas it is impossible to identify Gwion or Taliessin with that repellent personage, or with any other, perhaps, but Gwyn's direct antagonist, the Sun-god. Briefly put, the explanation is, that the Irish have confounded two Finns of the most incompatible characters under the one name. *Finn* means 'white or fair,' as its Welsh counterpart *Gwyn* means also 'white;' but whether the Welsh ever called Gwion by the name *Gwyn* or *Gwion Gwyn*, I cannot say: if they did, they must have in time dropped it in order to avoid the sort of confusion which I suppose to have arisen on Irish ground. The proof that this correctly represents the Irish case is to be found in the fact, that the stories about Finn divide themselves into two groups, namely, (1) those connected with a Gwion-Finn (or Deimne Finn, corresponding to Gwion), but especially that concerning his acquisition of the power of divination, and (2) those relating to a Gwyn-Finn (or Finn Éces, corresponding to Gwyn ab Nûd), such, for example, as the long story of the antagonism between Finn and Diarmait. The friendship of the latter as a Solar Hero with Finn as a Solar or Culture Hero, would have analogies on Irish ground; but their mutual hostility at another time in their history would be very difficult, mythologically speaking, to explain: why, for instance, should Grainne, who was betrothed to Finn, elope with Diarmait on the night when she was to be wedded to Finn, and then become Finn's wife years later, after Diarmait had died under circumstances that placed it in Finn's power easily to save his life? Why should Finn have employed in the pursuit of Diarmait diverse kinds of witches and uncanny beasts, at the same time

that he failed to shake the friendship of his own son Ossín or of his grandson Oscar for Diarmait? As soon as we treat Finn here as the counterpart of Gwyn, it all becomes plain, and finds its parallel produced, somewhat in the other direction, it is true, not only in the story already mentioned of Lleu and his wife Blodeued, but in one where the god of darkness and death appears as a principal under the very name Gwyn which now engages our attention. His antagonist, occupying the position corresponding to that of Diarmait in the Irish tale, is given the name of *Gwythur vab Greidiawl*, which may be Englished Victor son of Scorcher, not a very inappropriate designation for the summer sun; and the whole episode, as incorporated in the story of Kulhwch,[1] where alone it occurs, discloses such a vista of ancient savagery, and ends with such a quaint arrangement, that I make bold to quote it at length, as follows:—"A little previously, Creiddylad, daughter of Llûdd of the Silver Hand, had gone with Gwythur ab Greidiawl; but before he had slept with her, Gwyn ab Nûdd came and took her away by force. Gwythur gathered a host together and came to give battle to Gwyn. The latter prevailed, and caught Greid ab Eri, Glinneu eil Taran, Gwrgwst Ledlwm and Dyvnarth his son. He caught also .... ab Nethawc and Nwython, together with Kyledr the Wild, Nwython's son: he killed Nwython, took out his heart and forced Kyledr to eat his father's heart: it was therefore Kyledr became wild and left the abodes of men. This was told Arthur, and he came to the North, summoned Gwyn to his presence, released

[1] *R. B. Mab.* p. 134; Guest, ij. 305.

his knights from his prison, and made peace between Gwyn and Gwythur. That peace was made on this wise: the damsel was to remain at her father's house untouched by either party. They were to fight for her on the Calends of May every year thenceforth till the Day of Doom, and he who should prove victorious on the Day of Doom was to take the damsel to wife." Such is the story, but to discuss it here would take up a great deal of our time; so a remark or two must suffice. Though Gwythur's name seems to be the Welsh equivalent of the Latin word *victor*, Gwythur is not expressly described as victorious, like Conall, surnamed Cernach or the Triumphant; but the act of fighting on the Calends of May meant victory for him; and if we had the myth in a more extended form, Gwyn's victory would be found to happen at the beginning of winter. In other words, the Sun-god should recover his bride at the beginning of summer after his antagonist had gained possession of her at the beginning of winter. In an ancient poem in the Black Book of Carmarthen, Gwyn is made to give his name as *Hûd Gwyn*, 'the White Spell or White Magic,' and to call himself the lover of *Creurdilad*,[1] as the lady is there called. The name is to be recognized in Shakspear's *Cordelia*, though the story, as it reached the great dramatist, had confounded Llûd with Llyr or Lear, who also had daughters who figure in Celtic romance.[2] But the father

[1] *Skene*, ij. 54, where the original runs thus:

'hud im gelwire guin mab nud.
gorterch creurdilad merch lut.'

[2] For instance, in the Irish tale of the Children of Lir, published by O'Curry in the *Atlantis*, iv. 113—157, and in Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 1—36.

of Creidylad was Llûd, the Celtic Jupiter, so that the story lends itself the more readily to comparison with that, among others, of Persephone, daughter of Zeus, carried away by Pluto, who was, however, able to retain her at his side only for six months in the year. That dusky divinity of the classics forms an apt counterpart to Gwyn ab Nûd, and the Finn who corresponds to him in Irish literature.

Before closing this chapter, the story of the childhood of Amorgen, father of Conall Cernach, deserves to be mentioned. It is to the effect that there was in Ulster a famous smith called Eccet or Eccen, surnamed *Sálach*, the Dirty or Sooty; he was such a master craftsman that Ulster never boasted a better. Now Eccet had a gorgeously dressed daughter and an infant boy called Amorgen: he was a hideous creature and in every way disgusting, not to mention that he had reached the fourteenth year of his age without uttering a word. It happened one day when Eccet was from home, that Aitherne's man came on an errand to the smith's house, and beheld Eccet's daughter sitting in splendid apparel in a chair, with the hideous Amorgen on the floor hard by. He cast grim looks at Greth, for that was the name of Aitherne's man, and presently asked him if he ate curds and other things which the urchin himself considered dainties. But Greth was frightened at being addressed by an infant that had never spoken before, and, hearing the question repeated, he rushed out of the house and hastened home, where his master was astonished by his frightened looks. Then he told Aitherne all that had happened; but in the mean time the smith had also come home and heard from his daughter that Amorgen had spoken for the first time. He at once

guessed that the ingenious wording of the boy's utterance betokened coming greatness, and that Aitherne, who would probably be of the same opinion, would come, as he feared, to kill the boy in order to avoid the rise of a possible rival. So it was thought expedient to take the boy out of the way, and his sister took him to the sea near Slieve Mis in the south, which must mean either the Bay of Dingle or of Tralee, in the west of Kerry, while his father made an earthen image of him, which was dressed up to counterfeit Amorgen asleep close to where Eccet was at work. It was not long ere Aitherne came, as anticipated: it was ostensibly to have work done by the smith; but after receiving from the latter's hands an axe finished and hafted, he gave a blow with it to the supposed child: this was assumed to have killed it, and Aitherne was pursued to his house, and the nobles of Ulster undertook to fix the eric which he was to pay to the smith, and the latter so managed the matter that Aitherne was bound to include in the eric an engagement to educate a son of Eccet's until he should be equal to the poet himself in his profession. When this had received the usual sanction, Amorgen was fetched and delivered to Aitherne to be brought up by him. Sooner or later Amorgen lost his hideousness, and he eventually became the chief of the professional men of Ulster;[1] and when

[1] The tale occurs at length in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 117*b*, 118*a*, and briefly in Cormac's *Glossary* (Stokes-O'Donovan edition), p. 85, where, besides other differences, Amorgen's age is said to have been seven. The name of the smith varies in the MSS. between *Eccet*, *Echen* and *Ecul*: I should guess the correct spellings to have been *Eccet* and *Eccen*, corresponding to possible Welsh forms *Adyant* and *Adyan*, the latter of which occurs as *Atyan* in the *Lives of the Cambro-Brit. Saints* (Llandovery, 1853), p. 88.

they competed for the fostering of Cúchulainn he is made to describe himself as famed for prowess in arms as well as wisdom and eloquence of speech.[1]

Now in the Welsh tale of Taliessin,[2] the father of the ugly boy Avagđu was a nobleman called Tegid the Bald of Penllyn, whose abode was where Bala Lake now lies, and Eccet's gorgeously dressed daughter in the Irish version is matched by Tegid's daughter Creirwy, who was the handsomest woman of her time. Tegid had, however, more than one ugly son, for Avagđu had a brother called Morvran, which literally means a sea-crow or cormorant. Of him it is said[3] that he had the luck to be one of the three warriors who escaped from the Battle of Camlan; for his appearance prevented anybody from touching him, as he was taken to be an auxiliary devil from hell: he was hairy all over, like a stag. His brother Avagđu was probably still more hideous, since we learn that his lack of personal attractions was perceptible even to his mother Kerridwen, who accordingly exerted herself to bring him up endowed with transcendent talents. It is to be noticed that in the Irish tale the mother is not once mentioned, everything being left to the father and his daughter, neither of whom does anything in the Welsh version; but it is something to be able to place Eccet the Sooty Smith over against Tegid the Bald, of whom Welsh literature says little. The first part of the story of Amorgen is just the reverse of that of Lleu or Cúchulainn with their precocious growth, or that of Finn,

[1] Windisch, p. 142.

[2] Guest's *Mab.* iij. 321, 356.

[3] *R. B. Mab.* p. 108; Guest, ij. 261; *Triads*, iij. 83.

who was a royal champion at the age of nine;[1] for at the age of seven Amorgen was, according to one of Cormac's versions, no bigger than a man's fist; and it contrasts equally with the story of Taliessin and Móen, who were endowed with the power of speech from the hour of their birth. Goddesses of the class of Arianrhod and Duben had children of two kinds, representing darkness and light respectively; and Amorgen should be the counterpart of Dylan and Corc. In fact, the story of his being taken to the sea west of Kerry compares curiously with Corc taken out of Erinn to an islet on the same coast. Whether he underwent, while in the west, any change corresponding to that of Corc cleansed of the taint of his incestuous origin, we are not told; nor do we know how or when he got rid of the indescribable hideousness of his person. The more usual versions of the myth would suggest two boys, one a hideous creature like Amorgen, and the other his brother, chubby and xanthous; for it is not to be believed that the story gave any warrant for the change of the one character into the other.

Some help to get over the difficulty will be found in a view which the Irish sometimes took of the poet's art, namely, when they treated it as a personification at first repellent, but radiant at a later stage and fair to behold. Thus an Irish poet called Senchán was, at the moment of his embarking once on a time for the Isle of Man, asked free passage by a youth to whom the poet's retinue gave a wide berth as soon as his request was granted. It turned out that on all occasions when Senchán was likely to be hard put to in matters of skill in his own art, the

[1] O'Curry's *Magh Lena*, pp. 68—71.

hideous youth answered for him with marvellous promptitude. The adventure as related by Cormac, partly in Irish and partly in Latin, ends thus:[1] When they came back to Ireland they saw the aforesaid youth before them; and he was a young hero, kingly, radiant, with a long eye in his head, and with his hair of a golden-yellow colour; fairer than the men of the world was he, both in form and in dress. He then went sunwise round Senchán and his suite, 'et nusquam apparuit ex illo tempore: dubium itaque non est quod ille poematis erat spiritus.' O'Donovan's comment, that 'the spirit of poetry is represented as ill-visaged at first, because of the difficulty of the art to a beginner,'[2] fails adequately to explain why the picture should be made disgusting and revoltingly loathsome, as other ways of representing the difficulties of an art would have been more natural and more to the point. The key has to be sought rather in the ancient notion that poetry traced its origin to the world of the dead, whose king was sometimes given the outward appearance and lividness of a corpse; and one has, in fact, only to read the beginning of Cormac's account of Senchán's *Spiritus Poematis* to see at once that it is in part a description of a corpse in an advanced stage of decomposition. Compare the livid divinity called in a poem in the Book of Taliessin *Uthr Ben*,[3] or Wondrous Head, who appears in Geoffrey's narrative with his name expanded into *Utherpendragon*, otherwise *Uther Ben-dragon*,

[1] Stokes' *Three Irish Glossaries*, s.v. *prúll* (= Welsh *prwystl*), p. 38, and Stokes' Bodleian Fragment of Cormac's Glossary, read before the R. Ir. Acad. Nov. 30, 1871.

[2] See the Stokes-O'Donovan ed. of Cormac, p. 138.

[3] No. xlviij: see Skene, ij. 203-4.

that is to say, Wondrous Head-dragon or Leader. This comparison is all the more relevant as Uthr Ben represents himself in the Taliessin poem as bard, harper, piper, crowder—in a word, seven-score professionals all in one, an idea to be faintly traced in the Mabinogi of Branwen, when it makes Brân, on his expedition to Ireland, wade across with the musicians of his court on his shoulders (p. 269), and when it afterwards represents Brân's head, detached from his body, keeping his men company for many years.[1] Outside Celtic literature one may compare the Norse story of Mim's head conversing with Woden and telling him many secrets,[2] but especially that of Woden's visit to the dead sibyl to inquire about the future of his son Balder.[3] On that occasion Woden rode to the spot "where he knew the Sibyl's barrow stood. He fell to chanting the mighty spells that move the Dead, till she rose all unwilling, and her corpse spoke: 'What mortal is it, whom I know not, that hath put me to this weary journey? I have been snowed on with the snow, I have been beaten with the rain, I have been drenched with the dew, long have I been dead.'"

We cannot here enter fully into the question of the assimilation of a divinity of death to a corpse,[4] but enough has been said to explain how Amorgen's story has a parallel in that of the *Spiritus Poematis*, and on the Welsh side we have Amorgen's counterpart in Avagđu, though the preparation for the latter's intellectual endowment is interrupted in the story of Gwion. We gather,

[1] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 35, 40-2; Guest, iij. 117, 124-8.

[2] Vigfusson & Powell, *Corpus Poet. Bor.* ij. 636. [3] Ib. i. 182.

[4] One of the Breton words for death, *ar marô*, is in point, as it literally means 'the dead.'

however, from a boast of his mother's in one of the Taliessin poems[1] that it was so far resumed that he was enabled to be victorious among his bardic rivals. But I am forced to leave unexplained the discrepancy that, while Amorgen's tutor Aitherne is to be regarded as a Culture Hero, I have hesitatingly to treat Gwion as a form of the Sun-god. A word or two must now be devoted to another Amorgen, for we found Taliessin's extraordinary pretensions and transformations matched in Irish by those only of Amorgen the White-kneed, poet and brehon of the Milesian invaders of Erinn (p. 365). The Tuatha Dé Danann of that time are described as under the rule of three chiefs called Mac Gréine, 'Son of the Sun;' Mac Cuill, 'Son of Destruction;' and Mac Cecht, 'Son of the Plough:' a three-fold arrangement which in some measure recalls the three departments of Zeus, Posidon and Pluto, in Greek mythology. When the Tuatha Dé Danann are defeated by the Milesians, Airem the 'Ploughman' is made the slayer of Mac Cecht, Eber of Mac Cuill, and Amorgen of Mac Gréine, whereby it was meant to oppose Amorgen, so to say, to Mac Gréine; and his solar nature may perhaps be inferred from this as well as from his epithet. He is said to have been an impartial brehon and to have delivered the first judgment in Erinn.[2] In any case, he seems to have had nothing in common, except his name and the attribute of poetry, with the pupil of Aitherne. The latter Amorgen belongs to the Ultonian cycle, and the other occurs in stories, which, connected as they are with the south-west, place Amor-

[1] No. xvi: see Skene, ij. 158.

[2] *Bk. of Leinster*, 12*b*—13*b*; M. d'A. de Jubainville's *Cycle*, pp. 242-61.

gen's landing in Kerry, and his first battle near the mountains called Slieve Mis. The name Amorgen seems to have literally meant a wonder-child, and this would apply equally well to Eccet's ugly progeny and to Amorgen the White-kneed, whose pretensions resemble those of Taliessin, and whose birth and infancy may have formed the burden of a story like that of Taliessin. One may here compare Lug termed *par excellence* the child of victory,[1] which in its turn vividly recalls the career of the newly-born Apollo, master of the lyre as well as of unerring arrows.

The Stratification of Solar Myths.

This lecture would be incomplete without some allusion to the fact that, though Celts and Teutons appear to have originally had the same notion of a Sun-god, which was likewise Aryan, probably, in the widest sense of the word; they have also had a habit more or less general of treating the sun as a female. I have been searching in vain among the ever-growing mass of writings on Aryan mythology for any clear recognition of this two-fold treatment. The theory I have been forced to form is, that the myths about the sun under such

[1] It occurs in the British Museum MS. *Harl.* 5280, fol. 63*a* (52*a*), as *gein mbuada*, or child of victory; and *Amorgen* analysed may be explained as *gein n-amra*, 'wonderful child,' an attested description of another person: see Windisch, p. 590, s.v. *gein*, and Stokes' *Three Irish Glossaries*, p. lxxxiij. *Gein* maks *gene* in the genitive, and is a neuter of the same origin and formation as the Latin *genus, generis;* but the corresponding Irish declension being little used, some uncertainty prevailed as to the case-endings, and the nominative appears as *Amorgene* and *Amorgin* or *Amairgin*, as well as *Amorgen*: see Windisch, p. 870, s.v.

names as Lleu and Lug, Cúchulainn and Balder, failed at an early period to tell with distinctness and precision the tale of their origin, and that they ceased to be understood as applying to the sun, so that the stories in which they figured became severed more or less completely, so to say, from their original fountain-head. This being so, the sun under other and familiar names might serve as the source of other myths different from the earlier ones. How ancient those of the earlier order must be will appear from the following brief examination of some of those belonging to the later one; but it may be premised of the latter that they are comparatively poor in point of mythic development; for 'words like *Hemera*, day, *Nyx*, night, *Helios*, sun, *Selene*, moon, may send out a few mythological offshoots, but it is chiefly round dark and decaying names, such as *Kastor* and *Pollux*, *Apollo* and *Athene*, that the mythological ivy grows most luxuriantly.'[1] The word for sun is in Irish *grian*, genitive *gréine*, of the feminine gender, as it is also in the Gaelic of Scotland and of the Isle of Man. The term is unknown to the Brythonic branch of the Celtic languages, but it probably means that which shines, glitters or sparkles, for it is related to Irish *grian*, genitive *griin*, 'gravel,' which is a masculine represented in Welsh by *graean* or *graian* of the same meaning; hence a single particle of gravel is called in Welsh *graienyn*, and, according to a Welsh proverb, it is its business to shine or sparkle—*Tywynnid graienyn ei ran*, that is to say, 'A particle of gravel shines its destined best.' Thus the two Irish words *grian* may be said roughly to represent

[1] Max Müller in the *Nineteenth Century* for 1885, xviij. 635.

the highest and lowest powers of shining, or the uttermost poles of our imagination in that respect. The other Celts use a different word, which is common to them with many other Aryan nations: in Welsh it is *haul*, 'sun,' formerly *heul*, O. Cornish *houl*, *heuul*, Breton *héol*: the Gothic word was *sauil*, and the O. Norse *sól*, whence the modern Danish and Swedish is *sōl* also; to these must be added the Lithuanian *sáule* (for *saulja*) and the Latin *sōl*. Of these words the Latin is masculine, the Gothic neuter, and the Scandinavian ones feminine: in fact, one of the Eddic poets speaks of more than one female sun, as follows:[1] 'The Sun [Sól] shall bear a daughter ere the Wolf destroy her; that maid shall ride, when the powers have passed away, along the paths of her mother.'

It may be remarked next that the word used in the Brythonic languages is masculine, exclusively masculine if one follow the dictionaries; but I have no doubt that it was formerly feminine in them all, though I can only prove it with regard to Welsh,[2] in which the sun is still sometimes spoken of in that gender: I have heard it now

[1] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* (Grimnis-Mál), i. 68.

[2] That *haul*, 'sun,' was at one time feminine in the literary language is proved beyond doubt by a passage in *Brut y Tywysogion*, and contained in manuscripts dating as late as the end of the fourteenth century. In the Rolls edition (London, 1860) it reads—"Yny ul6ydyn honno du6 Calan Mei y symuda6d yr heul y ỻi6, ac y dywa6t rei not erni dilfyc." If *heul* had been masculine, we should have *li6* and *arna6* for *lli6* and *erni*. A reference to the event occurs also in the *Myvyrian*, iij. 577. The entry is under the year 1185, and it is à propos of an eclipse of the sun. Add to this a curious passage too long to quote, which occurs in the *Red Book*, col. 516, lines 11—19. Lastly, D. ab Gwilym addresses a poem to the sun as a *she*, in the course of which he invokes her as *Ymmerodres Tés*, or the Empress of Warm Weather.

and then in my native county of Cardigan, where one may also hear a riddle in which the sun and the moon are alluded to as a gold-headed maid and a silver-headed youth respectively. Englishmen of the present day think it strange that the Gêrmans, who use the same word as they do, should nevertheless make it a feminine *sonne*, forgetting that their own ancestors did the same thing, for the Anglo-Saxon *sunne*, 'sun,' was always feminine. The change from that gender to the masculine took place possibly under the influence of Latin and the Romance languages, and in Welsh under the influence of Latin and English. The Latin *sol*, as already stated, was always masculine, and so was the Greek ἥλιος, whether etymologically related to it or not, while Sanskrit not only calls the sun *sûrya* and *sûryâ*, masculine and feminine respectively, but also *svar*, neuter. Add to this the fact that the old Slavonic word was also a neuter *slŭnĭce*, with which the modern Slavonic forms agree. Still the Slaves cannot be said to have never personified the sun, for they sometimes regarded that heavenly body as a woman stepping into her bath in the evening, and rising in the morning refreshed and purified, or else as sinking at night into the arms of her mother the Sea.[1] To return to Celtic, the sun, personified under the Welsh name of *Haul*, has a trace of myth associated with her in the supposition that she enters a fortress in the evening: this betrays itself in the Snowdonian term for sunset, which is *hauliguera*, or (the going of the) Sun to (her) Fortifications. But the sun appears to have been the subject of another myth

[1] Max Müller's *Chips*, ij. 82.

under another Welsh name which was also feminine, namely, *huan*. This occurs in a poem in the Book of Taliessin:[1]

> 'Ny 6yr neb pan rudir y bron huan:'
> Nobody knows where the Sun reddens her breast.

The allusion would seem to be to a ruddy sunset, but it must be admitted to be somewhat obscure. Nor is it very evident what the word *huan* means,[2] but it would seem to have been originally the exponent of a myth associated with the sun as a female, though we are left without the means of realizing clearly what that myth was. Whatever it and that connected with the word *haul* may have been, they go with the names of the later order; and these last, together with the others noticed, belong to the period of the separate existence of the nations using them, and not to that of the undivided Aryan family. This may be regarded as sufficiently shown by their lack of agreement in the important matter of gender, and also probably by the comparatively scanty nourishment which the mythological ivy, so to speak, is found to have drawn from them. Had the Celts, or, still better, the Goidelic Celts, been alone in making the sun feminine at a certain point in their history, one would have been tempted to see in that tendency the influence of a non-Aryan race conquered and absorbed by them; but the divergence of gender pointed out is not such as to favour that view: it only warrants the inference that each nation acted

[1] Skene, ij. 134 (poem vij. line 145).

[2] Possibly it signified one that howls or barks as a hound giving tongue. D. ab Gwilym treats the moon as the *huan* of the night in poem civ. line 28, p. 204; and an owl is called in Welsh *dallhuan*, or blind *huan*.

independently. Nor are those that were led to regard the sun as a female to be considered peculiar in so doing; for there is no lack of other peoples in different parts of the world who took the same view of that heavenly body. This, however, by no means precludes our asking, why the sun should be treated as a *he* by one nation and as a *she* by another, or even by the same nation in a different stage in its history. Very possibly geography and climate may have had something to do with it, but the question must for the present be regarded as one which the student of mythology has not yet sufficiently studied: it awaits the attention both of him and the anthropologist.

Another difficulty attaching to solar myths is one that has occurred to me in reading M. Gaidoz's remarks already mentioned (p. 55). His summary[1] of the history of the Roman Jupiter, for example, is that he was made, by way of extension, into the god of the sky from being the god of light; but in the early times to which this must refer the god of light must, it seems to me, have meant the god of the sun. Then comes the question as to the relation in which a sun-god of this order stood in the mythology of the Aryans to the younger divinities to whom it usually gives solar attributes. Did the older Sun-god cease to be specially associated with the sun and become identified with the sky at the same time that other solar gods rose into repute? Were the two things brought about by a common cause, and as the working out of one and the same idea? In Greek mythology, for example, the treatment of Apollo and Heracles, as sons of Zeus, would seem to favour an affirmative answer. The

[1] *Études*, p. 93.

case is not very dissimilar on Celtic ground, where the place of Zeus is held in Irish by Nuada, and that of a subordinate in command of his forces by Lug, the Sun-god; or take another cycle, with Conchobar standing for Zeus, and Cúchulainn for the Sun-hero, a youth devotedly attached to him as his lord and foster-father. Nay, in the former case one seems to detect Lug stepping into the place of the Celtic Zeus, namely in the legend of the *Lia Fáil* or Stone of Fál (pp. 206, 210); for it states, among other things, that it was at Tara the stone had been placed, but that it was at Tailltin it should permanently remain, and that there the meeting-place should be for games as long as sovereignty belonged to Tara.[1] How it got to Tailltin is related briefly in the Book of Leinster (9*a*), which gives it the name *in Fál mór* or 'the Great Fál,' and explains that it was a Stone of Vision at Tara; but it also terms it an idol, and states that its welcome to Conn (p. 205) was the last instance of its functioning as an oracle, as its heart sprang out of it from Tara as far as Tailltin, where it appears to have been known as Fál's Heart; and, lastly, it is hinted that the real cause of the idol's power coming to an end was the birth of Christ. That is, doubtless, a comparatively late comment, and it is needless to repeat how Tailltin and its great fair of the Lugnassad (p. 410) were closely identified with Lug; and the passing of the Lia Fáil from Tara to Tailltin would seem to imply nothing less than the eclipsing of the older god's glory by that of the younger. When Lug prophetically declares the destinies of the kingdom to Conn (p. 210), he may be said to

[1] O'Curry, quoting and translating, pp. 618, 620, from the *Harl. MS.* 5280 in the British Museum.

usurp the functions of a god corresponding to the Welsh Merlin acting in the capacity of prophet. It is true that it is with Nuada it has been attempted to connect the Lia Fáil, and that the etymological equivalent of Nuada is in Welsh Nûđ or Llûđ, and not Merlin's name. On the other hand, should Nuada *Finnfáil* prove to mean Nuada of the White Fence, one would have to admit the probability of an allusion in the epithet to a pellucid prison like Merlin's. Add to this that a passage in the Welsh story of Kulhwch, the significance of which has been overlooked, associates with Llûđ the sort of imprisonment which has in these lectures (p. 155) been dwelt upon in connection with Merlin: it makes Mabon son of Modron say, when about to be released by Arthur from the dungeon where he had been for ages incarcerated (p. 29), that his captivity was more grievous even than that of Llûđ of the Silver Hand and of Greid son of Eri.[1] These two, with Mabon's, would seem to have formed a triad[2] of the most remarkable incarcerations the story-teller had ever heard of, and one is tempted to treat Llûđ and Merlin as the names of one and the same divinity in two distinct cycles of stories. Further, Mabon is to be identified with the Apollo *Maponos* of the Celts of antiquity (p. 21), and the vast duration of his captivity is probably to be explained by his having to a certain extent been assimilated to the older god to be detected in Merlin and Llûđ. In other words, it is pro-

[1] *R. B. Mab.* p. 131; Guest, ij. 300-1.

[2] It is not to be found in the form to be expected in the ordinary lists; but see *Triads*, i. 50 = ij. 7, 49 = iij. 61, in which Mabon figures with Llyr instead of Llûđ; see also *R. B. Mab.* pp. 300, 306, and the *Cymmrodor*, vij. 130.

bably an instance of the Celtic Apollo taking the place of the Celtic Zeus, as in the case of the Irish Lug.

When we pass beyond the limits of Celtic, we may suppose a displacement of a somewhat similar kind to have happened with regard to the god whom one may briefly describe as the Zeus of the Aryan family generally: he was at first presumably the god of the sun, but he became that of light and the luminous heavens, while among the Celts he showed a tendency to become further modified into a divinity of the sea and even of the nether world. Lastly, the relative positions of this most ancient of sun-gods and of the younger divinities or heroes associated with the sun seem to afford data for fixing the order, so to say, of the mythological stratification. Thus by way of a precarious inference we penetrate to a primary stage, with the Aryan Zeus as the Sun-god of the system; then we ascend to a secondary one, characterized by the rise of such younger gods as Apollo, Lug and Balder, around whose names myths were developed in marvellous abundance; lastly we come to a tertiary stage, marked by the sun appearing variously as *he*, *she* and *it*, surrounded by no abundant accumulation of myth.

LECTURE VI.

GODS, DEMONS AND HEROES.

IRISH MYTHOGRAPHY ON THE GODS AND THEIR FOES.

IT will be convenient now to devote some space to a general consideration of the gods and heroes associated with the name of Danu and those which Irish mythology opposes to them; for the latter had its demons, so to say, as well as its gods and heroes of a more or less divine origin. The term Tuatha Dé Danann, or the Tribes of the goddess Danu, is somewhat vague, as are also others of the same import, such as Tuath Déa, 'the Tribe of the Goddess,' and Fir Déa, 'the Men of the Goddess;' but the important figures among them were never very numerous.[1] The Tuatha Dé Danann are represented fighting successively against other inhabitants or invaders of Ireland: these last bear the names of Fir Bolg, of Fomori, and of the Children of Mile or the Milesians, as they are sometimes called. The nature of their struggles has an interest which reaches beyond the limits of Celtic

[1] They were Echaid Ollathar or the Dagda Mór, Nuada of the Silver Hand, Ogma, Dian Cecht, Goibniu, Lug, Bodb the Red, Lir, Mider, Echaid Airem and Echaid Feidlech, and the triad Mac Cuill, Mac Cecht and Mac Gréine, together with a few others, including Danu herself and a sister sometimes ascribed to her, called Bé-Cuill or the Wife of Coll.

mythology; but in order to guess the signification of them, it is necessary to go into the legendary history of early Ireland at some length. The outlines of it were contained in the Book of the Dun,[1] so they date not later than the year 1106; still they clearly form a redaction—and relatively a late and clumsy one—of old materials by somebody who was acquainted with what passed for history among other nations. He was anxious, for example, to connect Irish legend with the Biblical account of Noah and his descendants.

So there had been, he says, five distinct invasions or colonizations of Erinn after the deluge, and the first took place under the leadership of one Partholon son of Sera, who arrived with twenty-four married pairs in his train. They multiplied in the land and became 5000, when in the course of one week they all died of a plague, except a single man destined to tell the story of his friends' fate. According to the usual custom of the Irish, whose good-nature does not permit them to abandon a favourite pagan to the risk of hell-fire, he is made to survive, after passing through many scenes and changes, to become a Christian, and the whole story is put into his mouth; but so far as regards this portion of it, the greatest puzzle it contains is the name Partholon, which has sometimes been supposed to be merely a form of the Biblical name Bartholomew: Giraldus calls him 'Bartholanus, Sere filius, de stirpe Japhet filii Noe.'[2] The next to take possession of the country was one of the same race as Partholon: he was called Nemed son of Agnoman, and

[1] Facsimile, pp. 15*a*—16*b*.

[2] Giraldus, *Topographia Hibernica*, Dist. iij. cap. ij. (Rolls ed. Vol. v. p. 140); see also the *Four Masters*, A.M. 2520, note.

he reached Erinn after suffering great hardships on the high seas, which in this instance are made to include the Caspian. When he landed in Ireland, his people consisted of only four married pairs; but they multiplied until they were no fewer than 34,000 such pairs. The next to come to take possession of the island was one Semion son of Stariath, and from him and his people descended the Fir Bolg, the Fir Domnann and the Gailióin, of whom more anon. Their leader is elsewhere sometimes called Simeon Brec or the Freckled (p. 213), and the invasion of the island under his command is collectively known as that by the Fir Bolg. These last survived there to fight with the next comers, who were led by Beothach son of Iardonel Fáith, that is I. the Vates or Seer (p. 262), and this was the race of the Tuatha Dé Danann, whose origin is unknown, except that the learned guess, as the writer says, that they were of the number of the exiles driven out of heaven; but he treats them as consisting of gods and not-gods, terms which he proceeds to apply to them as human inhabitants of the island, and to explain to mean men in political and professional authority, and men devoted to husbandry and farming respectively. So he knew no more than we what was originally meant by describing the Tuatha Dé as gods and not-gods;[1] and his story in the Book of the Dun is brought to an abrupt close owing to the loss of a part of the manuscript, but it is well known from other sources that the fifth invasion was that of Mile and his sons. His name means Soldier, and he is once called *quidam*

[1] It is evidently an old formula: it occurs in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 16*b*, 77*a*; *Bk. of Leinster*, 9*a*, 75*b*; and it has been suggested to me to compare it with the Sanskrit *deva* and *adeva*.

miles Hispanicus,[1] for it is from Spain he is fabled to have come, which is to be regarded as a way of tracing the descent of the Milesian Irish from the Celtic Dis (pp. 90-1, 262-3). Mile is described as the father of two sons, Eremon and Eber or Emer, who divide the island between them; and it is not improbable that they represent the Aryan and the non-Aryan elements respectively in the population of ancient Ireland. At any rate it is only with this fifth invasion of the country we begin to have regularly to do with the human inhabitants of Erinn; not that it by any means follows that from the Milesian settlement forth the history of Ireland, such as it is, confines itself to real men and women; but the story of the previous invasions is scarcely human, except in that it is a product of the human mind.

Putting aside, then, the Milesian invasion, there remain for our consideration four mythic ones, namely, by Partholon, by Nemed, by the Fir Bolg, and by the Tuatha Dé Danann respectively. Now when Partholon and his people had been some time in the island, they were disturbed by a race called the Fomori, under the leadership of a giant and his mother,[2] and they had, according to some authors, as Keating tells us, been living by fishing and fowling 200 years in the island when they met with Partholon and his people. A great battle ere long took place, in which the latter destroy the Fomori, but not so as to prevent our hearing of them again more than once. It is of importance to notice that the Fomori are said to have landed at Inver Domnann

[1] San-Marte's *Nennius et Gildas*, § 13 (p. 35).

[2] Keating, pp. 68—71.

or the Estuary of Domnu, which was probably Broadhaven in Irrus Domnann,[1] now called Erris, in the county of Mayo, and that this battle, the first said to have been fought in Ireland, occurred at a spot called Slemna Maige Itha.[2] Their leader is said to have been of the mythic race of Umór (p. 150): he was a Fomorian called Cichol Gri *cen Chos* or the Footless, and his followers have been described as not men, but demons and monsters with one hand and one foot each.[3] Cichol's mother's name is given as Lot, which means destruction; and the whole brood is always treated as foreigners in the legendary history of Ireland. The next invasion was that led by Nemed, who is to be identified with the Welsh Nevyd, the owner, according to a Welsh triad (iij. 97), of the ship in which the human race was preserved from extinction by the deluge caused by the bursting of the Lake of Llion: so there is a certain fitness in making Nemed one of the first to take possession of the island-home of the Goidels. He and his sons, however, were not left in quiet possession of the country,

[1] According to O'Curry, the Bay of Malahide in the county of Dublin was formerly called Inver Domnann; but it is not improbable there may have been more than one water so named. I have followed Mr. Hennessy, *Bk. of Fenagh*, p. 18, note.

[2] The *Four Masters*, A.M. 2530: Keating gives the name, pp. 70-1, less precisely as *Magh Iotha*.

[3] Umór is also written Ughmór and Uthmór, whence Sliab Umór, Ughmór or Uthmór, which O'Curry believed to have been the Goidelic name for the Caucasus: see his *Manners*, ij. 232. Cichol Gri is compared by M. d. A. de Jubainville, *Cycle Myth.* p. 32, with the Hindu demon Vritra; and as to the other demons, the same author, p. 95, quotes the *Bk. of Leinster*, 5*a*, and Hennessy's *Chronicum Scotorum* p. 6. See also the *Four Masters*, A.M. 2530, and Keating, pp. 68—71, by both of whom Cichol's name is written *Ciocal* or *Ciocal*.

for they had to struggle with the Fomori. Nemed and his sons, one of whom bore the unusual Irish name of Artur, conquered the Fomori in three or four battles, in which there fell of their leaders two called Gann and Genann, while another called Conaing (p. 262), having performed great feats of valour, survived to carry on the contest.[1] Nemed died, and the Fomori were now able to exercise great tyranny over his people; for Conaing, from whom Tor Conaing, or Conaing's Tower in Tory Island, took its name, and Morc, a name already familiar to you (p. 262), collected a fleet, by means of which they levied a heavy tribute in Erinn. This consisted in giving to them every Eve of Samhain or the Winter Calends no less than two-thirds of the children, of the corn and of the milk, besides other grievous exactions that were to be brought direct to Tory Island to Morc and Conaing. The warriors of the sons of Nemed mustered at length to fight the Fomori, to the number of 30,000 by land and as many by sea, and they succeeded in destroying Conaing's Tower, and in slaying Conaing himself and his sons: this is the tower described by Nennius as one of glass in the middle of the sea (p. 263). The Fomori now received reinforcements, consisting of a fleet brought from Africa by Morc; and in the battle which ensued the combatants were overwhelmed by the sea so that only a handful of the Nemedians escaped, the crew of one boat and three chiefs. After due preparations these left for the east, leaving their kinsmen under the complete tyranny of the Fomori, with Morc at their head; but there is another account more

[1] Keating, pp. 81 7.

in keeping with Irish mythology, namely, one which makes Nemed and his sons leave Erinn for Spain, a name here to be interpreted to mean the other world.

When the Fir Bolg come, we read nothing about any collision between them and the Fomori: the reason will become evident as we go on. The former and their allies are said to have come to Ireland under five leaders called Slainge, who took possession of the old province of Leinster from the mouth of the Boyne to Waterford: Gann, who had South Munster; Sengann, who had the north of the same; Genann, who had Connaught; and Rudraige, who had Ulster. The Gailióin settled in Leinster under Slainge, the Fir Bolg in the two parts of Munster, and Fir Domnann in Ulster; and a site for the capital of the whole island was selected at a spot which came later to be known by the name of Tara.[1] The Tuatha Dé Danann came to Ireland next, and they had been in the island some time before they were aware that it contained any other inhabitants; but at length they showed themselves to the Fir Bolg, and the account they gave of their advent was that they had arrived on the wings of the wind. The Fir Bolg sent one of their chiefs called Sreng to parley with the Tuatha Dé Danann, who selected one of their number named Bres to meet him. Through him they asked the Fir Bolg for half the island as their own. This was declined, and the Tuatha Dé Danann posted themselves at Mount Belgadan in the present county of Mayo, and near it they fought a great battle on a plain or field called Mag Tured or Moytura, near Cong.[2] It began

[1] O'Curry, p. 244. [2] Ib. p. 245.

on Midsummer-day, and proved disastrous in the extreme to the Fir Bolg. Their king Echaid son of Erc was pursued and killed by three men, called Sons of Nemed, on the strand of Ballysadare, where a great cairn, raised over his body, became a well-known feature in the topography of the neighbourhood. There remained of the Fir Bolg only Sreng with three hundred men; but they were able to secure peace and possession of the province of Connaught, where descendants of Sreng were believed to live on almost to modern times.[1] In the course of the battle, Sreng clove the shield of Nuada, king of the Tuatha Dé Danaan, and cut off his arm, which compelled him to give up his office of king. It was then entrusted to Bres, who by descent was connected both with the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Fomorians. Bres held the government for seven years, during which he made himself so unpopular as to draw on himself the first satire ever made in Ireland, as was mentioned in another lecture (pp. 252-4). At last he was obliged to flee to his father Elathan the Fomorian, leaving Nuada, who had made himself eligible again by having had a silver hand made for him, to resume the kingly office. This brought on a war with the Fomori, though, according to another account, the cause was Lug's killing the tax-collectors of the Fomori, who held the country under a grievous tribute,[2] and who, after Lug's onslaught, sent an army under the leadership of Bres to ravage the western portion of the island, which was ruled by Bodb the Red, son of the Dagda. Lug successfully met Bres and forced him to make peace, as he, Lug, was preparing

[1] O'Curry, p. 246. [2] Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, p. 37.

for a great battle that was to be fought with the Fomori on another Moytura.[1] The diverging versions of the story end with this battle of the northern Moytura, which came off on the last day of October, or the eve of the first day of winter. The leaders of the Fomori were Balor of the Mighty Blows, also called Balor of the Evil Eye, and Indech son of Déa Domnu, that is of the goddess Domnu or Domna. The result is usually described as a victory for the Tuatha Dé Danann; but in achieving it they lost their king, Nuada of the Silver Hand, who was killed by Balor, while this latter was only slain some time later by Lug in the manner mentioned in a previous lecture (p. 397). Besides, we read of the Dagda going to the camp of the Fomori to ask them for a truce of battle, which was granted him. It would seem, then, as if the story has made a series of struggles into one, the beginning of which was a defeat for the Tuatha Dé Danann, who lost their king, and the end a victory for them over Balor, slain by Lug, who was thereupon made king. As to the name Moytura, or Mag Tured, it is explained to mean the plain or the field of the pillars or towers, in reference to the sepulchral monuments for which both sites are remarkable:[2] the monuments mark real interments, no doubt, and they may be taken to account for the sites fixed by story for

[1] About fifty miles from the Moytura where they had measured swords with the Fir Bolg: the spot in question was in the parish of Kilmactranny, in the barony of Tirerrill, in the present county of Sligo (Joyce, pp. 406-7). Had it been history, one would naturally suspect the two Moytura battles of being originally one, as, in fact, they have been treated more than once; but I am by no means convinced that the suspicion is warranted in this case of mythology.

[2] O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, pp. 247, 250.

the two mythic battles: scenes of real interment are calculated to attract imaginary battles.

When the Milesians first arrived in the island, the Tuatha Dé Danann were defeated in a great battle at Tailltin or Teltown in Meath, and those who escaped entered the hills of Erinn as a sort of fairies forming an invisible world of their own (p. 148); they never figured afterwards as a people in the history of the country. Their power, however, did not come to an end, for though they gave up their possession of the land, they still had means of making their influence felt; for they proceeded to ruin the corn and the milk of the Milesians, so that the latter were forced to seek the friendship of the Dagda, who thenceforth spared them the produce both of their fields and their dairies.[1] In fact, the Milesians went still further in their desire to conciliate the Tuatha Dé Danann; for the nobles of the former were wont at one time, we are told, to become the foster-parents of the children of the fairies who lived nearest to them, in order that neither corn nor milk nor bloom should be lost in Erinn.[2] Not so with the Fir Bolg and the Fomori; for we read of the Milesians every now and then having wars with them; and the stories about them not unfrequently associate with the Fir Bolg the remains of the non-Celtic inhabitants under the name *Ernai*, a late form of the more ancient one of *Iverni* or Ἰουέρνιοι.

Such is a somewhat intentionally consistent version of the legend of the early invasions of Erinn; a little more use of stories avoided by the historians, though no more

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, p. 245*b*.

[2] *Irish MS. Series* (of the Proc. of the R. Ir. Acad.), i. 169.

removed from the domain of real history than some of those they have in part accepted, would at once render the inconsistencies and contradictions much more glaring. Even as I have sketched them to you they are sufficiently so, and in that the Fomori are, among other things, not made to fight against the Fir Bolg when these last come and divide the whole island between them. The reason was, it need hardly be said, that the names Fir Bolg and Fomori mean the same sort of mythic beings, which is confirmed by their common hostility against the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Milesians. Their close kinship results also from other considerations,[1] but it must not be

[1] Such are the following: (1) Of the five leaders of the Fir Bolg, three may be said to have been Ganns, for they were Gann, Sen-gann or Old Gann, and Genann or Little Gann, while Gann and Genann also appear (Keating, p. 85) as leaders of the Fomori in battles won over them by Nemed and his Sons (compare also the three Genans in Stokes & Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, ij. 122, 153). As to the remaining two Fir Bolg leaders, Slainge and Rudraige, these were also the names of sons of Partholon, and Rudraige was important as a chief ancestor of the Picts and Scots of Ulster, or the Ulster men who were reckoned 'True Ultonians,' and represented the ancient non-Celtic inhabitants. He is probably the same with Rugraide, great-grandson of Fomor, placed long afterwards in the *Four Masters*' arrangement of the legendary history of Ireland, A.M. 4981. (2) Next may be mentioned the circumstance that one of the leaders of the Fomori in the battle of the northern Moytura was Indech son of the goddess Domnu, at whose *inver* the Fomori were said to have landed before the time of Partholon (Keating, p. 70); while the Fir Domnann or Men of Domnu formed one of the chief peoples engaged in the Fir Bolg invasion; according to some versions of the story, they also landed at the same *inver* of the goddess Domnu (*Four Masters*, A.M. 3266). (3) On the other hand, the Fomori in the time of Nemed had to encounter him and his sons as their enemies, while three men called Sons of Nemed were the slayers of Echaid, king of the Fir Bolg, at the battle of the southern Moytura (p. 586). (4) Some accounts bring Fir Domnann and Gailióin

pressed too hard; for Irish literature never consciously identifies these Titans and Giants; so their names never

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or Gailiúin into Ireland in the train of Labraid Longsech, and these strangers, in Irish *gaill*, are sometimes made into Galli or Gauls (O'Curry, ij. 256-7), while the *Bk. of Leinster*, 159*a*, speaks of them as Dub-gaill, or Black Strangers, following Labraid from Denmark under one Ernoll. The fact, however, is that Labraid's coming with Fir Domnann and Gailióin is merely another version of Morc's arrival with a fleet from Africa to aid the Fomori in Tory Island: in short, one would probably not be far wrong in taking Labraid to have been one of the names of Morc, otherwise called *Margg*, steward of the king of Fomori (*Bk. of Leinster*, 160*a*), in Welsh, March (ab Meirchion), who had a horse's ears (*Cymmrodor*, vi. 181-3): compare the Breton story of the king of Portz*march* (*Rev. Celt.* ij. 507). In Irish, the owner of the equine ears usually bears the name of Labraid (ib. ij. 197-8). (5) Four of the Fomori are said to have escaped from the battle of the northern Moytura and to have employed themselves in ruining the corn and milk, the fruit-crops and sea-produce of the Tuatha Dé Danann: one of these was called Redg (ib. i. 41). As the Fomori were the enemies of Lug, so the Fir Bolg, under Ailill of Cruachan, who was one of them, were arrayed against Cúchulainn, and finally under Erc they triumphed over him. It is to be noticed that on the Táin one of the foes killed by Cúchulainn was called Marc (*Bk. of the Dun*, 70*b*); also that the person bearing the very uncommon name of Redg was likewise in Ailill's retinue, and on one occasion engaged by him to compass the great Ultonian's death, when he fell at the latter's hand, the victim of his own stratagem. He is described in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 70*b*, as Ailill's satirist, that is to say, one whose business was the formidable one of pronouncing baleful incantations: it was planned by Ailill that he should introduce himself to Cúchulainn and ask him for a gift, with the customary choice of naming it: this turned out to be Cúchulainn's spear or javelin, and that in the hour of his greatest straits. Cúchulainn said he had more need of it than Redg, and that he would give him treasure instead. No, he would accept nothing but the javelin: so Cúchulainn threw the weapon at him with the but end foremost, and with such force that the recipient declared that it was more than enough of a gift, as it went through his body. The same tactics were employed by Erc and his Gailióin on Cúchulainn's fatal day (*Bk. of Leinster*, 119*a*, *Rev. Celt.* iij. 178-80), and though he killed the boon-

become quite synonymous. The Fir Bolg are more like the human race than are the Fomori, and through Sreng, Ailill of Cruachan and others, they are supposed to have been the ancestors of historical families in Ireland, whereas no family is known to have traced its descent directly to a Fomorian. This distinction may here be disregarded, as it seems only to mean that Sreng, Ailill and analogous figures, were, to certain tribes, forms of the ancestral Dis, and the identity of Fir Bolg and Fomori may for our present purpose be assumed. This is an important step in the simplification of the question before us, which is to discover an intelligible line of demarcation between them and the Tuatha Dé Danann. In order to come nearer to that, the names here in point have to be now more closely examined. Let us begin with the most intelligible of them, namely, that of the Fomori. It is derived partly from the Irish word *muir*, 'sea,' and Irish historians persistently treat it as meaning sea-rovers or pirates, as if they understood the whole compound to mean *transmarini*, whereas it can only mean *submarini*, as the prefix *fo* does not mean 'beyond, over or on,' but 'under or below.' There is a short story illustrative of this in a commentary on one of the old Irish laws: it runs thus:[1]

"One time then thereafter Fergus and his charioteer (Muena his name) set out to the sea, reached it, and they slept on the sea-shore. Now *luchorpáin* came to the

begging satirists successively, his enemies found the manœuvre answer their purpose.

[1] *Senchus Mór*, i. 70-1: it has been published also by Stokes in the *Rev. Celt.* i. 256-7, with the translation here borrowed word for word from him.

king and bore him out of his chariot, and they first took his sword from him. They afterwards took him as far as the sea, and Fergus perceived them when his feet touched the sea. Whereat he awoke and caught three of them, to wit, one in each of his two hands, and one on his breast. 'Life for life' (i.e. protection), say they. 'Let my three wishes (i.e. choices) be given,' says Fergus. 'Thou shalt have,' says the dwarf, 'save that which is impossible for us.' Fergus requested of him knowledge of passing under loughs and linns and seas. 'Thou shalt have,' says the dwarf, 'save one which I forbid to thee: thou shalt not go under Lough Rudraide [which] is in thine own country.' Thereafter the *luchuirp* (little bodies) put herbs into his ears and he used to go with them under seas. Others say it is the dwarf gave his cloak to him and that Fergus used to put it on his head and thus go under seas." The words *luchuirp* and *luchorpáin* appear to mean literally small bodies, and the word here rendered *dwarf* is in the Irish *abac*, the etymological equivalent of the Welsh *avanc*, the name by which certain water inhabitants of a mythic nature went in Welsh, such as the *avanc* of the lake killed by Peredur, and that other dragged out of the Conwy by Hu the Mighty and his two oxen: the stories of both imply that they had more or less completely the human form, and that the latter was of a large size.[1] So much by the way; I only wished, however, to point out that the preposition in the foregoing extract rendered by *under* is always *fo*, and *under seas* is *fo muirib*, that is to say, the very words

[1] See *R. B. Mab.* pp. 223-4, 226; Guest, i. 341, 343, 345; Evans' *Dict. of the Welsh Lang.* s. v. *afanc*; *Triads*, iij. 97.

which form the key to the compound *Fomori*, for which the adjectival form *Fomoraig* is also frequently to be met with. It thus appears that the monsters so called were imaginary creatures originally believed to have their abodes in or beneath the lakes and the sea, whence they paid unwelcome visits to the land. The Book of the Dun supplies us with a quaint account of the beginning of them and their kindred.[1] The writer sets out from the intoxication of Noah and the curse pronounced by him on his son Ham, who in consequence thereof became, as we are told, Cain's heir after the deluge, so that from Ham are descended *Luchorpáin*, *Fomoraig*, *Goborchinn*, and every human being of unshapely appearance. The term Goborchinn here introduced is said[2] to mean 'Horse-headed,' and the monsters so called were otherwise human, so that they contrasted curiously with the centaurs of Greek mythology, but corresponded to the figure of Midas with his asinine ears. In the same class must be placed a certain Echaid Echchenn, or Echaid Horse-head, king of Fomori;[3] and you are now familiar with the name of More or Margg (p. 262), in Welsh March, a word which means a steed or stallion. His other Irish name appears to have been Labraid, by which he goes in the famous legend of his equine ears, to which may be added the further story how Labraid chose to wife the daughter of the king of *Fir Morca*, or the Equine Men, in the west

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 2*a*; also the *Rev. Celt.* i. 257, where the passage has been published by Stokes.

[2] It is not quite certain that it should not be rendered 'goat-headed.' *Cormac's Glossary* (Stokes-O'Donovan ed. p. 83) explains that *gabur* was a goat, while *gobur* meant a horse.

[3] The *Four Masters*, A.M. 3520.

of Erinn. There is no reason to suppose that the monsters in question were all of the same form; and the name *Caitchenn* or *Cenn-Cait*, 'Cat's Head,' has already been mentioned (p. 313), namely, in connection with the *Aithech Tuatha*, a term sometimes rendered Peasant Tribes and sometimes Rent-paying Tribes, not to add that they have been ere now imagined to be the Atecotti[1] of Roman Britain. They are in reality to be regarded as belonging to the same category as the Fomori, and the term *aithech*, sometimes meaning a peasant, was applied to any boorish, ill-natured, ill-clad fellow. In a tale related in the Book of the Dun, it is used of a hideous, brutal giant who caught his victims by enveloping them in a thick fog, and he is introduced attacking successively the three Solar Heroes, Loegaire, Conall and Cúchulainn, the last of whom overcomes him.[2] He is not called a Fomorian, but the term would apply to him in most respects, and among others in that of stature; for I ought to have said that the Fomori are normally represented as giants. In fact, the singular, pronounced *foawr* in the Isle of Man, and in Scotch Gaelic somewhat similarly, though written *fomhair*, *famhair* and even *foghmhair*, has in those dialects respectively become the ordinary word for a giant: it is the one which occurs throughout the Gaelic in the well-known volumes of Campbell's Popular Tales of the West Highlands. In a story already men-

[1] I have tried in my *Celtic Britain*, p. 279, to explain this name; but whatever scholars may think of the attempt, our charlatans, as I have seen more than once of late, repeat the absurd old notion which identifies the Atecotti with the Aithech Tuatha.

[2] Fol. 105*a*; Windisch, *Irische Texte*, pp. 272-3, 357. It is similarly used of Scarbhan (pp. 356-7) in *The Pursuit*, ij. §§ 15, 17.

tioned as relating how Cúchulainn rescued the daughter of Ruad king of the Isles (p. 464), the Fomori assume the place occupied by the dragon of the legends of other lands. The king's daughter had been exposed, as you will remember, on the sea-shore as tribute to the Fomori, three of whom were hourly expected to arrive from distant islands to fetch her. Cúchulainn, on hearing this, hastened to the princess and learned her story from her own lips. She charged him to leave before the Fomori arrived, which he declined to do. The three Fomori came at last, and Cúchulainn slew them. The rest of the story is mostly of the usual kind; for in fighting with the last of the three, Cúchulainn was wounded in one of his fingers, and the princess, tearing a strip of her dress, tied it round the finger of her rescuer, who thereupon departed without giving his name. Then many a braggart asserted that it was he who had slain the Fomori, wherefore he claimed the princess to wife, according to the proclamation previously made by her father. But the princess believed none of them, and the claimants were called together, when Cúchulainn was recognized. In this story it will be observed that the three Fomori stand for so many heads of the dragon in the better known versions told among other peoples; but it is more perhaps to the point that the Welsh equivalent is the *avanc* of the Conwy, in whose name the counterpart of that of the Irish *abac*, as applied to one of the Luchorpáin, has been pointed out. The Welsh *avanc* was, however, no 'small body,' but a big monster, while a girl is involved in the oldest known version of the story of Hu the Mighty's feat, and in some respects the *avanc* in it behaves like a Scotch kelpie.

Lastly, the Fomori are known to the Irish of the present day, as I have had recently occasion to learn from a gentleman living in the neighbourhood of Killorglin, in the county of Kerry. When he was one day a few years ago exploring the recesses of an underground *ráth*, he was kindly warned by one of the peasants to beware of the Fomori or Fōwri, according to the modern pronunciation repeated to me. This would suggest that the Fomori may be encountered under ground as well as under water; but I take it that the modern ideas about them identify them to a certain extent with the fairies.

Having said most of what I had to say about the Fomori, I now come back to the Fir Bolg, and that version of the story about Fergus which says that the *ubac* gave the king his cloak to put round his head when he wished to roam in lake or sea. This is the shining cap of salmon-skin that figures in Irish tales about lake fairies; for when one of them was caught on land and robbed of her cap, she could not go back into the world of waters. It figures also in a Welsh tale, where it is *de trop*, as the modern narrator knows no use for it.[1] I mention this as it is possible that this cap is the explanation of the *bolg*, 'bag,' in the term *Fir Bolg*, singular *Fer Bolg*, 'a Bag-man:' in any case it is as good an explanation as the one usually offered, to the effect that the Fir Bolg, before coming to Ireland, were slaves in Greece, where they were forced to carry earth in leathern bags to cover the rocks in that country, a passage taken from one of the legendary expla-

[1] The *Cymmrodor*, v. 87-8, 92-3.

nations of the name of the Myrmidons, as recorded by Strabo.[1] They left their work unfinished, for we are told that they fled, and converted their *bolga* or bags into coracles, in which they ventured on the sea. This last part of the story is the only one worth noticing, and it makes for the explanation which I have suggested: in other words, the latter would include it and render it intelligible. The conjectural interpretation offered to you of the term Fir Bolg[2] may be said to derive some confirmation from the name of their allies the Fir Domnaun. Now Domnann should be the genitive of a name making in the nominative Domnu or Domna; and construing Dé Domnann in the same way as Dé Danann, I take Domnu to have been the name of a goddess and not of a god. Put it back into what must have been its early form, and you will have a nominative Dumnu and a genitive Dumnonos, implying a stem Dumnon: form from the latter an adjective Dumnonios, you will then have as its plural Dumnonii, the attested name of two peoples of

[1] See Meineke's (Teubner's) edition, Bk. viij. 6, 16 (p. 532): Μυρμιδόνας δὲ κληθῆναί φασιν .... ὅτι μυρμήκων τρόπον ὀρύττοντες τὴν γῆν ἐπιφέροιεν ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας ὥστ' ἔχειν γεωργεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀρύγμασιν οἰκεῖν φειδόμενοι πλίνθων.

[2] *Fir Bolg* is possibly connected with the story of the sacks containing armed men, from which Dunbolg is supposed to have derived its name, and also with that of the slaughter of the nobles of Erinn, said to have been effected by the Aithech Tuatha at a place called Mag Bolg or the Bag Plain, now called Moybolgue, in the county of Cavan (*Four Masters*, A.D. 76). Other place-names involving the same vocable occur in Wales and Scotland. Their history is obscure, but one at least of them dates from the Roman occupation, namely, *Blatobulgium*, which must have meant the Meal-bag: it is supposed to have been at Middleby Kirk, near the river Annan: see my *Celtic Britain*, pp. 268-9, 280-1.

Roman Britain, situated respectively by the Severn Sea and the Firth of Forth. The name meant a people who had something to do with Domnu, and that something may have been a claim to be the descendants or the favourite people of Domnu; while Domnu's own name, derived from the same origin as the Celtic words for 'deep,' probably meant the goddess of the deep.[1] Thus two historical peoples and one mythic had their names from this goddess, of whom nothing is otherwise known except that she was the mother of Indech, one of the leaders of the Fomori, and that several waters were called after her, such as Inver Domnann or Broadhaven, in the county of Sligo, and Malahide Bay, near Dublin (p. 583). In this last respect she resembled the Dee or Aerven, as she may have done in others likewise.

It now remains to say a word or two of the Gailióin. They mustered as a part of Ailill's forces on the Táin, and they were so much superior to the rest of the army in skill and especially magic, that Medb was jealous of their reputation and wished them killed, but she could only get them dispersed and incorporated among the other batallions.[2] It was not long afterwards ere the army surrounded a herd of no fewer than eight score wild deer, and they wounded them; but every one of the deer except five came where there stood a man of the Gailióin, and the rest of the army had to be content with the five alone.[3] No remark is made on the incident, but it would seem to imply that the Gailióin had a surpassing reputation as magicians. This, it would appear, was what

[1] Possibly the name should be compared rather with Lat. *dominus*.

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, 56*b*, 57*a*. [3] Ib. 57*a*.

made them hated as descendants of Simon (p. 213). Their name is puzzling, and it is sometimes said to have been borne by the province of Leinster, which agrees with the story of Slainge and his Gailióin. At first it looks as if we had in it a word of the same origin as the name of the *Galli* of the continent, a supposition which would tend to make of them a purely human and Aryan people. This would, however, be highly inconsistent with the usual habit of treating the Fir Bolg and the Fir Domnann as subjugated or enslaved tribes.[1] But this manner of speaking of them is somewhat misleading, and we should come nearer the truth if we called them an uncanny and detested race; and the means adopted to get rid of them are characteristic. Thus O'Curry, setting out from queen Medb's treatment of the Gailióin, uses the following words:[2] "Such, however, was the envy and jealousy, if not the fears, which their valour and fame had raised against them in the country, that the Druids of Erinn, whether at the instigation of Queen Medbh or not I cannot say, pronounced withering satires and incantations against them (according to the story); so that their whole race became extinct in the land, excepting a few, and these few of the 'Gallians,' as well as the whole of their fellow foreign tribes, the *Laighinns* and the *Domnanns*, were afterwards totally extirpated by the monarch *Tuathal Teachtmar*, on his accession to the throne of Erinn, A.D. 79." In other words, as you will see, the bulk of the Gailióin were not quelled by force of arms, but exorcised by the druids or

[1] O'Curry, *Manners*, &c. (Sullivan's Introduction), pp. xxvij, xxix.
[2] Ib. ij. 261.

magicians of Erinn: they were, in fact, mere personifications of the evil powers of nature. Keating[1] derives the name of the Gailióin from *gái*, 'a spear,' the ancient *gaesum*, and this etymology is the explanation of their name being rendered *Viri Armorum* in the Irish version of Nennius.[2] Further, their fellow-foreigners the *Laighin*, whose existence seems entirely based on the name of Leinster, for *Lagin*-setr (in Irish *Lagin* or *Laighin*), had an appellation of similar meaning,[3] as *lagen* meant a spear; but the coincidence which would make the same province successively bear two names referring equally to spears and spearmen of foreign origin is a little too much to pass; but Lagin, the genuine name, has probably been the means of fixing in connection with Leinster the other name Gailióin, which may be said to consist of an unfortunate contribution from the classics by an early pedant whose name is deservedly lost in oblivion.[4]

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[1] Pp. 100-1. [2] Pp. 44-5. [3] *Bk. of Leinster*, p. 159*a*.

[4] One is put on the right track of the history of the term Gailióin in the Irish version of Nennius (pp. 130-1), where the Cruithni or Picts are traced to Scythia, on the strength partly of the similarity of sound between Scotti and Scythia, and partly of such lines in the Georgics of Vergil as ij. 114-5:

'Aspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem,
Eoasque domus Arabum, pictosque Gelonos.'

Or iij. 461-3:

'Bisaltae quo more solent, acerque Gelonus,
Quum fugit in Rhodopen, atque in deserta Getarum,
Et lac concretum cum sanguine potat equino.'

In the Nennian passage, Gelonus son of Hercules by Echidna becomes Geleón mac Ercoil, and the Picts appear as his offspring. Having begun their wanderings, they reach Gaul, where they build a city called Pictava, now Poictiers, and in due time they reach Erinn, landing at the mouth of the Slaney at Wexford (*Ir. Nen.* pp. 122-3, 134-5), where

Those of the Fir Bolg and their allies who escaped from the battle of southern Moytura made their way into the islands[1] of Arann, Islay and Rathlin, the Western Islands of Scotland and many others, including, according to the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius, the Isle of Man.[2] They are afterwards said to have been expelled the islands by the Picts, whereupon they obtained land subject to tribute from Cairbre Niafer king of Leinster; but the tribute drove them to Ailill and Medb in Connaught, a movement known as the migration of the Children of Umór (p. 150). From Medb they obtained lands; and not a few local names in the west are traced to them, such as Loch Cimbe (now Lough Hackett in the county of Galway), called after one of their chiefs named Cimbe

Labraid Longsech and his Gailióin are also said to have come to land (*Four Masters*, A.M. 4658; O'Curry, p. 257). In fact, they form the same invasion, and this is one of the reasons why the Gailióin are reckoned among those in Ireland who were not of Goidelic descent, as in the Irish Nennius (pp. 268-9). On the other hand, they are treated, in a passage published in the *Senchus Mór*, i. 70, as one of three chief peoples of ancient Erinn, which seems to mean that the name was regarded as merely synonymous with that of *Lagin*, or Leinster men. The editors of the Irish Nennius have only given us, at p. 120, the faulty form *Gueleon* and the shorter one *Gleoin*, but at p. 130 they have the regular genitive *Geleoin* (more correctly *Geleóin*), corresponding to a nominative *Geleón;* and as the Irish for the classical genitive *Geloni* was *Geleóin*, the plural *Geloni* should yield *Geleóin*. Here, however, a false etymology introduced a *gái*, 'spear,' making the spelling into *Gailióin*, of which we have an alternative spelling in *Gailióin*, seemingly the oldest form occurring. This yielded a variant written *Gailiuin;* further, the genitive of *Gailióin* would be *Gailión*, which had a variant *Gailián*, also written *Galian*, as in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 44*b*, where O'Curry, p. 482, loosely explains it as 'an ancient name of Leinster.'

[1] Keating, pp. 106-8.

[2] See San-Marte's *Nennius et Gildas*, § 14 (p. 36), where one reads: Builc autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam, et alias circiter.

Cethairchenn or Cimbe the Four-headed, a name which reminds one of the Fomori.[1] Their betaking themselves to Medb whose husband was of the Fir Bolg, needs no explanation, and their fleeing to the islands is of a piece with the view taken of the sea by the Celts, who regarded the islands as the abodes of the departed, and the melancholy main as the lurking-place of darkness. It is also natural that the last thing heard of their leaders is their succumbing to the Solar Heroes Cúchulainn and Conall Cernach with their friends.[2]

Lastly, the three chief races in the legendary history of ancient Erinn are very summarily characterized in a poem[3] taken from an old book by Duald mac Firbis, a notable Irish antiquary of the 17th century. It makes the latest comers into a noble caste of warriors, and the Tuatha Dé Danann conquered by them into clever and artistic freemen, while the Fir Bolg vanquished by the Tuatha Dé Danann take their places at the bottom of the scale as thralls. This attempt to treat them as so many castes in the social system of ancient Ireland reminds one in some respects of the Norse lay[4] descriptive of the wandering Rig, supposed to be Heimdal, becoming the father of earls, churls and thralls respectively. But at least in his treatment of the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Fir Bolg, the Irish poet, whoever he was, has stopped short of effacing altogether their mythic features. The lines chiefly in point are to the following effect:

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1 *Bk. of Leinster*, 152*a*; Keating, pp. 106-9; O'Curry, *Manners*, ij. 121-3.

2 Keating, pp. 108-9; *Bk. of Leinster*, 152*a*.

3 O'Curry, pp. 580 and 215-27.

4 *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 235-42.

Every white man or brown, every bold man,
Every brave man, hardy in the fray,
Every man generous in deed without noise,
Is of the Sons of Milè of great renown.
Every fair spoiler great on the plain,
Every artist, harmonious and musical,
Folk wont to resort to tricks of magic,
Are of the host of the Tuatha Dé Danann.
Every blustering, vicious man . . . .
Every gross, lying, unholy fellow—
Remnants these of those three peoples,
Of Gailióin, of Fir Bolg and of Fir Domnann.

Our business is more especially with these last at present, or rather with the Fir Bolg and the Fomori. They have a remarkable feature in common, namely, their hostility to man and their baneful influence on his works; while their pretty general connection with water would seem to suggest that their malevolence is a mythic way of describing the cold mists and baleful fogs that retard the growth of the farmer's crops, the excessive damp that robs living things of their bloom, and last, but by no means least, the subtle processes of corruption to which the dairy is now and then liable without any perceptible cause. The action of bacteria in milk is sometimes strange, and at all times so difficult of explanation that it has been reserved for modern science to detect its nature, while the ordinary peasant can in no way account for its effects, except on the supposition of its being produced by witchcraft or the intervention of Heaven to punish him for his sins. This malevolence towards man will be found an index to the classification of the spirits of the Celtic world; the classification, frequently made by writers on classical mythology, into light and dark divinities, fails entirely to meet the case before us, even

if it does any other on a large scale, which may be doubted. For the Tuatha Dé Danann contain among them light and dark divinities, and those standing sometimes in the relation of parents and offspring to one another. Some members of the Irish pantheon are cruel and repellent characters, but on occasion they may prove friendly. Thus, though the Tuatha Dé Danann under the Dagda are accused of blighting the corn and spoiling the milk of the Milesians, the latter were said to conciliate them so as to make them spare both farmer and shepherd. This is not all; for when Redg and the other three Fomori that had escaped from the slaughter of Moytura were engaged in ruining the corn, the milk, the fruit-crops and the produce of the sea, they were expelled the country by the wily gods Mider and the Mac Óc, and the terrible goddesses the Bodb and the Mórrígu;[1] not to mention that a successful king's reign was marked by good seasons and plentiful crops, for the reason that he forced the Fomori to abstain from their ravages: thus we read of three triple-headed Fomori of vast voracity secured by Mac Cecht's valour as hostages at Conaire's court, that their kin would not spoil either corn or milk in Erinn as long as Conaire reigned.[2] But to return to the contest with Redg, it is to be observed that it is located at a spot called Slemna Maige Itha, which enables one to identify the engagement with the first battle said to have been fought in Ireland, namely, the one in which Partholon is represented annihilating the Fomori, which is by no means incon-

[1] *Bk. of Fermoy*, 24 *b*^{2}, quoted by Hennessy in the *Rev. Celt.* i. 41.

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, 89 *b*, 90 *a*: see also *Celtic Britain*, p. 64.

sistent with the later history of the Fomori, if their nature be taken into due account. That also was fought on Slemna Maige Itha, which literally means the Smooths or Clear Parts of the Plain of Ith; and one of the plains cleared in Partholon's time was also a Mag nItha; in fact, Mag nItha appears to have been not an uncommon place-name in Ireland, and even Slemna Maige Itha is said to have been that of a spot near Lough Swilly in the county of Donegal.[1] *Ith* is probably to be regarded as a name of racial significance,[2] but mythology may have had something to do with locating it, and we have indirect evidence that Mag nItha was a name figuring in Irish myths as late as the advent of the Norsemen; for the Eddic poem of the Volospá makes the Anses meet in the Field of Ith in the golden age to come:[3]

> 'The Anses shall meet on the Field of Ith,
> And do judgments under the mighty Tree of the World.'

The Norse poet, it is evident, had not badly learnt his lesson in Irish mythology when he chose as the last meeting-place of the gods the spot where they had been wont to give battle to the blighting monsters and the malevolent giants.

On Welsh ground the contrast between the gods and

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[1] The *Four Masters*, A.M. 2530, note, and 2550.

[2] *Ith* is said in Irish legend to have been the name of an uncle of Mile, and he may have been a god-ancestor of the Ivernians: see my *Celtic Britain*, p. 268. Whether there has not been some confusion with the Irish word *ith*, 'corn,' gen. *etho*, is not quite certain. One may now consult the story of the place-name in the *Bk. of Ballymote* (Dublin, 1887), fol. 399.

[3] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* ij. 628; see also i. 194, 201, and ij. 633, where the Norse is Iđa-völlr, while in the other passages we have the words 'á Iđa-velli.'

the ill-disposed powers comes out very clearly in the story of Llûd,[1] who had to contend with three scourges from which his realm suffered. One of them was the race of the Coranians, who were so knowing that any sound of speech that reached the wind would come to their ears: so it was hard to overcome them. To be rid of them, Llûd was advised to invite them to a feast with his own people, and then to besprinkle all present with water in which a certain insect had been ground: it had the effect of killing the Coranians without harming anybody else. I do not profess to understand the story about the water, and our principal source of information about the Coranians is their name, in Welsh *Coraniaid*, from a singular *Còran*, derived from *còr*, 'a dwarf.' The Coranians were in the first instance dwarfs, corresponding to the diminutive folk called in Irish Luchorpáin, and they survive in Welsh folk-lore as a distinct kind of fairies signalized by their hideousness and mischievous habits.[2] Another scourge which Llûd disposed of, and that by a hand-to-hand fight,[3] was a thieving giant who spread siren music and sleep around him and his operations, which consisted in carrying away Llûd's banquets in a basket or creel that never seemed full. Here we have a Fomor described from the Welsh point of view, unless we should rather call him a Fer Bolg, and regard the Welsh basket as the counterpart of the Irish bag or sack in this instance, which would have the advantage of

[1] *R. B. Mab.* p. 96; Guest, iij. 311.

[2] The *Cymmrodor*, v. 55. It is hopeless, so far as I can see, to expect our charlatans to leave off identifying the mythic Coranians with the historical Coritani of Roman Britain.

[3] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 94-5, 97-9; Guest, iij. 308, 312, 314-5.

supplying us with an alternative explanation of the term Fer Bolg or Bag-man. This is all the more permissible as the giant conquered by Llûd seems to survive in Welsh nurseries under the name of *Siôn y Cydau*, or Jack with the Bags; for I have a lively recollection of being more than once threatened with the unwelcome advent of that formidable *croque-mitaine*, who, as I had been given to understand, dearly loved to chuck little boys into his bags and carry them away to his cave.

The remaining scourge was more terrible than the other two, and is described as a shout raised over every hearth in Britain on the eve of every First Day of May. It went through the hearts of the men, we are told, frightening them so much that they lost their colour and strength, and their women their expectations, while the young of both sexes lost their senses through it, and general fruitlessness overcame the beasts of the field, the woods, the fields and the waters.[1] The story proceeds to trace this mischief to the attempt of the dragon of a foreign race to overcome that of Britain. But in one of the Triads, iij. 11, the scourge so explained is distinguished from that of the First of May—the two accounts are not essentially inconsistent—and the latter is there further described as that of March Malaen. This is more usually written March Malen, 'the Steed of Malen,' and it enters into a proverb, 'A gasgler ar farch Malen dan ei dor yd a;' that is to say, 'What is collected on Malen's horse's back will find its way under his belly,' or, as it is better known in English, 'What is got on the devil's back will be spent under his belly.' How

[1] *R. B. Mab.* p. 94; Guest, iij. 308.

far the English have been wont to ascribe to the devil the shape of a horse I know not; but with regard to the Welsh it may here be pointed out that they were familiar with a fancy of that kind, as in the story about Peredur tempted to mount the demon-steed, and in the identity of Brun de Morois with the horse called Du Moro (p. 370) in Welsh. Still more to the point is the story of March ab Meirchion's equine ears, and of the identity of his name with that of the Irish Morc or Margg, not to mention Labraid, who had the same peculiar ears, and had to wife the daughter of the king of Fir Morca (p. 593). Now Morc it was, who, according to the Irish story, acted as chief of the Fomori in levying tribute in Ireland from the Sons of Nemed, consisting of two-thirds of their children and of the produce of their husbandry in the corn-field and in the dairy. This agrees in substance with the effects of the shout on the First of May, as described in the story of Llûd. In Malen's *March* we have a specimen of a monster such as would be in Irish an *Echchenn*, or Horse-head, and he is to be identified probably with *Ellyll Mâlen*, or Malen's Demon. In any case, Malen's scourge,[1] however desig-

[1] For Malen's Demon, see *Triads*, i. 70 = ij. 45 = iij. 95, and for the foreign origin of March Malen, see *Triad*, iij. 11. The word Malen, Malaen, Melen or Melan, for all these forms occur, are very obscure; but they seem to represent a feminine to be regarded as possibly derived from the same origin as *mall* or *mallt*, whose meaning can be somewhat more nearly defined. Now *mall* being used in the feminine becomes with the definite article *Y Vall* (written *y Fall*, meaning the evil one), a personification which enters into the term *Plant y Fall*, which might be Englished by disregarding the gender into 'Children of Belial or the devil's imps.' Moreover, the Yellow Plague is called *Y Fall Felen*, 'the Yellow *Mall*,' also *Y Fad Felen*, or 'the Yellow Death;' and the word *mall* sometimes has the force

nated, comes to Britain as a foreign oppression, just as Morc is said in Irish legend to bring his fleet from Africa (p. 584), the land peopled by the descendants of Ham, the reputed father of the whole brood, according to the story as modified to join on to the Bible. But Welsh literature has preserved no clear and sweeping distinction between the spirits of the pagan world, corresponding to the Irish division into Tuatha Dé on the one hand, and Fomori and Fir Bolg on the other. This Irish classification, otherwise expressed, assumes a quasi-historical aspect: the Ultonian cycle of stories substitute the Ultonians under Conchobar for the Tuatha Dé under Nuada, and the Men of Erinn, that is to say, of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, for Fomori and Fir Bolg, whilst Lug, the great warrior of the Tuatha Dé, has his counterpart among the Ultonians in Lug's later self, Cúchulainn. The ranging of the Ultonians or the Men of Ulster against the Men of the rest of Erinn, looks like an anticipation of the history of Ireland in later times; but that is accidental, since the district chiefly associated with the Ultonian heroes of Irish epic tales consists of a tract of country extending from beyond Armagh towards

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of the adjective evil or bad in the widest sense, but the verb *mallu* means to be spoiled, said of such a thing as dough when it fails to rise after it has been leavened. Further, as *ll* not unfrequently stands for an older *llt*, we have also a form *mallt* in the term *mwci mallt*, 'the evil one or the evil goblin,' and in that of *Mallt y Nos*, 'the Night Mallt,' a sort of she-demon associated with the cold malarious fogs that lie on marshy lands during the hours of the night. Lastly, the compound term *madfall*, a newt or blindworm, which literally seems to mean 'the good *Mall*,' in the sense presumably of the harmless *Mall*, would seem indirectly to prove that *Y Fall*, as the personification of evil, was supposed to take the form of a reptile.

the site of Dublin.[1] The coast from the mouth of the Liffey to that of the Newry river may have been the first part of Ireland settled by Celtic invaders; and so far the mythological division into Ultonians and the Men of Erinn may have had a historical basis. This may be compared from that point of view with Welsh literature giving Vortigern (pp. 151-5) as his allies Picts and Scots and Saxons.

Greek and Norse Comparisons.

To return to Llûd, the older form of his name was Nûd, the exact equivalent of Nodens, in Irish Nuada; and his surname was Llawereint or Silver-handed, of the same import as the surname of Nuada; but in the case of Nuada we have the story, how, having lost one of his hands, he came to be provided with one of silver (pp. 120, 381), while the corresponding Welsh account is not extant. Had it been, it would have probably been something similar to the Irish version. At any rate, one cannot help seeing that the wars, in which Nuada engaged with the Fir Bolg and the Fomori, have their Welsh counterparts in those between Llûd and the scourges just mentioned, though the treatment of the story is somewhat different. In both cases the hostile forces were identical—the blighting fogs, the malarious mists, the cold and stormy winds and the other hurtful forces of nature. If one wishes for comparisons beyond the limits of the mythology of the Celtic nations, one has only to

[1] Compare what was said at p. 455 respecting Cúchulainn's name Setanta and that of the British people of the Setantii. As to the southern boundary of ancient Ulster, see p. 140 above, and O'Curry, p. 269; also the *Rev. Celt.* viij. 52-5.

turn to that of the Teutons, especially as represented in old Norse literature. There we are at once confronted with Thor the friend of the northern Aryan, "the husbandman's god, whose wrath and anger are ever directed against the evil powers that injure mortals and their possessions, whose bolt destroys the foul thick blights that betray the presence of the wicked ones, and smites through the huge cloud-masses that seem to be crushing the earth."[1] But the exact equivalent of the Irish Nuada of the Silver Hand, king of the Tuatha Dé Danann, in Welsh Nûđ or Llûđ of the Silver Hand, was Tiu, called in old Norse Týr; and it has already been briefly related how he lost his right hand in binding the Fenri Wolf (p. 121). The effort was successful as regards the Wolf, as he was left in bonds, which would hold him till the terrible day when the Anses, according to prophecy, were to meet their doom, and the Wolf again to break loose. Here the power of evil is concentrated into one great monster, while the Irish story places it in a motley host of monsters making war on the Tuatha Dé Danann; otherwise the rôle of Nuada, who wins a victory over the Fir Bolg, but loses his hand in the conflict, where it is cut off by Sreng the champion of his enemies (p. 120), corresponds to that of Týr. The surviving Fir Bolg flee to the islands to the Fomori, and the next great battle of the Tuatha Dé Danann is with the Fomori, when Nuada is killed by Balor of the Evil Eye, while Ogma and Indech mac Dé Domnann fall by each other's hands. Finally, however, Balor of the Evil Eye is slain by Lug, who is chosen king of the

[1] Vigfusson & Powell's *Corpus Poet. Bor.* ij. 463.

Tuatha Dé Danann after the battle. All this has its counterpart in Norse literature:[1] there is the mustering of the powers of evil under the lead of Swart 'the Black One' and of Loki, and, on the other hand, the blast of Heimdal's horn brings the Anses together: Heimdal fights with Loki, Frey with Swart, Woden with the Wolf, who swallows the god, but the latter's son Vidar kills the Wolf. Thor slays the World-dragon, but falls himself from the effects of the venom of the serpent; and lastly Týr fights with the hound Garm, and both die. Then Swart sets fire to the world, and the terrible flame plays against the canopy of heaven. Another fragment which is less allegoric runs thus:[2] "The sunshine shall wax dark, nor shall any summer follow, and all the winds shall turn to blight; the sea shall rise in tempest against the very heaven and cover the land, and the sky shall be rent, and out of it shall come snow-storms and mighty winds. I can see the sea a-fire and the land in flames, and every living thing shall suffer death, when . . . . . the powers shall perish." Nevertheless there is to be a restoration, for the sibyl sings that a man and a woman will have survived, feeding on the dew of the morning, and becoming the parents of a new generation of men; for after the fire of Swart a scene follows which is described thus:[3] "I behold Earth rise again with its evergreen forests out of the deep; the waters fall in rapids; above hovers the eagle, that fisher of the falls. The Anses meet on Iða-plain, they talk of the mighty Earth-serpent, and remember the

[1] See Vigfusson & Powell's *Corpus*, i. 198—200, ij. 626-30.

[2] Ib. ij. 630. [3] Ib. i. 200-1; compare also ij. 628-9.

great decrees, and the ancient mysteries of Fimbul-ty (the unknown God). There shall be found in the grass wonderful golden tables [dice or draughts], their own in days of yore. The fields unsown shall yield their increase. All sorrows shall be healed. Balder shall come back. Balder and Höðr shall dwell in Woden's mansions of bliss, in the holy places of the blessed Gods. . . . . Then shall Hœni choose the rods of divination *aright*, and the sons of the Twin-brethren shall inhabit the wide world of the winds. . . . . I see a hall, brighter than the sun, shingled with gold, standing on Gem-lea. The righteous shall dwell therein, and live in bliss for ever."

This, you will observe, is poetry of no mean order, and it takes the form of a prophecy about a golden age to come; in fact, one of the sibyls is made to resume silence with an allusion to the advent of the Messiah in words to the following effect:[1]

> "Then there shall come One yet mightier,
> Though I dare not name him.
> There be but few who can see further forward
> Than the day when Woden shall meet the Wolf."

But, in my opinion, the pagan original which served as the basis of the lays of the chief sibyl was a nature myth descriptive of the conflict of the elements in winter and the re-appearance of the summer sun in the person of Balder, who is, however, accompanied by Höðr; for where the sun's light reaches, there darkness follows in its turn, bringing with it the alternation of day and night. But how, you will ask, came this Norse poetry to assume the form of prophecy? This the Irish story

[1] Vigfusson & Powell's *Corpus*, ij. 630.

helps us to understand, for the great encounter between the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Fomori was expected beforehand: of the time and place of it they were well aware, so that preparations of all kinds were made by Lug and the nobles of the Tuatha Dé Danann for a long while in advance.[1] But this feature of the story is not always reproduced by those in whose hands myths are wrought into historical narrative, as it might be found hard of explanation. From the mythic point of view it is simple enough; for once you admit that it refers to a struggle between the forces of nature which takes place annually, no mystery remains or room for prophecy, except in assigning the days of its commencement. In the Irish version this is fixed on the last day of October or the first day of November, and there is a certain amount of fitness in the Irish dates: at midsummer the Tuatha Dé Danann have a great victory over the Fir Bolg, but later, at the beginning of winter, they enter on a conflict with the Fomori, which lasts an indefinite length of time, and which is fatal to many of their chiefs, until at last Lug rushes into the battle and slays Balor of the Evil Eye, which ought to be towards the beginning of summer. The battle of Fomorian Moytura was not exclusively fought, it ought to have been explained, with ordinary weapons of war: thus, for example, the druid of the Tuatha Dé Danann engaged to bring down in the faces of the Fomori three showers of fire, and the Dagda undertook to work as many such wonders as all his colleagues put together. But to bring into relief the similarities between the Celtic and Norse myths, it is

[1] See O'Curry, p. 249; Joyce, pp. 50, 62, 84, 406.

necessary to compare them step by step, somewhat as follows:

1. The Anses resolve to bind the Fenri Wolf, of whom terrible things were prognosticated; they succeed, but at the expense of Týr's right hand.

The Tuatha Dé Danann fight with the Fir Bolg and conquer them, but at the cost of one of Nuada's hands, cut off by Sreng the champion of the Fir Bolg.

2. The sibyl's account of the array of the evil powers, with which the Wolf comes, is to the following effect:

"Swart shall come from the South with a plagueful staff of fire,
A brightness as of the sun shines from the Demon's sword;
Muspell's sons follow him . . . .
A ship shall sail from the West . . . . the Hell's brood shall come over the waves, and Loki shall steer her.
All the monster-brood shall march with the Beast,
Byleist's brother's daughter [Hell] is with their company.
They that dwell with Hell shall lay waste the world whereon men dwell.
From the East, Rym shall drive out of Giant-land,
The Rime-ogres [Titans] follow him. . . ."

The Fomori with their allies, including the scattered remnants of the Fir Bolg, as well as the forces of Lochlann or the World beneath the Waters, muster against the Tuatha Dé Danann, and form altogether an army, as the story goes, of the most hideous troops ever seen in Erinn, following as their leaders Balor of the Evil Eye, and Indech son of the Goddess of the Deep.

3. The Anses lose several of their leading men in the contest. Woden the Culture Hero is slain by the Wolf, while Týr and the hound Garm fall in mutual slaughter.

The Tuatha Dé Danann lose most of their chiefs in the battle, including their champion, Ogma the Culture

Hero, who falls killing Indech, while Nuada of the Silver Hand is killed by Balor of the Evil Eye.

4. Thor the Son of Earth slays the Dragon, walks nine paces, and dies of the venom of the Serpent.

Echaid Ollathair, called the Dagda, dies of the venom of the wound which he received in fighting with Cethlenn the hag-wife of Balor.[1]

5. Swart was disposed of we know not how, while Balder the Sun-god appears as the great figure and inaugurates a golden age.

Balor of the Evil Eye, which it was death to behold, is killed towards the end of the contest by a sling-stone cast by Lug into the Evil Eye; and Lug, after the war is over, is elected king by the Tuatha Dé Danann: he reigns prosperously for many a long year.

This last item of comparison requires a remark or two: Swart carries a fiery sword, and he may naturally be supposed to represent the dark thunder-cloud from which the bright lightning flashes forth; and this fits the case of Scandinavia, where the thunderstorms take place mostly in winter. It would not be safe to go so far as to say that the fiery sword of Swart is not represented in the case of Balor; for the latter's evil eye may be treated as the equivalent. When he wished to make use of the evil eye, the eyelid had, as in the case of Yspyđaden (p. 491), to be lifted by an attendant,[2] and when that was done, it was death to those who saw it. The same feature is dimly attested in the name of Goronwy Pevr (p. 240), in which the epithet seems to refer to a peculiar glare of his eyes. Lastly, the silence of the Norse poem as to how

[1] The *Four Masters*, A.M. 3450, note.

[2] The British Museum MS. *Harl.* 5280, fol. 69*a* (58*a*).

Swart was conquered and how Balder came back, suggests the question whether originally Balder was not made to finish the conflict by killing Swart. As it is, Balder appears on the scene in the most mysterious way; but it would not be safe to suppose that the Norse myth was exactly what the Celtic versions would suggest. In any case they come very near, for the latter mentions no feat of arms ascribed to Lleu except the crowning one of slaying Goronwy by a cast of his spear through the mass of rock behind which the latter sheltered himself. The Norse myth, by having such a passage, would both account for the disappearance of Swart and lead up to the supremacy of Balder, and that without greatly jarring with the usual treatment of the latter as one who was cared for by others, especially as the Norse myth represents his great father at the time dead. Note in passing that we appear to have a Greek equivalent in the birth of Apollo, his rapid growth, and his immediate despatch of the Pytho with the first arrow discharged from his bow. But to return to Lleu and Balder: the protection and guardianship of them by their respective fathers and friends is a very remarkable feature of both versions, carrying out the idea that the Solar Hero was the youthful son of the Culture God; and it is not without its interest to mention that, though this is usually much obscured on Irish ground, where the two characters are wont to be merged into that of the son, one of the most detailed accounts of the battle of Moytura gives distinct evidence that this treatment was the original one in Irish likewise. I allude to a British Museum manuscript,[1] which, after giving the

[1] It is *Harl.* 5280, repeatedly cited in these lectures; and the story in question is the one drawn upon by O'Curry as quoted by me at

references to Lug sundry solar touches, including among them an epithet meaning 'half crimson,' on account, as it is there explained, of Lug's colour being red from sunset till morn,[1] and after relating how he had been the chief organizer of the battle, states that the Tuatha Dé Danann resolved to keep him out of the conflict himself 'on account of his comeliness,'[2] a motive which vividly recalls the care taken of Balder by the Anses. The former carried their resolution into effect by placing Lug under a guard of nine men. When, however, the war had been dragging on for an indefinite length of time, his guard had their attention drawn away from Lug, and he gave them the slip. He then rode away in his chariot, and appeared at the head of the forces of the Tuatha Dé Danann, exhorting them to deeds of valour; but no feat is reported of him till he met Balor of the Evil Eye, when a conflict took place which quickly ended with Lug's slaying Balor. Lug addressed him as the monster of Lugaid, a term which brings into curious rapport with one another the victorious antagonist of the Sun-god in the person of Cúchulainn (p. 471), and the vanquished foe of the same divinity in the person of Lug.

p. 253 above. He says, p. 250, that he had it copied by his son in 1855; but though it is mythologically most curious, it has not yet been published, which is much to be regretted. M. d'A. de Jubainville, *Essai d'un Cat.* p. 80, assigns it to the fifteenth century.

[1] Fol. 69*b* (58*b*), *alug letsuanaigh*, which is glossed *.i. dath derc nobid fair ofuine greni comaidin*. Here *suanaigh* should probably be *sianaigh*, from *sion*, 'digitalis.'

[2] The MS. reads, 67*a* (56*a*), *aracoime*, which may be supposed to stand for *arachoime*. Taken, however, as it stands, it would perhaps be admissible to render it 'on account of their fondness (for him);' but *coime* usually means loveliness, comeliness, or the aggregate qualities which make one pleasing to others.

The results obtained by comparing the Celtic and Teutonic myths relating to the contests of the gods with the giants and the monsters, encourage one to look for comparisons somewhat further afield: so I now turn to Greek mythology, and there we find Zeus and the other dwellers of Olympus engaged in a series of conflicts, first with the Titans, then with the Giants, and lastly with the monster Typho that was a host in himself. All these antagonists of the gods are described as the offspring of earth; but at first it would seem as though the war of the giants with the gods should be merely another and needless repetition of that of the Titans with them. That is, however, not so, since not only are the two battles of Moytura required in Irish mythology, but the Welsh story of Llûd and the Norse myth have just three conflicts, as in Greek. For besides that between the Anses and the Wolf when Týr loses his hand, and the great struggle when the Anses are killed, we read of one called the first war ever engaged in by them: it was against the Wanes, who broke into the burgh of the Anses and tramped over the war-wasted field.[1] It is curious here to notice that the Wanes occupy, as regards the Anses, the same sort of position as the Fir Bolg with regard to the Tuatha Dé Danann. The sequence of the conflicts between Zeus and the unwieldy children of earth is not altogether the same, it must be admitted, as that of the Teutonic ones; but their general nature is the same; and I venture to call attention in particular to the struggle

[1] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 196, ij. 624, where a reference also is made to Freyja being given 'to the kindred of the Giants,' which would seem to challenge comparison with Branwen married to Matholwch, in the Mabinogi called after her: compare also i. 81-2.

between Zeus and Typho (p. 121), who is represented as a terrible monster born in Cilicia, and possessed of a human head, together with a hundred dragon heads and many other formidable features. He looked fire from his eyes and flames blazed forth from his many mouths; not to mention that he was formed on such a scale that he reached the stars on high. From the first he declared war against Zeus and the gods, who, when they saw him making for Olympus, fled in various brute forms to Egypt. Zeus alone kept his ground and hurled his thunderbolt at Typho, but without much effect; the monster drove him to the other side of Syria, where Zeus attacked him in close combat with his sickle; but he was taken in the coils of his multiform foe, who snatched the sickle out of his hands and with it cut out the muscles of the god's hands and feet; then he carried him on his shoulders through the sea to Cilicia in a helpless state and threw him into a cave, at the same time that he hid his muscles away in a bear's skin, which he set a dragon-maid to guard. Hermes, however, with the rural god Ægipan came and stole the tendons, which the former fitted back in Zeus's body. The god then recovering his strength and his liberty, careered forth presently from Olympus in his chariot drawn by winged chargers, and began anew to ply Typho with his lightning, which had at length the effect of reducing the monster to a scorched skin.[1]

[1] See Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* (in Westermann's *Scriptores Poeticæ Historiæ Græci*), i. 6, 3; but there is another version of the story of the tendons on record, for which see Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, i. 363—534, to the effect that Zeus in his direst need was aided by Cadmus, who, disguised as a shepherd, charmed the monster with music, and obtained

Here Typho is represented fiery like Swart in the Norse lay, and his eyes glare fire, which reminds one of Balor's evil eye in the Irish tale. Still more remarkable is the fact that Hermes, who restores to Zeus the use of his hands and feet, has a fairly exact counterpart in Dian Cecht, the skilled physician of Irish mythology, which makes him provide Nuada with a silver hand of wonderful ingenuity to replace that which he had lost in the first battle of Moytura. Thus Zeus, who is found to be represented in Irish by Nuada, and in Teutonic by Tiu, Norse Týr, is overtaken by much the same sort of misfortune as Nuada and Týr in carrying on much the same sort of struggle with the same sort of antagonists, and he gets over his misfortune with the aid of the same sort of friend as Nuada did. The conclusion seems unavoidable that the coincidence is not the result of a mere accident; nor would it be to the point for the student of Greek literature to tell us, that the story of Zeus' conflict with Typho, or at any rate the details just mentioned, are only to be found in the writings of late authors, unless he could show that those late authors were the inventors of them; for even had no scrap of Greek literature been lost to this day, which is far from being the case, there is no reason to suppose that all the ancient legends and folk-

from him the tendons of Zeus, on the pretence of his going to use them as strings for his lyre, while in reality he carefully preserved them for the god's triumph. It would take too much time here to discuss the relation between Cadmus and Hermes, or how the latter is sometimes called Cadmus and Cadmilus or Casmilus (Preller, i. 310). It is curious that the name of the alphabet hero should appear in this context just as that of Ogma, associated with writing by the Irish, should be mentioned as that of the champion of the Tuatha Dé Danann in the second battle of Moytura where Nuada fell.

lore of Hellas were ever committed to writing. Perhaps the wonder in the present case is that two Greek authors of any kind should have been found disposed to place on record a story which represented the great ruler of Olympus in a plight than which none could have been conceived as more undignified and perilous.

The Distress of the Gods and the Sun Hero's Aid.

Enough has now perhaps been said to show that the stories once current among Celts, Teutons and Greeks, about contests between the gods and their monster antagonists under their various names, all represent in their way the same primæval Aryan myth; and we may say, taking the existence of that myth for granted, that none of the stories extant among the nations alluded to reproduce it in its entirety: one gives one part, and another another, while of some parts there are several variants; not to mention that the utmost freedom of treatment may be regarded as the rule throughout. Now the garbled and incomplete versions of one branch of the family help, however, to explain the equally garbled and incomplete versions of another branch, and the comparison enables one approximately to restore the original. Let us apply this view to the story of the contest between the Olympic gods and the giants. According to Apollodorus,[1] the chief giants were Porphyrio and Alcyoneus, who was immortal so long as he fought on the earth that gave him birth. He drove away the cattle of the sun from Erythria, and it had been foretold the gods that not one of the giants could be destroyed by them, and that they could

[1] *Bibliotheca*, i. 6, 1.

only quell them if they called in the aid of a mortal. Earth was anxious to prevent this, but Zeus was beforehand with her, and the aid of Heracles was secured by Athene. Heracles then proceeded to direct his arrows at Alcyoneus, and having, at the suggestion of Athene, drawn him from where he was invincible, he slew him. The next to be killed by Heracles was Porphyrio, who, offering violence to Here, was assailed by her husband with the thunderbolt, while the other giants were attacked by the other gods; but not a single one of them could finish his antagonist without the aid of Heracles, who despatched them with his invincible arrows.

The question which this inevitably suggests is, why the gods should require the aid of a mortal, why they should not have succeeded without his alliance, and why there was a prophecy that they could not. Let us now turn to Celtic and Norse literature, and what do we there find? This, namely, that according to the interpretation of the myths in point adopted in these lectures, the sort of power wanted to give the gods victory was that of the sun, and more especially of the summer sun. Thus it is the Solar Hero Lug who ends the Fomorian battle of Moytura; and when the Anses have been killed by Swart and his allies, they only appear again after Balder has returned, and all ills are healed at his coming (p. 535). Further, we find that both Celts and Teutons regarded the Solar Hero as the son or offspring of the Culture Hero, and that there are reasons for regarding the latter, whether we call him Gwydion, Woden or Indra, as a man-god, that is to say a god who was by origin a man; by virtue of his descent from a human father, the offspring, namely the Solar Hero, would also reckon as a mortal. This explains the

story of Apollodorus, in which Heracles abides most strictly within the limits of his solar character, achieving his victory by means of his arrows, which may be taken to represent the rays of the sun. It follows, moreover, that we are confirmed in the opinion that the contests between the gods of Olympus and the Titans, between them and the giants and Typho, are all to be regarded as climatic ones, fought with the evil powers of nature as the respective seasons of the year come round. But to regard the Solar Hero or Sun-god as the offspring of the Culture Hero belongs to such a primitive way of looking at things, that it would seem to have been always liable to be effaced. In Irish literature, for instance, the two characters are most frequently treated very unequally, and with the effect in the person of Diarmait, for example, that it is impossible at times to say whether he should be regarded as the Solar or as the Culture Hero—he is so like both rolled into one. It is found to be much the same with Owein ab Urien in Welsh; but Cúchulainn, though his father is reduced nearly to a cipher, remains decidedly the Solar Hero, as might be said also of Heracles; and the similarity between the two does not end here, as will be seen presently. The father of Cúchulainn is of no importance, and no Culture Hero is placed in close relationship to Heracles in Greek, excepting Prometheus released by him from bonds, and Hermes associated with Heracles as his protector.

The converse case seems possible, where the Solar Hero is kept more or less out of sight for the greater glorification of the Culture Hero; but the Welsh instance which first suggests itself as in point proves on examination to be but doubtfully so: it is that of Pwyll in

the Mabinogi slaying Arawn's enemy for him;[1] for on the whole Pwyll is scarcely to be regarded a Sun-god in the same sense, for example, as Lug. Perhaps one might venture to treat him as a Sun-god in the sense in which the Celtic Zeus has been explained to have been solar (p. 575), or else he may be a Culture Hero. I find it hard to decide, though I am inclined to the former view. In either case it is to be noticed that Pwyll's action in slaying Arawn's foe is subjected by Arawn to a restriction which seems only capable of being accounted for on the supposition of its having originally applied only to the Solar Hero. I allude to Pwyll's being warned by Arawn not to deal the latter's enemy more than one blow, as that single blow would be fatal to him, while we are left to infer that a second blow would have marred the effect of the first. It looks as though the habit of regarding the Sun-god finishing the contest by a single effort, as in the case of Lleu and Lug, had been generalized into a rule that the Sun-god was bound never to repeat the blow, and as though that rule had then been somewhat loosely extended to others. At any rate, it would be hard to explain how any such a limitation applied in the first instance either to the Culture Hero or to the Mars-Jupiter of the Celts. On

[1] Perhaps the story of Cadmus helping Zeus might be cited here, and it may be that the case of Cadmus is to be regarded as not so unlike those of Gwydion and Woden as it might seem at first sight, for he had a grandson called Pentheus, whose name recalls weeping; so it is just possible that in Pentheus we have a dim counterpart of Balder, the god bewailed with many bitter tears. Lastly, may it not be that the term Καδμογενής, as applied to Heracles, referred, in spite of the usual explanation (Preller's *Gr. Myth.* ij. 179), to a tradition representing Heracles as son or grandson of the Culture Hero Cadmus?

the other hand, it readily applies to the case of the Sun-hero Cúchulainn, of whom we read that Labraid of the Swift Hand on the Sword had long craved Cúchulainn's aid; but that when the hero actually came, according to an old prophecy, and proceeded to deal slaughter among his friend's foes, Labraid became very anxious that he should not kill too many of them: at all events, no reason is suggested for his anxiety. The same idea is to be traced also in the story of Peredur, but in a somewhat different form: he deals the witch of Gloucester just one blow of his sword, and that suffices to quell the witch's courage, as she recognizes in Peredur a man of whom it had been prophesied that he should come and conquer her and her formidable sisters.[1] This prophecy is to be compared with the foreknowledge possessed by the Tuatha Dé Danann as to the final battle of Moytura, and the oracle which had warned the Olympic gods that they could only conquer the Giants with the aid of a mortal, who proved to be Heracles.

Thus far we have been looking to what extent Celtic and Teutonic forms of the myth elucidate the Greek versions; let us now turn round and see what light the latter may throw on the former. We may begin just where we left off, that is to say with Heracles, who was originally a θνητός or mortal, but became a god. This short and general method of distinguishing between heroes and gods, between men and the immortals, must have once been available in the like manner among both Celts and Teutons. For, as regards the latter, suffice it to mention the story of Goðmundr reigning over the

[1] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 210, 243; Guest, i. 323, 370.

Land of Immortality, in the far north (p. 457); while the former's idea of the immortality of the gods is indirectly exemplified by the length of life incidentally assigned, for instance, to the Welsh Mabon (p. 29) and to the Irish Mider (p. 145), in whose lifetime certain events occur severed by a millennium and more.[1] A very comprehensive proof offers itself in the fact that the ordinary Celtic word for a human being means, as already explained (p. 92), a *mortal*. But it happens that a remarkable expedient for giving expression to the pregnant distinction between mortals and the immortals is adopted in one Irish instance, and it has mainly to do with the Irish counterpart of Heracles, namely Cúchulainn. The latter, together with his father, belong to the court of the king of Ulster, but they differ from the king and his courtiers, and the difference is brought into relief in the following manner. The strange custom of the *couvade*, found to have existed here and there all over the world, was known in Ireland, at least in Ulster, and when the great invasion of that province took place under the leadership of Ailill and Medb, with their Fir Bolg and other forces, they found, as indeed they had intended to find, that all the adult males of the kingdom of Conchobar mac Nessa were laid up, so that none of them could stir hand or foot to defend his country against invasion, excepting Cúchulainn and his father alone. These two were, for reasons unknown to Irish literature—unless we suppose the foreign extraction of Cúchulainn, originally implied perhaps in calling him Setanta (p. 455), to be one of those reasons—free from

[1] Windisch's *Ir. Texte*, p. 131.

the weakness which periodically afflicted the rest of the Ultonian warriors, the king included; and by dint of the most marvellous feats of valour, Cúchulainn kept the whole force of the enemy at bay for some time.

You will perhaps think it a strangely Irish treatment to make the gods languish *en couvade* while mortals went free; but it must be remembered that all Irish mythology, and Welsh also, reaches us through Christian channels, which usually make the gods into men liable to die like other men. Within the pagan period there was probably no lack of distinctions believed to exist between gods and men, and the idea of the former's deathlessness, or at any rate the millennial duration of their lives, must have been one of them. But it is remarkable that what in Irish is represented as merely an indisposition and inactivity on their part, amounts in the Norse Edda to nothing less than the actual death of the Anses at the hands of the powers of evil, followed though it be by their unexplained return to life when all ills are healed at the coming of Balder. Whether we call their inactivity death or mere indisposition, there was a mythological reason for it, as we shall presently see; but that reason may be regarded as having ceased to be intelligible at an early date, long probably before any Aryan wanderer had landed in these islands. So the persistence of the myth of which the Ultonian inactivity formed an integral part, would naturally come to be interpreted sooner or later in the light of the only custom that seemed to make it intelligible, namely, that of the couvade. The explanation was, it is needless to say, a mere expedient, but rather an ingenious one, though it proves, when you come to examine it a little more

closely, to have been far from large enough. For instance, the Irish couvade (p. 363) should last only four days and five nights, a space of time out of all proportion to the interval during which the heroes of Ulster lay *hors de combat*, leaving Cúchulainn alone to face the enemy; besides, who ever heard of a couvade that included all the adult males of a whole province at one and the same time? It did well enough, however, to indicate the radical difference of nature that was supposed to exist between Cúchulainn's and that of the nobles of Ulster. Cúchulainn had inherited it from his father, who similarly differed from them before him; and this chimes in exactly with the conclusion drawn in these lectures as to Gwydion, Woden and Indra, that they were in point of origin human, and not divine. It is true that Cúchulainn's father's importance is reduced to a minimum; but so far as any distinctive character is left him, it coincides well enough with that of Gwydion and Woden: he devotes his attention to his son, who is however too strong-willed to be ruled by him, so that in the long run the father becomes the son's attendant and messenger.

The result, as regards the Solar Hero, is to prove the identity, so far as identity can be approached in such matters, of Cúchulainn with Heracles. It would take too much time to pursue this idea into the general similarity between certain of the labours of Heracles and those of Cúchulainn, and I will only call attention to one or two other points of resemblance. Thus I may observe that as Heracles was persecuted by Here the stern consort of Zeus, so the Mórrígu, or Great Queen of the Goidelic war-god, is described offended with Cúchulainn, and taking an active part against him at a

moment when he was already formidably matched; but she, like Here, fails, and appears afterwards reconciled and friendly to him (p. 471). On the other hand, you will remember that the great friend and helper of Heracles was the grey-eyed goddess Athene, daughter of Zeus: she not only aided him when he was in dire distress, but provided for his ease and comfort when he felt tired and wearied after his great efforts: for example, she wove him a splendid peplos in which to lounge when he laid aside his armour, and she would on occasion make warm springs gush forth from the ground to provide her favourite hero with a refreshing bath.[1] Now the complement of the reasoning which would identify Cúchulainn with Heracles, would make the Ultonian court a counterpart in Irish of Olympus in Greek mythology, as I have already tried to explain (pp. 136—144); so the Irish counterpart of Athene should be a daughter of the king rendering kindly service to Cúchulainn. As a matter of fact, it happens that this part of the myth has not been wholly blotted out by the blanching touch of time: at any rate, it is just possible to read it in the light of the Greek idyll. Conchobar had a passing fair daughter called Fedelm of the Nine Forms (p. 378), for she had so many fair aspects, each of which was more beautiful, as we are told, than the others; and when Cúchulainn had, at the news of the approach of the enemy from the west, advanced with his father to the frontier of the realm, he suddenly hastened away in the evening to a place of secret meeting, where he knew

[1] See Preller's *Gr. Myth*, ij. 161, 189; also his note (on the former page) on the vase inscription, 'Ηρακλέους Κόρη, 'd .i. Geliebte des Heracles.'

Fedelm to have a bath got ready for him in order to prepare him for the morrow and his first encounter with the invading army. Fedelm, according to some accounts,[1] was the mother of Erc and Acall (p. 483); nor is she usually associated with Cúchulainn; and she is so abruptly introduced into the epic tale that the passage was a puzzle, some eight hundred years ago, to the writer of the oldest text now known of it. But, treated comparatively, it becomes intelligible, and carries us back a distance of time which might almost be characterized as geological.

All that we have thus far found with regard to the contests of the gods and their allies against the powers of evil and theirs, would seem to indicate that they were originally regarded as yearly struggles. This appears to be the meaning of the foreknowledge as to the final battle of Moytura, and as to the exact date of the engagement on the Plain of Fidga in which Cúchulainn assists Labraid of the Swift Hand on the Sword, a kind of Celtic Zeus or Mars-Jupiter as the ruler of an Elysium in the other world (p. 342). It was for a similar reason that the northern sibyl could predict that, after the Anses had been slain by Swart aided by the evil brood, Balder would come to reign, when all would be healed, and the Anses would meet again in the Field of Ith. Nor can the case have been materially different with the Greek gods, as proved by the allusion to the prophecy about the issue of the war with the giants. And this was not all; for we are told that the Cretans represented Zeus as born and bred and also buried in their island, a view sometimes formerly regarded as confirming the

[1] O'Curry, p. 514.

character ascribed to them for lying; but that deserves no serious consideration, and the Cretans in their mysteries are supposed to have represented the god going through the stages of his history every year.[1] A little beyond the limits of the Greek world a similar idea assumed a still more remarkable form, namely, among the Phrygians, who are said by Plutarch to have believed their god to sleep during the winter and resume his activity during the summer. The same author also states that the Paphlagonians were of opinion that the gods were shut up in a prison during winter and let loose in summer.[2] Of these peoples, the Phrygians at least appear to have been Aryan, and related by no means distantly to the Greeks; but nothing could resemble the Irish couvade of the Ultonian heroes more closely than the notion of the Phrygian god hibernating. This in its turn is not to be severed from the drastic account of the Zeus of the Greek Olympus reduced by Typho to a sinewless mass and thrown for a time into a cave in a state of utter helplessness. Thus we seem to be directed to the north as the original home of the Aryan nations; and there are other indications to the same effect, such as Woden's gold ring Draupnir, which I have taken (p. 366) to be symbolic of the ancient eight-day week: he places it on Balder's pile, and with him it disappears for a while into the nether world, which would seem to mean the cessation for a time of the vicissitude of day and night, as happens in midwinter within the Arctic circle. This might be claimed as exclusively Icelandic, but not if one

[1] Pauly's *Real-Encycl.* (s. v. *Jupiter*), v. 597.

[2] *De Iside et Osiride* (the Didot ed.), 69.

can show traces, as I have attempted (pp. 365-75), of the same myth in Ireland. Further, a sort of complement to it is supplied by the fact that Cúchulainn the Sun Hero is made to fight several days and nights without having any sleep, which, though fixed at the wrong season of the year in the epic tale in its present form, may probably be regarded as originally referring to the sun remaining above the horizon continuously for several days in summer. Traces of the same idea betray themselves in Balder's son Forseti or the Judge, who, according to a passage in old Norse literature,[1] sits long hours at his court settling all causes in his palace of Glitnir in the skies. These points are mentioned as part of a hypothesis I have been forced to form for the interpretation of certain features of Aryan mythology; and that hypothesis, to say the least of it, will not now be considered so wild as it would have been a few years ago; for the recent researches of the students of language and ethnology have profoundly modified their views, and a few words must at this point be devoted to the change that has come over the scene.

Among the great discoveries of modern times must undoubtedly be ranked that of the fact, that Sanskrit and the more important languages of Europe are closely akin; but this discovery was accompanied by several erroneous assumptions of far-reaching influence. One was that Sanskrit, if not the mother of the other Aryan languages, was at any rate their eldest sister; and altogether the importance of Sanskrit used to be greatly exaggerated. Another of these assumptions was that all

[1] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 71; Simrock, p. 296.

the nations speaking Aryan languages were of the same race. Then we have to add to these and the like assumptions the long-standing habit of regarding all the nations of the west as of eastern origin. But within recent years the ruthless hand of critical inquiry has begun to sweep away these cobwebs, and Sanskrit, which will doubtless enjoy the reputation of always being a highly important and instructive language, has so far lost its exaggerated weight that Professor Sayce begins his Preface (dating in November, 1884) to the third edition of his 'Principles of Comparative Philology' with the following remarkable words: 'Since the publication of the second edition of my work in 1875, a revolution has taken place in the Comparative Philology of the Indo-European languages. Sanskrit has been dethroned from the high place it once occupied as the special representative of the Aryan Parent-Speech, and it has been recognized that primitive sounds and forms have, on the whole, been more faithfully preserved in the languages of Europe than in those of India.' The ethnologist, waking up likewise from the delusion which he had allowed his too impetuous brother, the student of language, to infect him with, finds that it is out of the question to suppose the various peoples speaking Aryan languages to be of the same race. It then remains that we should regard the original Aryans as having spread their language and institutions among other races by conquest, and that the various nations of the world speaking Aryan languages are not all equally Aryan in point of blood: so the question arises, what Aryan nation or nations most closely resemble the original stock of that name? It is argued with great probability, that it

is the tall, blue-eyed, fair-skinned and light-haired inhabitants of Scandinavia and parts of North Germany. It is urged that this type was dominant also among the ancient Gauls, and that it is still so in a somewhat modified form in Slavonic lands; while it can be shown to have likewise enjoyed great prestige in ancient Italy and Greece, most of the great heroes and heroines of the latter land being described in the classics as ξανθόι or golden as to the colour of their hair. According to this view, the least Aryan in race would be the Hindus; and the Sanskrit-speaking conquerors of the Land of the Five Rivers must be regarded as the Eurasians of their time; accordingly it is found that the least swarthy of their descendants in our time belong to the highest caste. Thus to regard Sanskrit as the typical Aryan speech, and the Hindu as Aryan *par excellence*, is to begin at the wrong end, much as if you treated a Bombay Eurasian as a typical representative of the English people at home. The historian also calls attention to the direction of the Asiatic conquests of Macedon and Rome, of England and Russia, to the eastward migrations of Scythians and Thracians, also of the Gauls who left their name to Galatia, and to the spread southwards of Slaves and especially of Teutons. In fact, he would substitute for the irrepressible and inexplicable tendency supposed to have been innate in the ancient Aryan, and to have left him no peace of mind till he wandered to the west, reasons of no mysterious a nature. According to him, dire necessity and the prospect of material advantages were the motives that impelled the Aryan to conquer fresh territory towards the south and the east. Lastly, Dr. Latham's argument, forgotten for a time but never refuted, is again invoked,

to the effect, that 'to deduce the Indo-Europeans of Europe from the Indo-Europeans of Asia, in ethnology, is like deriving the reptiles of Great Britain from those of Ireland in erpetology.'[1]

Thus the voice of recent research[2] is raised very decidedly in favour of Europe, though there is no complete unanimity as to the exact portion of Europe to regard as the early home of the Aryans; but the competition tends to lie between North Germany and Scandinavia, especially the south of Sweden. This last would probably do well enough as the country in which the Aryans may have consolidated and organized themselves before beginning to send forth their excess of population to conquer the other lands now possessed by nations speaking Aryan languages. Nor can one forget that all the great states of modern Europe, except that of the Sick Man, trace their history back to the conquests of the Norsemen who set out from the Scandinavian land which Jordanis[3] proudly calls *officina gentium* and *vagina nationum*. But I doubt whether the teachings of evolution may not force us to trace them still further towards the north: in any case, the mythological indications to which your attention has been called, point, if I am not mistaken, to some spot within the Arctic Circle, such, for example, as the region where Norse legend placed the Land of Immortality, somewhere in the north of Finland and the neighbourhood of

[1] Latham's *Germania of Tacitus*, Epilegomena, p. cxlij.

[2] See more especially Penka's *Origines Ariacæ*, Vienna, 1883; Schrader's *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, Jena, 1885; Wilser's *Herkunft der Deutschen*, Carlsruhe, 1885; and Penka's *Herkunft der Arier*, Vienna, 1886.

[3] *De Origine Actibusque Getarum*, ed. Holder, cap. 4 (p. 6).

the White Sea. There would, perhaps, be no difficulty in the way of supposing them to have thence in due time descended into Scandinavia, settling, among other places, at Upsala, which has all the appearance of being a most ancient site, lying as it does on a plain dotted with innumerable burial mounds of unknown antiquity. This, you will bear in mind, has to do only with the origin of the early Ayrans, and not with that of the human race generally; but it would be no fatal objection to the view here suggested, if it should be urged that the mythology of nations beside the Aryans, such as that of the Paphlagonians, in case of their not being Aryan, point likewise to the north; for it is not contended that the Aryans may be the only people of northern origin. Indeed, I may add that a theory was not long ago propounded by a distinguished French savant, to the effect that the entire human race originated on the shores of the Polar Sea at a time when the rest of the northern hemisphere was too hot to be inhabited by man. M. de Saporta,[1] for that is the learned writer's name, explains himself in clear and forcible terms; but how far his hypothesis may satisfy the other students of this fascinating subject I cannot say. It may, however, be observed in passing, that it need not disconcert even the most orthodox of men, for it supposes all races of mankind traceable to a single non-simian origin, and the Bible leaves it an open question where exactly and when the Garden of Eden flourished.

[1] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol. lvij. (1883), where pp. 81—119 are devoted to an article entitled, 'Un Essai de Synthèse paléoethnique:' see also Warren's *Paradise Found*, published at Boston in the United States in 1885.

The gods' winter indisposition, inactivity or death, which led me to make this digression, must not be confounded with their voluntary visits to the nether world. Of these we have an instance in the Ultonian cycle of Irish stories, where Conchobar, who here stands in the position of a Celtic Zeus, goes with his men, including young Cúchulainn the Sun-god, to the house of Culann the smith to be entertained for the night (p. 446). Culann is to be regarded as one of the forms of the dark divinity or Dis of the Celts, and in Greek mythology he has his counterpart in Hephæstus, excepting that, owing to the departmental narrowing of the latter's characteristics, Culann was somewhat wider; for he was not only smith, but diviner and prophet, the owner of herds and flocks, and of a Cerberus that guarded his house and chattels until it was killed by Cúchulainn. That Culann is a form of the dark divinity is favoured by the fact that his name has sometimes become synonymous with that of the devil. He is sometimes associated with the Isle of Man, where he manufactured a sword, a spear and a shield, of such transcendent excellence for Conchobar, that he was invited by him to dwell in his realm: Culann, accepting the offer, settled on the Plain of Murthemne,[1] where the story of the Táin represents him living. But that Plain was fabled to have been formerly situated beneath the sea, which reminds one of the Homeric story about Hephæstus working for nine years beneath the sea unknown to gods and men, excepting Eurynome

[1] *Trans. of the Kilkenny Arch. Soc.* for 1852-3, ij. 32-3; also the *Manx Society*, Vol. xv. 129.

[2] *Bk. of the Dun*, 60*b*, 61*a*; R. Irish Acad. (Stowe MS.) D. iv. 2, fol. 81*c*; British Museum MS. (*Harl.* 5280), fol. 20*b*.

and Thetis, who gave him shelter.[1] He had been thrown into the sea by his mother Here, who was ashamed of his ugliness: compare the drowning of Lug's brothers (p. 316), the taking of Corc into a small island outside Erinn (p. 309), and the haste with which Dylan made for the water-world (p. 307). The dark nature of Hephæstus may also be inferred from his union with such goddesses as Charis, Aglæa and Aphrodite, also Athene, the quasi-mother of Hephæstus' monster son Erichthonius. The same remark applies to his struggle with Zeus, who hurled him from Olympus, a nature myth otherwise expressed by the story of his accident with the fiery steeds of Phœbus; and we have the other side of the picture in the return of Hephæstus to Olympus with Dionysus, at the head of a following of silens and nymphs, that challenged comic treatment at the hands of poets and artists. The masterpieces of his art were, as in the case of the mob of lesser spirits associated with working in metals, not unfrequently wrought in malice and fraught with misfortune for those who accepted them. It was to the hall of Culann, then, a dark divinity corresponding to Hephæstus, that Conchobar and his court, that is to say the gods of the Ultonian cycle, resorted for a night's entertainment, which originally appears to have meant their sinking into the sea. In Norse mythology this has its counterpart in the Anses and Ansesses banqueting in the hall of the brewer of the gods. He was not one of them, but a sort of giant called Ægir.[2] The Greek

[1] *Iliad*, xviij. 394—409.

[2] Jacob Grimm, in his *Deutsche Mythologie*, suggested an etymological connection between *Ægir* and the Anglo-Saxon *Eágor*, 'sea,' and

version of the myth in question is to be seen in the flitting of the dwellers of Olympus in order to go and enjoy their hecatombs from time to time at the ever-laden table of the dark Ethiopians. According to the opening portion of the Odyssey, these mythic people, with their faces tanned by the scorching rays of the sun, inhabited the two regions of the world which were the most distant from one another: that where the sun rose in the morning and that where he descended in the evening:

> Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
> Οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος.

Such a myth requires no explanation; and possibly a veiled reference to the Table of the Ethiopians is to be detected, with an unexplained change of scene, in the story of Hephæstus limping about as cup-bearer to the gods on Olympus; but it is perhaps preferable to regard this as a mere piece of later humour, or else to compare it with the case of the Dagda acting as chef of the kitchen of Conaire the Great, or Glewlwyd Gavaelvawr discharging the duties of chief porter at Arthur's court on great occasions.[1]

It is not evident whether the myth of the imprisonment of the Celtic Zeus, as in the person of Merlin, should be reckoned with that of the inactivity or death of the gods, or else ranked with the flitting of the Olympians to feast at the Table of the Ethiopians; for in some versions of the myth the idea of imprisonment is not expressed, though it admits perhaps of being

English *Eager* as the name of the Bore in the Trent and other Anglian rivers; but modern phonologists find a difficulty in the vowels.

[1] *Bk. of the Dun*, 94; *R. B. Mab.* p. 103; Guest, ij. 254; see also p. 372 above.

dimly inferred. Take, for instance, the story of Labraid (p. 342), who from his island home ruled over a sort of martial Elysium, in which he required the aid of the Sun-god Cúchulainn against a people called the Men of Fidga. These were fabled to derive their origin from Britain,[1] which in this context means Hades (p. 90). In the next place, Labraid's wife and queen was Liban, in whom one recognizes the Lake Lady of the Merlin story (p. 156). Lastly, Labraid is not mentioned as quitting his realm to visit this world, but his wife goes and comes at will. Now the path to the region inhabited both by Labraid and the Men of Fidga led past two double-headed serpents; and when Liban fetched to her court a person destined to come back alive, she had, at the dangerous spot alluded to, specially to protect him by taking him by the shoulders.[2] This is probably the key to the story of the strange punishment selected for Pwyll's queen Rhiannon, when she was condemned to carry all visitors to the court on her shoulders from the horse-block into the hall (p. 498).[3] For the rôle of Pwyll Head of Hades is perhaps best interpreted as that of a Celtic Zeus in that world, while Rhiannon is to be regarded as a goddess with free access to both worlds.

Celtic Accounts of the Aryan Deluge.

The mythic struggles which led us away into the digression concerning origins, enable one to see to some extent

[1] See the *Bk. of Leinster*, 15*a*, where they are also called *Tuath Fidga* or *Fidba*, and said to have used poisoned weapons.

[2] Windisch, *Irische Texte*, pp. 210, 219 (§ 14, & § 34, lines 21-3); *Rev. Celt.* v. 231.

[3] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 20, 23, and Guest, iij. 63, 67-8.

how to classify the parties opposed in them: among other things, we are taught that it will not always do to take them according to their descent, since Prometheus, for example, though the son of a Titan, fights on the side of the gods; and we are further helped to distinguish the Olympic party into two groups, consisting respectively of the gods with Zeus at their head, and of the heroes who began their existence as mortals. Without attempting to pursue this question of classification further, I now wish to make some additional comparisons showing how some of the principal figures in the mythology of the Greeks and other Aryans had their counterparts in the theology of the ancient Celts. Treating Zeus as the central figure in the Hellenic pantheon, and assuming his identity with the Týr of the Norsemen and the Nuada of the Irish, let us turn our attention to Cronus, whom Zeus is represented as having superseded and expelled. Now Earth wishing to be rid of her husband Uranus or Sky, incited her sons the Titans to mutilate him, but they all hesitated except the youngest, who is characterized as ἀγκυλομήτης, or Cronus of crooked counsel. He accordingly accepted a sharp sickle from his mother and perpetrated the deed. His father Sky then cursed Cronus to suffer in his turn at the hands of his own offspring, wherefore Cronus took the strange precaution of devouring them as fast as they were born; but his wife Rhea succeeded in concealing one of them from his voracity. This was Zeus, and as soon as he grew to maturity he declared war on the Titans: proving victorious, he thrust Cronus and the other Titans into Tartarus, according to one account. Another, however, makes the dispossessed Cronus go to the Isles of the

Blessed to reign over the happy dead. He is found also associated with harvest-time and abundance, the harvest month being called in parts of Greece Κρονιών after Cronus, and there was a harvest feast called Κρόνια which was celebrated with practices recalling a fabled age of golden prosperity, labourless plenty and social equality. On the other hand, his name was usually identified, especially by comic authors, with all that was antiquated and out of date.[1] The poets sometimes call him πολιόν and πρεσβύτην θεόν, also πατέρα πρεσβύτην Κρόνον,[2] not to mention that Greek philosophers and theologians at length made of him a god of time, and that his name Κρόνος, which is of uncertain meaning, came eventually to be explained as χρόνος, time.

On the one hand, Cronus is a crafty and cruel Titan of marvellous voracity; and on the other, he is an ancient father, king of the happy departed, and a god of abundance and mature plenty. The same peculiar combination is to be traced to some extent on Celtic ground; for Llûd of the Silver Hand, the Welsh equivalent of the Irish Nuada, is represented as the youngest son of Beli the Great. The latter may, therefore, be taken to be in a sense one of our equivalents to Cronus. The name Beli appears to mean death, and to refer to the sinister aspect of his character; in Irish it is represented by that of Bile king of Spain, that is to say of Hades, and ancestor, through Mile, of the Milesian Goidels (pp. 90-1), while a related form *Balor* was restricted to what may be regarded perhaps as the same divinity with all his good

[1] Preller's *Gr. Myth.* i. 43—47.

[2] Lucian, Τὰ πρὸς Κρόνον, 5; Æschylus, *Eumenides*, 641.

attributes removed. Be that as it may, Beli and Bile were doubtless forms of the Dis of the ancient Celts; but when, for instance, the time of Beli is referred to in Welsh literature as the golden age of Brythonic independence, one is induced to think that very possibly a Celtic counterpart of Cronus or Saturn has been confounded and identified with Beli: the analogy of the cognate myths would lead us to expect to find them closely associated but scarcely amalgamated. A more complete representative, however, of Cronus on Celtic ground is to be detected in the Irish Dagda, whose name seems to mean the 'good god' (p. 154). He is an Ollathair or Great Father, like Cronus, and, like him, his character readily lent itself to comic treatment, as, for instance, in a description of his making a heavy meal of porridge, of which he was over-fond; like Cronus also, he was deprived of his house and home by his Mac Óc or Young Son, for that, and not Nuada, is the name in this connection of the counterpart of young Zeus; but the triumph of his son is made the result of a trick (p. 147), and not of a battle as in the case of Cronus. In the next place, he, duly conciliated, is said both himself to abstain, and to cause the other gods to abstain, from blighting the crops and spoiling the milk of the Milesian Irish. So here again he may be compared to Cronus, and regarded as the god to be propitiated by the farmer and the shepherd. This would naturally imply that he had power to a certain extent over the atmosphere near the earth, which is borne out by his promising that at the final battle of Moytura he would himself work as many atmospheric wonders as all the druids of the Tuatha Dé Danann put together. Thus it would seem that he was one of

the Celtic gods who had the thunderbolt, which Greek mythology tends to place at the exclusive disposal of Zeus; even Cronus' influence over the harvest and the ripening crops would seem to postulate the assigning of a certain amount of atmospheric power to him also. It is, however, not to be doubted that Cronus is left with comparatively little influence as compared with this Celtic counterpart of his, for there were, as we shall see, several others belonging to other cycles of sagas, Irish and Welsh.

Before leaving this mention of the Dagda, it is worth while pointing out his Norse equivalent, whom we seem to have in Thor. This will appear from the following summary of Thor's attributes by Vigfusson and Powell, in their *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ij. 463: "Wide is the contrast between Woden and Thunder in the lays of the earlier poets. Thor is a less complex divinity, with a well-marked and individual character; the friend of man, the husbandman's god, whose wrath and anger are ever directed against the evil powers that injure mortals and their possessions, whose bolt destroys the foul thick blights that betray the presence of the wicked ones, and smites through the huge cloud-masses that seem to be crushing the earth. Thus we see him ever associated with Earth, who bore him to Heaven ....; her proudest titles are the Mother of the Giant-killer, the Mother of the Ill-dam's foe. So also he is 'husband of Sif,' the golden-haired goddess [the Corn-field, Ceres]..... The homely features of Thor's character mark him out for humorous treatment, and the anonymous Aristophanes of the West, and Snorri himself, deal so with him. Alone of all the gods we find his image carved on stocks and stones, a long-bearded face with the hammer hung

beneath; and the hammer itself, a primitive stone-headed short-hafted instrument, is found separately as a charm. The 'Anse,' or 'the God of the country,' or 'the Mighty God' in the old carmina of oaths and vows, always refers to Thor. It is curious to notice how ill the sturdy farmer's friend suits the new Walhall. The poets get out of the difficulty by making him stay away fighting giants; his uncouth might is scarcely needed when Woden has a host of chosen warriors ever ready to defend himself and his friends." I will only add that the word *áss* or anse, as applied to Thor, has its etymological equivalent, as observed in a previous lecture (p. 61), in the name Esus of the Gaulish god, usually equipped with a long-hafted hammer and an axe or bill, with which he is sometimes represented lopping the branches of a tree. The identity is, roughly speaking, fairly certain.

Another parallel in Celtic to Cronus must now be mentioned, namely, Fergus mac Róig, whose story belongs to the Ultonian cycle, in which the place occupied in Greek theology by Zeus is held by Conchobar mac Nessa, king of Ulster. The latter's predecessor in power was Fergus, and it was briefly told in another lecture (p. 137), how Fergus was done out of his kingdom by the boy Conchobar aided by his mother Nessa, how he was beaten in the war that ensued, and how he went as an exile to the court of Medb in Connaught. There he became the father of several of Medb's numerous offspring, and he acted as one of the chief leaders of Ailill and Medb's expedition into Ulster. When they reached Ulster, the Ultonian braves were in their couvade, and the frontier was left in the charge of Cúchulainn and his father. But when at last the Ultonians career forth in their

war-chariots and pursue the western foe in his retreat, Conchobar and Fergus meet face to face in battle, and the former reminds the latter of his having driven him forth from his lands and inheritance to the haunts of the deer, the hare and the fox: we seem to be going to have a wordy description of a mighty combat; but the epic author hesitates, and the combatants are separated.[1] So he leaves unmodified the salient fact of the defeat and banishment of Fergus by Conchobar, who got possession of his kingdom by the craft of his mother. The comparison with the Mac Óc's treatment of the Dagda and Zeus's dealings with regard to Cronus is obvious, though the story of Fergus went further, in that it gave him a second lease of power in Ulster[2] and a second exile in the west, which discloses the secret of the myth as one originally referring to the alternation of day and night. One of the *gessa* or prohibitions which Fergus durst not violate was to refuse a feast offered him, which may perhaps be set over against Thor's eating three whole oxen at supper,[3] if not against the appetite of Cronus.

In a previous lecture it was suggested that Fergus was the same mythic person originally as Fergus Fairge or the Sea Fergus, and the connection with the sea, to which I wish now to call your attention, is by no means confined to this instance in the case of the counterparts of Cronus.

[1] *Bk. of Leinster*, 102*b*; O'Curry, ij. 321.

[2] According to the *Bk. of the Dun*, 22*a*, he regains only a part of his kingdom, the Plain of Murthemne, which was in Cúchulainn's charge; but two other versions published by Stokes and Windisch in their *Irische Texte*, ij. 212, restore to Fergus the kingship of Ulster without any qualification, and that is clearly the older story.

[3] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 222; but as to the *gess* of Fergus, see Stokes & Windisch, ij. 125, 129, 156, 159.

The association of Cronus with the sea is not much emphasized: one version of his story makes him sail away to the Isles of the Blessed, but another represents him wandering for a long time on sea, and at last arriving on the west coast of Italy, whence he sailed up the Tiber as far as the Janiculum, where he is said to have been kindly received by Janus who lived there.[1] For the Romans identified Cronus, and doubtless on the whole correctly, with their own Saturn. He was then believed to have taught Janus and his subjects various useful arts, such as that of shipbuilding and coining money, whence the Roman pieces with the head of Janus on one side and the ship of Saturn on the other; to which may be added the fact that the cellar beneath the latter's temple came to be the treasury of the city. Above all, Saturn was associated in many ways with agriculture: thus his name in its oldest form of *Saeturnus* appears to have referred to sowing; and the practice of manuring the ground was traced to him, whence he derived such epithets as Sterculus, Stercutus and the like. Moreover, the Saturnalia recalled his name, and the Saturnia Regna or the golden age of peace and plenty, when he was supposed to have reigned.[2] It is not easy to determine exactly the extent of the influence of Greek mythology on the Saturn legend and cult, but I see no reason to suppose that the habit of associating him either with farming or shipping was an imported one.

My object in dwelling so long on this is not to draw another parallel between Cronus or Saturn and Fergus

[1] Vergil's *Aeneid*, viii. 319-58; Ovid's *Fasti*, i. 233-43, v. 625-8.
[2] Preller's *Rom. Myth.* pp. 163, 409—415.

in his connection with the sea, as that would be impossible from the lack of data relative to the latter. It is not so, however, in the case of another mythical person, in whom we have, as I wish now to point out, a third representative of Cronus, namely, Nemed, who has been mentioned in the earlier portion of this lecture (p. 580), from which I must now repeat two or three remarks. Nemed was one of the earliest colonizers of Erinn after the flood; he and his fleet set out from the east; but for what reason they left their own country we are, I believe, nowhere told. They wandered, at any rate, so long on sea, and suffered so much from hunger and thirst, that only a mere handful landed with Nemed in Erinn. Now Nemed's Welsh namesake is, as already mentioned, Nevyd, the builder of the ship in which a man and a woman, Dwyvan and Dwyvach, were saved when the rest of the race was drowned. He it is also to whom Welsh poetry ascribes, under the kindred name of Nevwy, a sort of Noachian rôle; and he is likewise called Neivion, which has come to be treated as the Welsh for Neptune. So Nemed and Nevyd taken together fully reflect the naval touch in the story of Cronus.[1] But Cronus is represented

[1] Possibly they might be said to do more, for when one comes to examine their names they prove to be derivatives from *nem* and *nev* or *nef*, the Irish and Welsh respectively for sky or heaven, so that they appear to have described their bearers as in some way connected with the sky or heaven: in what way it would be difficult to decide. But one explanation is readily suggested by such Greek words as οὐράνιος and especially Οὐρανίδαι, which referred to the Titans as the offspring of Οὐρανός. *Nevwy* will be found in the *Black Bk.*, the *Bk. of Taliessin* and the *Red Bk.* (Skene, ij. 39, 147, 206, 301). In the third of these passages *Nevwy* is seemingly used for the Irish *Nemed*, as it is brought into close contact with *Ard-nevon*, by which was doubtless

received by Rhadamanthus in the other world, and this also has a sort of counterpart in the story about Nemed, or, to be more accurate, in a story about a Nemed; for the stories as we know them are not usually regarded as in any way connected. Now the one in point relates how Nemed married the widow of the murdered king, Conaire the Great, who has been treated (p. 135) as one of the forms of the Celtic Zeus, and how Nemed, sheltering the murderer Ingcél, was overwhelmed with him in the vengeance wreaked on them by Conaire's children, the three Cairbres. This I take to be the same Nemed as the early colonizer, differently treated in a story belonging to a different cycle; and his marrying Conaire's widow, that is to say the Dawn-goddess, makes him into a god of darkness, as does also his alliance with Ingcél; nor need it occasion any surprise that Nemed here comes before us more as the chief character instead of appearing as a new-comer befriended by the cyclops Ingcél (p. 135); for so also Cronus, received by Rhadamanthus, takes rank as judge

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meant the island of *Ard-Nemid*, or Nemed's Height, now known as the Great Island, near Cork (*Four Masters*, A. M. 2859, note): the poet's theme was Cadwallawn's return from Ireland. Difficulty attaches to *Neivion* (also *Neivon*), for the Welsh Noah is called in a *Triad*, iij. 97, Nevyd Nâv Neivion, where possibly Nevyd Nâv may be compared with the Irish *Nemed mac Nama*, which sometimes occur; but it is probably for an earlier *Nemed Nama*, where *Nama* might be regarded as of the same origin as *Nâv*. In any case, Nevyd Nâv probably meant 'N. the Lord:' compare *Vortigern*, interpreted to mean a supreme lord (p. 154). *Neivion* is derived from *Nâv*, and forms a sort of reduplication of it to be compared with *March Meirchion* and the like (p. 271); but *Neivion* is also used alone as the Welsh for Neptune; and in the passage from the *Bk. of Taliessin* translated at p. 258 above, it would seem to have meant 'the Lord,' in reference to the Christ of the line immediately following.

above the latter.[1] Irish mythography treats Nemed's colonization of Ireland as only the second after the deluge, the first one being that of Partholon of unexplained name; but, as already suggested, there is every reason to regard his story and that of Nemed as very similar to one another, and to treat what is said of the one as mostly applying in a sense to the other likewise. Now in the case of Partholon the reason is given why he left his own land, and why his people died out in Ireland: it was because he had killed his own father.[2] This is undoubtedly an Irish version of Cronus mutilating his father Uranus, and of his having later to wander on the high seas. In the course of these remarks I have set over against Cronus and Saturn no less than four Irish personages, the Dagda, Fergus, Nemed and Partholon, while on the Welsh side allusion has been made chiefly to Nevyđ, to whom should be added Vortigern driven out of his realm by the boy Merlin Ambrosius. Both of these characters (pp. 151-5) history misled has been, as already explained, in the habit of claiming as her own.

These remarks would lack completeness without some further reference to the representatives of Cronus and Saturn in Aryan theologies other than Celtic: Thor has already been brought into the comparison, though nothing was said of him in relation to the sea. Perhaps you

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[1] Preller's *Gr. Myth.* i. 671.

[2] See Keating, pp. 68-9, where, it is right to explain, the historian says that Partholon had killed both his parents, namely, in an attempt to wrest the kingdom from his brother. The source whence Keating took the story is unknown to me, so I cannot say how far the historicizing of the myth is of his own doing.

may think that there is good reason for the silence, that, in fact, he had nothing to do with the sea. But this would not be quite right, for he is described going forth on a memorable occasion in a boat to fish, and one of the names applied to him was *kióla valdi*, keel-wielder or master of the ship,[1] not to mention that he was invoked in perils at sea, and that one of the colonizers of Iceland is represented consulting Thor's oracle as to the spot where he should land and settle.[2] Thor, however, was not the only Teutonic counterpart of Cronus; for, as was pointed out on another occasion, Zeus has his counterpart not only in Týr, but also probably in the Swedish Frey, or the 'Lord;' and so Frey's father would have as much right, to say the least of it, to be set over against Cronus and the Dagda as Thor. This is borne out by what Norse literature says of Niörðr, for that was his name. Thus Niörðr, who was himself one of the Wanes and not of the Anses, was the father of Frey, who is called the best among the Anses,[3] just as Cronus the Titan was the father of Zeus the god. Niörðr came among the Anses as the hostage of the Wanes, and in the Doom of the Age he was to return to them;[4] but the Wanes were the enemies of the Anses, and they made the first war on them when they broke into the Anses' burgh. The Doom of the Age means the final contest and overthrow of the Anses by Swart and his allies, so that indirectly the latter are identified in a manner with the Wanes, who in any case take

[1] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 222.

[2] See Vigfusson & Powell's *Corpus*, i. 412, where they quote from the *Landnáma Bók* a passage which will be found at pp. 148-9 (iij. 14, 15) of the first volume of their Icelandic Origins.

[3] Ib. i. 106.

[4] Ib. i. 66.

up a position in Norse mythology analogous to that of the Titans in Greek and of the Fir Bolg in Irish: it follows that the presence of Niörðr for a time among the Anses, and his finally taking sides with the Wanes in their war against the Anses, may be compared with the Titan Cronus ruling over the gods until he and the other Titans were utterly routed. So much of the darker side of Niörðr's character; and as to his connection with the sea, an Aristophanic touch in one of the Eddic poems[1] identifies him with it. Further, a fragment of a lost poem[2] describes a difficulty between Niörðr and his consort Skadi, who as a great huntress was fond of the rocks and the mountains, while her husband loved the sea. As regards Niörðr's attitude towards man, both he and Frey were held to be the givers of wealth,[3] and the father is referred to in terms that would have applied equally to Thor, as the guileless helper of man;[4] and he was invoked at sea as the ruler of the wind and the waves. The order of the toasts at the public festivals was that the first should be drunk to Woden: next came Niörðr's toast and Frey's for good seasons and peace.[5] Lastly, with regard to Niörðr's cult, he is represented as ruling over countless temples and high places;[6] and at Noatún, where he had built him a hall, he has a high-timbered altar-place.[7]

Let us now turn to the Vedic pantheon of the ancient Hindus, and see what great figure there takes up a posi-

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[1] The *Loka-senna*: see the *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 106.

[2] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 126; see also Simrock, p. 293.

[3] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 274. [4] Ib. i. 71; Simrock, p. 293.

[5] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 404. [6] Ib. i. 66. [7] Ib. i. 71.

tion like that of Cronus and his counterparts in the theologies of the Western Aryans. One soon lights on Yama as showing a certain similarity to the character we are in quest of. His name, according to Vedic scholars, means 'a twin;'[1] he is represented as the first man, and his sister and wife[2] Yamî as the first woman. This double relationship reminds one of a reproach made by Loki to the Norse Niörðr.[3] Now Yama as the first man was the first of the dead,[4] so he functions as their lord and king; but he is not satisfied with the number of the subjects he has. He is accordingly described actively engaged in adding to their number; so he is not only king of the dead, but also death.[5] He is sometimes represented as personally fetching the dead or making himself the ψυχοπομπός.[6] He had, however, two terrible hounds, described as guardians of the road to him,[7] and sometimes as his messengers wandering forth among men in quest of those about to die.[8] The way to Yama's home was long, and a canoe to cross a river is mentioned.[9] He is said in the Rig-Veda to have crossed the rapid waters, to have shown the way to many, and to have first known the path taken by the fathers in crossing subsequently.[10] The protecting aid also of a

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[1] B. & Roth's *Dict.* s. v. *Yama.*

[2] Bergaigne's *Religion Védique*, i. 90 (*Rig-Veda*, x. 10, 3).

[3] *Carmina Poet. Bor.* i. 106.

[4] Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben* (Berlin, 1879), p. 421.

[5] Bergaigne, i. 85, 90-2; Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*, p. 422 (*R. Ved.* ix. 113, 8, x. 14, 1, x. 165, 4).

[6] Bergaigne, ibid. [7] Ib. i. 93 (*R. Ved.* x. 14, 10-12).

[8] Zimmer, p. 422 (*R. Ved.* ibid.). [9] Ib. p. 409 (*R. Ved.* x. 63, 10).

[10] Max Müller's *Lectures*[8], ij. 563 (*R. Ved.* x. 14, 1 & 2).

god called Pûshan is sometimes described as requisite:[1] in what relation the latter stood to Yama does not very clearly appear, but at any rate there was no guide like him, as he was familiar with all ways and paths, including that which the dead had to pursue. He was besides the guardian of the flock and the augmentor of wealth, and in his love for his sister Sûryâ, the Sun, he stood on the level of Yama. But then he was an ancient god who had lost his teeth, and therefore lived, like the Dagda, on porridge or pap, and used, like Thor, to be drawn by goats when he chose to drive forth in his glory.[2] To come back to the dead, their destination was the abode of Yama, which is called the house of the gods and Hades:[3] it was far aloft in a remote quarter of the three-storied heaven[4] of which fancy made this nether world the under structure. There in that heaven of his, Yama sits drinking with the gods under a widely spreading tree with large leaves, and there he welcomes the fathers of the human race to share the delights of a land whose every brook runs with honey, whose heavenly cows, that kick not, offer their milk of their own accord, whose pleasures lack nought of the delights of the harem, and whose dwellers never suffer from old age or decay.[5] In the like manner, Zend literature makes Yima, the Zend namesake of Yama, inaugurate a golden age during which the human race enjoyed itself in his spacious paradise in immunity from death, until Yima by lying lost his majesty, and with it his dominion, which, together with Yima's life, was taken

[1] Zimmer, p. 409.

[2] B. & Roth's *Dict.* s.v. *Pûshan* (*R. Ved.* x. 17, 3-4, x. 17, 6).

[3] Zimmer, p. 410 (*R. Ved.* i. 35, 6, x. 135, 7).

[4] Bergaigne, i. 85; Zimmer, p. 409. [5] Zimmer, pp. 410-13.

by the dragon Dahâka.[1] The end of Yima recalls Adam as the first of men and lord of the Garden of Eden till he was expelled, owing to the wiles of the serpent, and became subject to death. What may be the exact relationship between the two stories is a question which does not concern the present subject; but they prove beyond a doubt that Hebrew and Persian ideas must have, some time or other, come in contact with one another. All this, however, leaves us in considerable uncertainty as to the relative positions of Pûshan and Yama; but the former as the world's herdsman who never loses a beast[2] may be compared with Yspyđaden's shepherd (p. 488), and perhaps with the Norse god Heimdal, while Yama is left us to compare with Cronus and the Dagda. At any rate, Yama's being considered the first man to have died cannot be reckoned as radically distinguishing him from the other dark gods. For the model on which they were, one and all, fashioned in the first instance by fear and fancy was probably that of the dead ancestor, as the nature of the sacrifices with which different nations have been wont to propitiate them would seem to indicate.

Having touched on Yama, there are reasons, as will appear later, why I should say a little more about him, so I begin with the habit which Sanskrit mythology has of associating,[3] not to say confounding, Yama and

[1] Justi's *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, s. v. *Yima*.

[2] See the *Rig-Veda*, x. 17, 3, where Ludwig has *Veh*, though Grassmann preferred *ein Reich*: the original is anashṭapaçur, which P. & Roth render—*der von seiner Heerde nichts verliert*.

[3] See Max Müller's *Lectures*[2], ij. 561, where he quotes the *Rig-Veda*, x. 14, 7.

Varuṇa with one another. This implies locating both Yama and Varuṇa in the skies, and it involves at least two distinct questions. One is that of the use in Sanskrit literature of the name Varuṇa as that of a great god, instead of letting it sink into comparative disrepute like Uranus. This has been touched upon before (p. 181), and the case was put from a Western Aryan's point of view, as though Varuṇa had exchanged places with Dyaus, the counterpart, etymologically speaking, of Zeus and Týr. Neither Dyaus, however, nor Varuṇa is out of place in the skies; but how comes Yama to be there? how comes the ruler of the dead and his subjects to be aloft, and not in some region below? That is the other question I had in view; but I have no answer except that cremation would seem naturally to point upwards, and especially the idea that the dead vanished aloft with the flames of the funeral pile.[1] Possibly one ought not to leave altogether out of the reckoning the sultriness of Indian climate, which makes the dweller on the plain sigh for the hills, and the English official migrate, if he can, to their breezier heights every year as the hot season sets in. Perhaps it was also partly an idea derived from some non-Aryan race with which the Aryan conqueror of India came into close contact. But whatever the reason may have been, there is no denying the fact that the aristocratic authors of the hymns of the Rig-Veda set their faces against the idea of going below after death. Sanskrit scholars tell us that, some time or other after the Vedic period, Yama came to be regarded as lord

[1] This would seem to be M. Bergaigne's view, i. 78-9.

and king of the dead in the nether world.[1] This may be true in the limited sense that the idea of Yama reigning over the dead in the nether world finds no explicit expression in the Rig-Veda; but to convince a student of Aryan mythology as a whole, that such an idea only grew up in India posterior to the Vedic times, would, it seems to me, be out of the question; nor, in fact, did the authors of the Rig succeed in keeping it wholly out of their hymns. Thus one of them, speaking of inhumation, says that the tomb should drip with butter, in other words, that it should be well supplied with the proper food for the dead; and another breathes a prayer to Yama that he and the Pitaras or ancestors might be pleased to make the dwelling of the dead in the tomb steadfast.[2] These are traces of a belief which probably obtained among the people at the time when the Vedic priests looked forward to an Elysium on high, whither the smoke of the funeral pile wafted the deceased, with the aid of the fire-god Agni, who was the natural ψυχοπομπός of this system. Hence it followed that the sun was considered one of the principal abodes of the dead, and that Agni, supposed to descend from heaven and to take mankind away, came to be regarded as intimately connected with the origin of the human race.[3] The incompatibility of the two views is placed in very clear light in connection with the question, whither those Pitaras had

[1] B. & Roth's *Sansk. Dict.* s. v. *Yama*: 'Die nachvedische Zeit sieht in ihm den Beherrscher der Todten in der Unterwelt und fasst seinen Namen als *Bändiger*.'

[2] Darmesteter, i. 77, 91 (*R. Ved.* x. 18, 10-13).

[3] Ib. i. 82-3 (*R. Ved.* i. 109, 7, i. 125, 6, x. 107, 2).

gone who had not been cremated but buried in the earth. According to one account, they had gone aloft, but according to another, that could not be.[1] So even the hymns of the Rig-Veda may be taken as indirectly proving in a variety of ways, that Yama did not originally dwell on high, though the view predominant in them, and mainly representative of the cremation period, transports him to the neighbourhood of Varuṇa. Before closing these remarks on Yama, I would revert for a moment to his double character of one of the dead, namely, their king, and of one actively engaged in adding to their number, whereby he assumes the part of Death—an association of ideas not unfamiliar to the Celts (p. 567), as, for example, when the Bretons give Death as one of his names that of *ar Marô*, which literally means the Dead One. It is this double rôle of King of a Golden Age and of grim Death, that is to be regarded as the key to the incompatible attributes of Beli, of Fergus as the friend of Cúchulainn and the ally of Ailill with his Fir Bolg, of Niörðr as a benignant god and as a Wane hostile to the Anses, and of Cronus as ruler of the Happy Isles and as a cruel Titan of revolting voracity.

Sanskrit mythology is not content with one origin of the human race, for besides Yama and other offspring, Vivasvant, their father, had a son called Manu. He was the mythic legislator of the Hindus, and his name signifies Man: how he was the ancestor of men is explained by the story of a deluge occurring in his days. This was predicted to him by a fish[2] whose life he spared on

[1] Bergaigne, i. 78-9, 83-4 (*Rig-Veda*, ix. 83, 1, x. 15, 14).

[2] With this prescient fish should perhaps be compared the Irish Salmon of Knowledge (p. 554); but Manu was warned about the

its being accidentally brought to him one morning in the water with which he was to wash. The fish advised Manu to build him an ark; and when he entered it, at the coming of the deluge, the fish undertook to guide the ark to the place where it was to remain until the waters subsided. When at length Manu was able to leave the ark, he meditated and sacrificed to the waters, pouring into them libations of clarified butter, milk, whey and curds, until at the end of a year's time there came forth a lovely maiden, emerging from the midst of the libations, with which she was all dripping. She told Manu that she was his daughter, for he, she said, had brought her into being by his prayers and sacrifices of clarified butter, milk, whey and curds, which he had thrown into the waters. She was called Iḍâ; she became Manu's wife and bore him children.[1] Manu, though reckoned among divine beings, figures in Sanskrit as man *par excellence*, and he was regarded as the father of men;[2] while in Greek the literal namesake of Manu-s was Μίνω-ς. Now Minos was the mythic ruler and legislator of ancient Crete:

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deluge as a reward for his kindness to the fish, which reminds one of Welsh stories about stranded mermaids on being helped to the sea warning the fishermen who show kindness to them of the coming of storms, or else leaving their captors a piece of homely and useful advice: see the *Cymmrodor*, v. 119-20, and the story of Tibal in the *Kilkenny Arch. Society's Journal* for 1852-3, p. 32; *Manx Soc.* xv. 129. Compare also Norse stories to much the same effect about captured mermen, and see, for example, Vigfusson & Powell's *Corpus*, ij. 359; also their *Icelandic Origins*, i. 54 (ij. 5, 2), and the legend of Half in Rafn's *Fornaldar Sögur*, ij. 31-3. It is needless to relate the story of Proteus caught by Menelaus: see the *Odyssey*, iv. 382 & seq.

[1] Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (London, 1860), pp. 425-27 (Çatapathabrâhmaṇa, i. 8. 1, 1).

[2] B. & Roth's *Dict.* s. v. *Manu*.

he was a potentate of great power, acquired by means of his fleet; but though Greek mythology has several deluges to speak of, it does not associate any of them with Minos; it does, however, with Deucalion, who, according to some accounts, was son of Minos. For Zeus is said to have become so enraged with the human race that he determined to sweep it off the face of the earth. So Deucalion was warned by Prometheus, whose son he is sometimes called—hence it is that some take two Deucalions for granted—and counselled him to prepare himself by building him an ark. Deucalion did as he had been advised, and he became the father of a son Hellen, the eponymus of the Hellenic people.[1] On the other hand, the story of Iḍâ has an unmistakable counterpart in Greek literature in that of the foam-born Aphrodite; and from the Hindu version, together with the fate of the Norse Hymi (p. 115), one may conclude that the churning of the ocean which resulted from the mutilation of Uranus and ended with the evolution of Aphrodite, was part and parcel of the mythic event which Celts, Teutons and Hindus regarded as a deluge, that which one may briefly term the Aryan flood. Nay, it is by no means improbable that it is the part ascribed to Minos in a lost Greek story about that deluge, such as his making an ark, entering it and wandering in it on the face of the deep till it moored itself in Crete, that formed the basis of the euhemeristic account of him as a great naval potentate. Lastly, as Cronus was sometimes associated with Rhadamanthus and the departed, so was Minos even more; for the double aspect of the powers of the other

[1] Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, i. 7. 1, iii. 1. 1.

world is reflected in his story: Minos was not only reckoned brother to Rhadamanthus, but he became himself a judge of the dead, an office in which he enjoyed a reputation for the most complete impartiality, whereas he was regarded during his life in this world as the cruel tyrant who exacted from Athens a tribute of boys and girls to be devoured underground by the Minotaur, a monster with a human body and a bovine head. With this Cretan Fomor compare the horse-headed Morc, or March, and his Fomorian fleets, with their head-quarters on Tory Island, exacting from the men of Erinn a tribute consisting, besides other grievous exactions, of two-thirds of their children every year as the Winter Calends came round (p. 584). The story of Cúchulainn slaying the three Fomori who came on November-eve to carry away the King of the Isles' daughter (p. 464), reduces the tribute to a single person, and forms a connecting link between the Celtic idea of Fomorian demons and the dragon of the stories of our childhood.

Let us now take the words *Manu-s* and Μίνω-ς as our clue and see if we can identify any others here in point. First may be mentioned Manes or Manis, said to have been the name of an ancestral king of the Phrygians;[1] but the connection remains doubtful, and one is safer under the guidance of Tacitus in the *Germania*, where he mentions *Mannus* as the ancestor of the ancient Germans, and as the son of Teuto or Tuisco. We are not told whether he was reckoned a giant or a god; but the position given him in the pedigree hardly suggests that he was regarded as a mere man; while he who

[1] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, xxiv.; Fick[3], i. 166.

escaped the deluge, occasioned by the mutilation of the cosmic person of Hymi in the Norse story (p. 115), is named Ber-gelmir and called a wise giant,[1] which excludes him from being one of the Anses, just as Cronus and his brothers were Titans, and not of the number of the gods strictly so-called. It is not said, however, that he saved the human race in his ark; but that the original story was to that effect, may be inferred from the cognate ones in Greek and in Welsh. In the latter the name found given to the rescuer of the human race is Nevyđ; but the one we are now seeking should be the etymological counterpart of the Greek and Sanskrit forms serving as our clue, and traces of it offer themselves in the Welsh Manawyđan and the Irish Manannán. Now the latter is fabled to have been the name of the first king of the Isle of Man, whence that appellation has sometimes been assumed to be derived. But this is an error, and it inverts the relation of the names; for the matter is not as simple as it looks. It comes briefly to this: Manannán gave his original name, in a form corresponding to *Manu* and its congeners, to the island, making it Manavia Insula or Μινώϊα Νῆσος, as it were, for which we have in Welsh and Irish respectively *Manaw* and *Manann*.[2] Then from these names of the island the god

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[1] *Corpus Poet. Bor.* i. 66.

[2] *Manann* (also written *Manand*) is the genitive, but it is also used as the nominative, which should have been *Manu*: compare the case of *Danann*, p. 89. But a dative *Mane* implies another nominative, which Stokes (*Celtic Declension*, p. 18) doubtfully reads *Manavia* for Pliny's *Monapia*, while *Manu*, *Manann*, should stand for an earlier *Manavju*, *Manavjonos*. Welsh seems likewise to have had two forms of the name: we have one in the attested *Manaw* for an early *Manavis* or

derives his, in its attested forms of Manawyđan and Manannán, which would seem to mark an epoch when he had become famous in connection with the Isle of Man. The name Manaw or Manann, however, was not confined to the island, as it is found fixed also in the neighbourhood of the Forth, where it survives in Clack*mannan* on the north and in Sla*mannan* Moor on the south of that river.[1] As to Manannán's attributes, no story is known to associate him with the deluge; but he was regarded as a god of the sea, and we read of him in Cormac's Glossary,[2] as follows: "Manannan mac Lir, a celebrated merchant who was in the Isle of Mann. He was the best pilot that was in the west of Europe. He used to know by studying the heavens [i.e. using the sky], the period which would be the fine weather and the bad weather, and when each of these two times would change. Inde Scoti et Brittones eum deum vocaverunt maris, et inde filium maris esse dixerunt, i.e. *mac lir*, 'son of sea.' Et de nomine Manannan the Isle of Mann dictus est." To this euhemeristic account of the god, O'Donovan has added the following note: "He was son of Allot, one of the Tuatha Dé Danann chieftains. He was otherwise called Orbsen, whence Loch Orbsen now Lough Corrib. He is still vividly rememberd in the mountainous district of Derry and Donegal, and is said to have an enchanted castle in Lough Foyle. According to the traditions in the Isle of Man and the Eastern counties of Leinster this first man of Man rolled on three legs like a wheel

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Manavya; and Manawyđan testifies to a longer one, Manawyđ, for an early *Manaviya*.

[1] *Celtic Britain*, p. 154. [2] The Stokes-O'Donovan ed. p. 114.

through the mist." But in Irish literature he figures mostly as the chief of the fairies in the Land of Promise (p. 355). Of course his character was as self-contradictory as that of Cronus, for he appears mostly as the tricky druid of the other world; but, on the other hand, things were so managed at his court that no one's food there would get cooked if, while it was on the fire, one told a story which was untrue;[1] and it is to Manannán we are perhaps to ascribe the banishment of three men from fairy-land to the Irish court of Tara: they were, we are told, to remain there for the space of three reigns as a punishment for lying or acting unjustly.[2] In the Welsh Mabinogi, bearing the name of Manannán's counterpart Manawyđan, the latter is not much associated with the sea, excepting perhaps his sojourn with Brân's Head in the lonely island of Gresholm (p. 96). It makes him, however, take to agriculture, especially the growing of wheat,[3] which reminds one of Saturn. He is also called one of the three Golden Cordwainers of Britain, owing to his having engaged successively in the making of saddles, shields and shoes, and taught it to Pryderi, son of Pwyll Head of Hades.[4] This may perhaps be set over against

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[1] *Kilkenny Soc.* 1852-3, pp. 32-4; *Manx Soc.* xv. 134.

[2] See the story of *Bruden da Derga* in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 96*a*, *b*.

[3] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 52-3; Guest, iij. 175.

[4] *R. B. Mab.* 47-9, 52; Guest, iij. 167-9, 174; *Triads*, i. 77 = ij. 58. The first of the Mabinogion passages referred to contains a mythic account of the origin of the Celtic art of enamelling, for some references to which, see Elton's *Origins of English History*, p. 305. The great place given to certain of the useful arts in the Mabinogi of Manawyđan is in some degree due perhaps to a false etymology associating with his name the Welsh for an awl, which is *mynawyd* (Breton *ménaoued*,

Saturn instructing Janus in the arts of building ships and coining money.[1] The sinister aspect of Manannán is scarcely reflected by Manawyđan, who is represented as gentle, scrupulously just, and always a peacemaker; neither is he described as a magician; but he is made to baffle utterly one of the greatest wizards known to Welsh literature.[2] His connection with the other world is to be inferred, among other things, from his marked attachment to his brother Brân,[3] the terrene god mentioned in the first lecture (p. 94). Further Manawyđan, like Cronus vagrant, figures as one of the three landless monarchs of Britain.[4] This description only ceases to be altogether applicable to him when, late in life, he becomes the husband of Rhiannon, widow of Pwyll Head of Hades, and accepts as his own a district in the territory of Pwyll's son and successor Pryderi. How he came to be without land and without power is partially explained in the Mabinogion: while Manawyđan was away with his brother Brân, possession was taken of the throne of this country by their kinsman Caswallawn son of Beli (p. 153). For Caswallawn had put on a magic tartan that made him all invisible except the sword with which

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mod. Irish *meanadh*). So one sometimes finds him called *Manawyt* (with a *t* not standing for đ), as in the Bks. of Aneurin and Taliessin: see Skene, ij. 63 and 155, in the latter of which Manawyt and Pryderi are associated with Caer Sidi (p. 249).

[1] Preller's *Röm. Myth*[2]. p. 411.

[2] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 53-8; Guest, iij. 175-84.

[3] He appears very sparingly in Irish as Manannán's brother: he is called 'Bron, the son of Allott, and brother of Mananann [sic] mac Lir, by Brash, who, p. 210, cites the manuscript *Bk. of Lecain*.

[4] *R. B. Mab.* p. 44; Guest, iij. 163; *Triads*, i. 14 = ij. 35 = iij. 38.

he cut down all resistance to his rule.[1] This garb of invisibility has its counterpart in the invisible cloak sometimes ascribed to Aengus, perhaps also in his portable glass bower, and even in the pellucid walls of Merlin's prison. So Caswallawn clad in the invisibility of his magic, is the Celtic Zeus surrounded with unapproachable brilliance driving away his enemies, among whom we here find Manawyđan.

What the enchanted palace of Manannán in Lough Foyle may have resembled, I have nowhere read; but the strangest thing said of Manawyđan is, that it was he that caused to be built the Stronghold of Oeth and Annoeth. This is described as a huge prison-house of the shape of a bee-hive, nor was it seemingly much less elaborate in its numerous compartments both above and below the ground. The walls of the dismal edifice consisted wholly of human bones built with mortar. The euhemerist,[2] however, explains it to have been meant for prisoners taken in war and for malefactors, the cells under-ground being specially reserved for those guilty of treason against the state; but we read nothing of the kind in the Mabinogion, where Glewlwyd Gavaelvawr boasts of his having been there; and the Triads only tell us that Arthur was once incarcerated

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[1] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 41, 44; Guest, iij. 126, 162-3; see also p. 153 of this volume, where Caswallawn should not have been called a solar hero without some qualification; for he seems to combine inseparably the attributes of a Celtic sun hero with those of a Celtic Zeus.

[2] I mean the author, in the *Iolo MSS.* pp. 187, 599, of the only account I know of the Prison of Oeth, &c.; however mistaken he was in his views, the tract is valuable and curious. See also the *Gorugiau Triplets* in the same volume, pp. 263, 668.

there for three nights, when he found in a youth named Goreu a Theseus to liberate him.[1] One cannot, it seems to me, help seeing, in Manawyđan's ghastly bone-prison the Welsh counterpart of the ill-famed labyrinth made in Crete in the reign of Minos, and used for the reception of the boys and girls destined by him for the death-monster abiding in its recesses.

You will have observed that it is very hard to keep the Celtic congeners of Cronus and Minos from encroaching on one another. Greek analogy, however, helps us a little: thus, as compared with Nemed, Partholon, who slew his own parents, is more exactly Cronus than the former could be said to be. On the other hand, both Nevyđ and Manawyđan are comparable to both Cronus and Minos. Perhaps one or even both of these two last names originally belonged to the god or demon of darkness and the other world, whither Cronus, driven from Olympus, retired to reign. At any rate, it is probable that the struggle between him and Zeus, though raised to the dignity of an article of the theogonic faith of the Greeks, was in its origin a nature myth representing the commonplace contest between darkness and light, as in the case of Fergus and Conchobar.

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[1] *R. B. Mab.* pp. 104, 306; Guest, ij. 256; *Triads*, i. 50 = ij. 49. The earliest reference to Oeth and Annoeth is one in the Stanzas of the Graves in the *Black Bk. of Carmarthen* (Skene, ij. 31), where the Household of Oeth and Annoeth are ascribed 'the long graves in Gwanas.' But the passage raises a number of questions which cannot be discussed here; suffice it to say that its Gwanas ought to be somewhere in Gower, a far more likely locality also for the Prison of Oeth than where the *Iolo MSS.* fix it, in the neighbourhood of Margam in the same county of Glamorgan.

The earliest Creed of the Celts inferred.

When the Aryan languages in use or on record had been for some time subjected to a comparative study as to vocabulary and word-building, a glottologist was now and then found to try the experiment of putting a short fable or a simple story back into the Aryan parent speech inferred, and we might at this point essay something analogous on the mythology of the early Celts of pre-historic times. The object is to enable you roughly to realize what sort of a mosaic the bits I have handled in these lectures would make, when restored to their proper places with regard to one another and the whole design. It is needless to say that the difficulty is great, both on account of the later materials mixed up with the original pieces, and of the lacunæ left by the original ones which are still missing; so we have to shift as best we can by comparing and by borrowing from cognate sources. But in other respects the aid to be derived from without is not so considerable as might be expected; for, though Aryan mythology started well with the identification of the Zeus of the Greeks with his congeners in the myths of the other Aryan nations, it can hardly be said to have as yet advanced very much further; its attention has of late been a good deal given to the important matter of improving the methods adopted, and of giving the instruments used more precision. So the summary I am now going to give you is to be taken strictly for what it is, a mere guess:—

In the beginning Earth and Heaven were great world-giants, and they were the parents of a numerous offspring; but the Heaven in those days lay upon the Earth, and

their children crowded between them were unhappy and without light, as was also their mother. So she and they took counsel together against Heaven, and one of his sons, who was bolder than the others, undertook shamefully to mutilate Heaven; nay, he and his brothers stayed not their hands till they had cut the world-giant their father into many pieces. Out of his skull they made the firmament, and the spilling of the blood of his body caused a great flood, which, as it settled in the hollows of the earth, made up the sea.

Some of the children of Earth and Heaven were born bright beings or gods, who mostly loved the light and the upper air; and some were Giants or Titans, who were of a darker and gloomier hue. These latter hated the gods, and the gods hated them. The daring son of Earth who began the mutilation of the world-giant was one of the Titans, and he became their king; but the gods did not wish him to rule over them and their abode, so he was driven from his throne by his youngest son, who was born a god. The king, beaten in battle, sailed away to other parts of his realm; and after much wandering on the sea, he was at last received in the country of the happy departed, whence he was afterwards thought to bless the farmer's toil and to help man in other ways.

When the great flood caused by the mangling of the world-giant took place, all men were drowned save a single pair saved in a ship. He who made and owned the ship was not a man, nor did the gods own him as one of them; but he was a Giant or Titan who was kindly disposed towards the race; and when he had safely landed them where they were to dwell, he went away to the same place as the dethroned king. For he was of his

kith and kin, unless perhaps those are to be followed who thought the two were but one and the same person, and that person no other than the ruler of the departed himself, the god of all beginning and all end. Viewed through the medium of the latter, he appeared to be the demon of darkness and horror and death, ever busily adding to the number of his victims; but through the former he was seen to be the first father and great parent of all; so it was ever a matter of piety to reckon darkness before light, the night before the day, and winter before summer.

The new king of the gods was of a passing brilliant nature; so they called him Bright and Day and Father Sky. He was a mighty warrior; but he had terrible foes, who forced him to take part in many a fearful struggle. When he fought in summer he always triumphed, but he fared ill in the winter conflicts. On one occasion he was badly wounded, and would never have recovered his former strength and form but for the timely aid of a man who was a cunning leech; and on another he and the other gods would have been hard beset had they not taken care to secure the help of the Sun-hero. This last was not a god, but the youthful son of a mortal. There was, however, no spearman anywhere to equal him, and his father was so wise and crafty that he had forced the gods to treat mankind far better than they had before been wont to do. For the good things bestowed on man were often begrudged by the gods, and most of all by the owners of the wealth of the nether world and the land of the happy dead. They hated this mortal, so kind to his race, and made him suffer untold pain and torture; but he always suc-

ceeded in the end in all that he set his mind on achieving, as when, for example, he cheated them of the dog that was to be the hunter's friend and servant; also of the other animals he stole from them as likely to be of use to his kindred. It was from the same nether country that he likewise obtained by craft and falsehood the strong drink that was to cheer man, to give him the dreams of poets and the visions of prophets. These and other boons, too many to name one by one, made him very famous and beloved, more so in some lands than even the king of the gods himself.

Thus far the summary of the creed of the earliest Celts: if approximately correct, it would require scarcely any important modification in order to apply equally to the Aryans in the distant epoch of their pro-ethnic unity. It errs mostly, perhaps, in not leaving more inconsistencies and contradictions on the surface; for it is hard to place one's mind on the low level of the infantile intelligence of a savage such as early man must have been. But some aid to that end may be found in the perusal of what the savages of modern times think. The widely spread occurrence of a story more or less like that of Uranus has already been alluded to (p. 114); and one may also borrow illustrations from the animistic ideas which certain savages have entertained of the sun, the moon and the stars. "In early philosophy throughout the world," says Dr. Tylor,[1] "the Sun and Moon are alive and as it were human in their nature. Usually contrasted as male and female, they nevertheless differ in the sex assigned to each, as well as in their relations to one

[1] *Culture*[2], i. 288.

another. Among the Mbocobis of South America, the Moon is a man and the Sun his wife, and the story is told how she once fell down and an Indian put her up again, but she fell a second time and set the forest blazing in a deluge of fire." Or take the curious conversation of some Algonquin Indians with one of the Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century:[1] "Je leur ay demandé d'où venoit l'Eclipse de Lune et de Soleil; ils m'ont respondu que la Lune s'éclipsoit ou paroissoit noire, à cause qu'elle tenoit son fils entre ses bras, qui empeschoit que l'on ne vist sa clarté. Si la Lune a un fils, elle est mariée, ou l'a été, leur dis-je. Oüy dea, me dirent-ils, le Soleil est son mary, qui marche tout le jour, et elle toute la nuict; et s'il s'éclipse, ou s'il s'obscurcit, c'est qu'il prend aussi par fois le fils qu'il a eu de la Lune entre ses bras. Oüy, mais ny la Lune ny le Soleil n'ont point de bras, leur disois-je. Tu n'as point d'esprit; ils tiennent tousiours leurs arcs bandés deuant eux, voilà pourquoy leurs bras ne paroissent point. Et sur qui veulent-ils tirer? Hé qu'en scavons nous." Nevertheless, the American who helped the Sun to her feet could scarcely hope to attain to the privileged audacity of the druids of ancient Erinn, who maintained that they were the creators of the heavens and the earth.[2] On the other hand, had there been a missionary to question the ancient Aryans on the difficulties which their ideas of the origin of things presented to his mind, he would doubtless have often received in effect the Algonquin reply, *Hé qu'en savons nous?*

[1] Ibid., from Le Jeune's communications in the *Relations des Jesuites dans la Nouvelle France*, 1634, p. 26.

[2] O'Curry, ij. 21.

The notions which I have ascribed to the ancient Aryans and, among them, to the earliest Celts, may be termed cosmogonic or theogonic, but no word, however convenient, must be allowed to obscure the probable fact that at one time they formed part and parcel of their ordinary beliefs. For what may seem to one generation of men a mere matter of mythology, is frequently found to have belonged to the serious theology of a previous one; and, conversely, those whom sentiment prevents from placing the starting point of the Aryan family on a low level, must forego the full enjoyment of the luxury of contemplating its prolonged rise, such as it is faithfully registered in the archæological record of speech and myth, of rudely made tools, and other material remains of Aryan handiwork. Science proudly and justly makes much of evolution in its more visible aspects; but even more absorbing is the interest attaching to its subtler workings in the world of intellect and morals. In our Aryan branch of the human family we have found traces of them carried out on the lines of the ideas of religion and morality which found favour from time to time in the eyes of our ancestors, from the grey dawn of their pre-history onwards to our own era. It remains for ever true that the proper study of mankind is man; and even early man is not beneath contempt, especially when he proves to have had within him the makings of a great race, with its highest notions of duty and right, and all else that is noblest in the human soul.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Pages 46, 74: the dative Βελησαμι is also given as Βηλησαμι: which is right I know not.

Page 117: for *Dubr-duin* read *Dubr-duiu.*

Page 153: *y Wenwas* means the abode of felicity in the sense of Heaven in the Black Book: see Skene, ij. 46.

Page 167: the allusion to the abbreviation of *Maxim* in the Nennian genealogies is misleading, as the name occurs also fully written *Maxim* in them: see the MS. *Harl.* 3859, fol. 193*b*.

Page 232: the statement that the sacrifice of human victims to the Gaulish Mercury was unknown is too absolute: see M. P. Monceau on the Great Temple on the Puy de Dôme, in the *Revue Hist.* 1887, Vol. xxxv. 255, where he quotes Tertullian.

Page 250: for *Idrys* read *Idris.*

Page 262: *Iarbhoinel* is *Iarboncoil* in the *Bk. of Leinster*, 8*b*, and *Iardonel*, for which see p. 581 above, in the *Bk. of the Dun*, 16*b*: both are genitives, and the latter looks as if the nominative might have been *Iar-domnal.*

Page 415: as to Tailltin, also Taillne at p. 519, one learns from the MS. *Harl.* 5280, fol. 65*a* (54*a*), that Taillne was in the first instance another name of Lug's foster-mother Tailltiu.

Pages 500-1: Pendaran Dyved's rôle is here like that of an Irish druid, and his position answers to the meaning of his name, which probably signifies 'Head-druid of Dyved,' *Pendaran* being partly derived from *dâr*, 'an oak.' Compare the etymology of the term *Druidae* itself, p. 221 above.

Page 511: for *Sigfried* read *Siegfried.*

Page 516: I find that the Hwch du gwta is also remembered in Anglesey.

Page 521. As to the ancient year common to Celts and Greeks, I have now the authority of Dr. Vigfusson for adding the old Norsemen. Their great feast occupied three days called the Winter Nights, and began on the Saturday falling on or between the 11th and the 18th of October. One feature of the feast was the sacrifice to Frey, the god of good seasons; and besides the toasts drunk to the Anses, as alluded to at p. 653 above, a formal commemoration was made of all deceased friends who had gone into the barrows during the year: compare the Welsh Feast of the Dead, p. 515. It was the time when the sibyl, seated on an elevated seat, chanted the fortunes of the coming year: she was consulted on all kinds of questions, but especially as to the seasons, and above all as to the winter then commencing. On the first night the spirits were abroad, and one instance is recorded of a man being slain by them on his going out then; but this was the night when wizards sat out of doors, who wished to consult the demons of the invisible world. Compare the Welsh and Irish beliefs and practices alluded to at pp. 514-7. Dr. Vigfusson thinks that the feast of the Winter Nights was the original Yule, and that it marked the beginning of the ancient year. The whole question is to be the subject of an excursus in Vigfusson and Powell's forthcoming work on Icelandic Origins. It is to be noticed that the Old Norse year approached the astronomical year more nearly than the Celtic one (p. 419), for the reason, probably, that winter—and therefore the year—commences earlier in Scandinavia than in the continental centre from which the Celts dispersed themselves. *Vice versa*, the Aryan year may, if the Aryan home was at first in the far North, have been originally astronomical, the calendars of the Celts and other Aryan nations having subsequently deviated from it more and more as those nations acquired new homes in more southern latitudes; nor is the fact to be overlooked, that, according to the Syro-Macedonian calendar and others of kindred origin, the year opened with the beginning of October, however that is to be accounted for.

Page 552: Lugaid Corr (Windisch, *Ir. Gram.* p. 122) should, mythologically speaking, be identified with the slayer of Cúchulainn. *Corr*, which probably meant a crane, recalls the cranes

at pp. 331, 333-4. He should, perhaps, be further identified with the Lugaid son of Ith who gave his name to the Kerry lake called Loch Lugdech, and better known as Lough Corrane, near Waterville. For a remarkable story about him and Fial his wife, see M. d'A. de J.'s *Cycle*, p. 253, and the *Bk. of Ballymote*, 39*b*, 40*a*.

Page 554: with the Eo Feasa compare stories of the type of Siegfried eating of the heart of the dragon Fáfnir.

Page 579: for *Ollathar* read *Ollathair*.

Page 588: move the accent on Ἰούερνιοι towards the end of the word, or else cancel it, as its place is not known.

Page 619: I see now that the correspondence between the great conflicts entered on by Zeus in Greek mythology, and by the gods holding the same rank in the other Aryan mythologies, admits of being expressed more clearly than I have done. Thus the Titans conquered by Zeus correspond to the Coranians disposed of by Llûd (p. 606), and the Giants quelled by the gods of Olympus with the aid of Heracles to the scourge of the First of May to which Llûd put an end, while Typho, eventually destroyed by Zeus, has his counterpart in the Wizard Knight overcome by Llûd: it is to be noted that in the story of both Typho and the Wizard Knight music plays a most important part. Irish and Norse literature agree, however, in giving us another, and presumably a more original, sequence of the conflicts. Thus the Fir Bolg begin a battle with the Tuatha Dé Danann at Midsummer: they are beaten in it, and they correspond to the Wanes at war with the Anses. In the next place, Nuada's right hand and arm were cut off in a duel with Sreng, which is usually made a part of the Fir Bolg war; but as this is represented extending over a long time, the encounter of Nuada with Sreng is probably to be treated as a separate struggle. The latter, whose name Sreng challenges comparison in point of origin and meaning with the English word *strong*, is to be set over against the Fenri Wolf biting off one of Týr's hands, and Typho disabling Zeus in his hands and his feet. The third contest was that of the Tuatha Dé Danann with the Fomori, who succeed in slaying many of the former's leaders, and are only beaten by the arrival of Lug the Sun-god, who slays Balor of the Evil Eye and begins his reign of prosperity. The

corresponding Norse war is that in which Swart and the Evil Brood attack and slay the Anses, who, however, re-appear with the advent of Balder. The seasons implied by this more ancient sequence of the events are the middle of summer, the beginning of the winter half of the year, and the beginning of the summer half. So mid-winter is left without any great event, and this falls in, as will have been seen, with the season when Zeus languishes helplessly in a cave, and Nuada, deprived of his right hand, vacates his throne for Bres, his Fomorian supplanter. As represented in the Ultonian cycle, it would be Conchobar and the nobles of his court *en couvade*. Here also should probably be fixed the grievous incarceration of Llûd referred to in the Welsh Triads (p. 577), and here perhaps we are to look for the reason why the Celts had no great feast in the middle of winter. Such may have likewise been the case with the Teutons before their Yule was shifted to that season. Lastly, the death of Nuada and other chiefs of the Tuatha Dé Danann in the battle with the Fomori is to be regarded as a piece of euhemerism. Treated as historical persons the Tuatha Dé must die some time or other; but, mythologically speaking, they should have survived, like the gods of Olympus when Heracles despatched the Giants for them.

Page 643: before Loeg, on his way with Liban to the other world, comes to the two serpents (p. 641), he is said, in the account in verse (Windisch, p. 219), to have seen *Bili Buada* or Bile of Victory, whose name possibly meant victorious Death, the same Bile, in fact, that was mentioned at pp. 90-1 above as king of Hades under the name of Spain. But the prose paraphrase (Windisch, p. 217), which is probably later, treats *Bili* as the Irish word *bile*, which appears to have signified 'any ancient tree growing over a holy well or in a fort.' This raises a question as to the relation between *bile* and *Bile*, and suggests another treatment of the chief tree mentioned at p. 188. According to the *R. B. Mab.* p. 93, it is doubtful whether one should say in Welsh *Beli* (pp. 90, 644), or *the Beli*.

With regard to Rhiannon, I am now inclined to identify her with the moon rather than with the dawn, and similarly in the case of several others whom I have loosely treated as goddesses of dawn or dusk.

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